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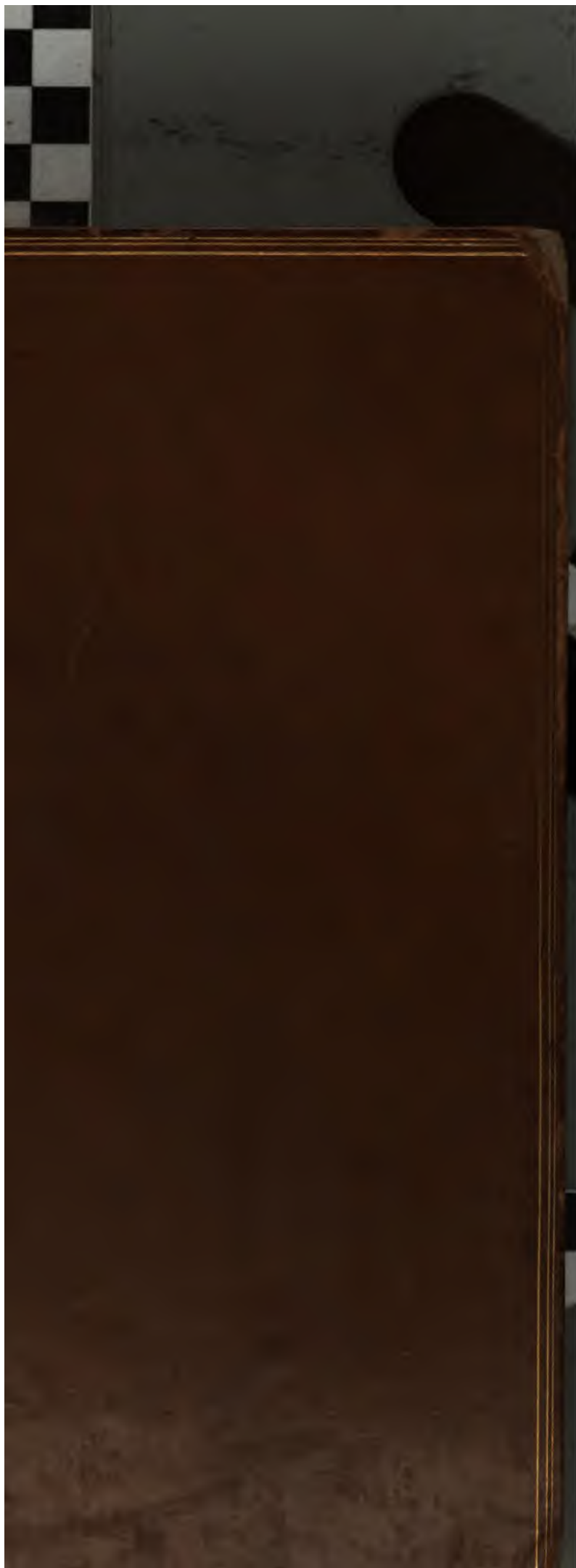
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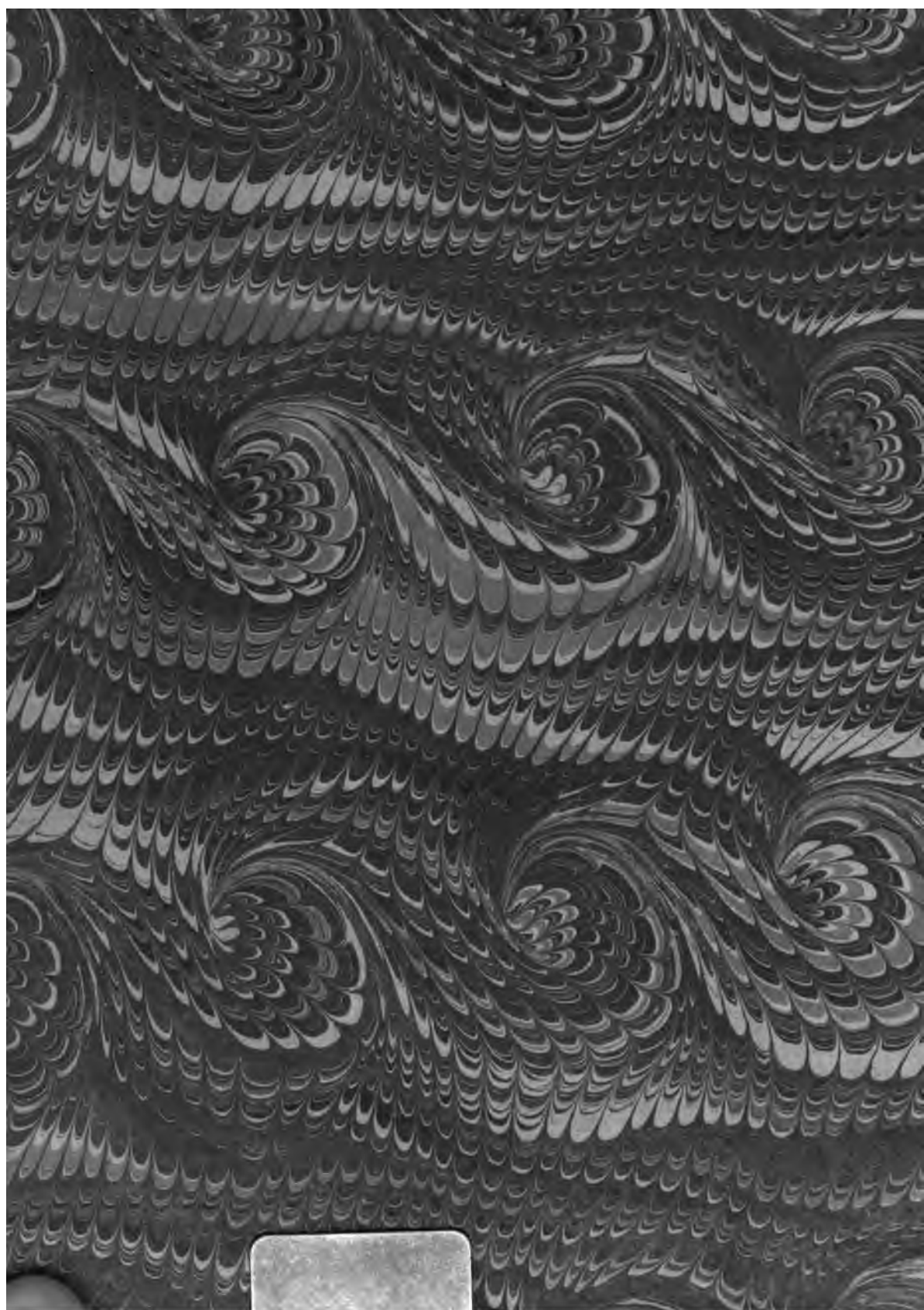
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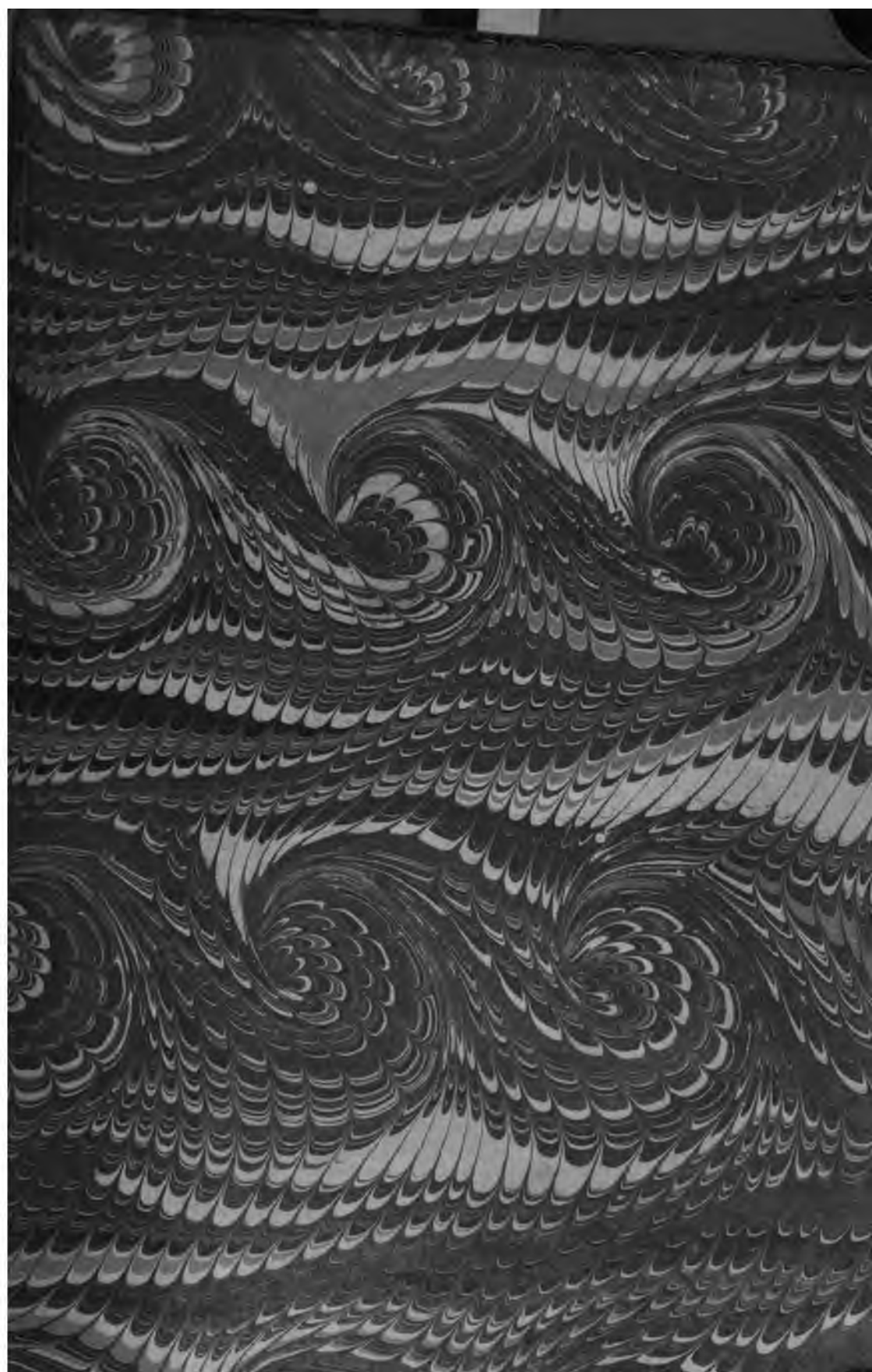




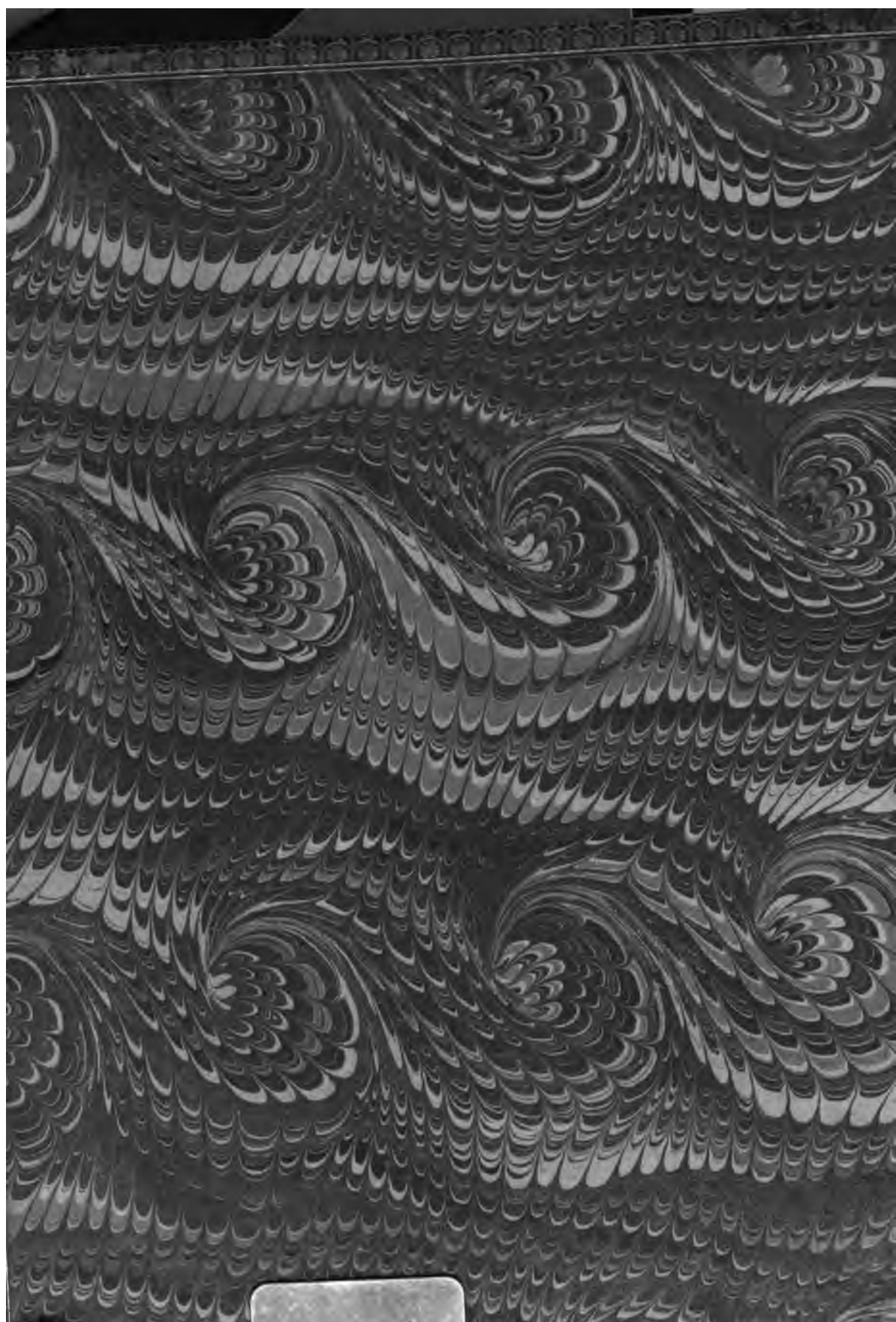


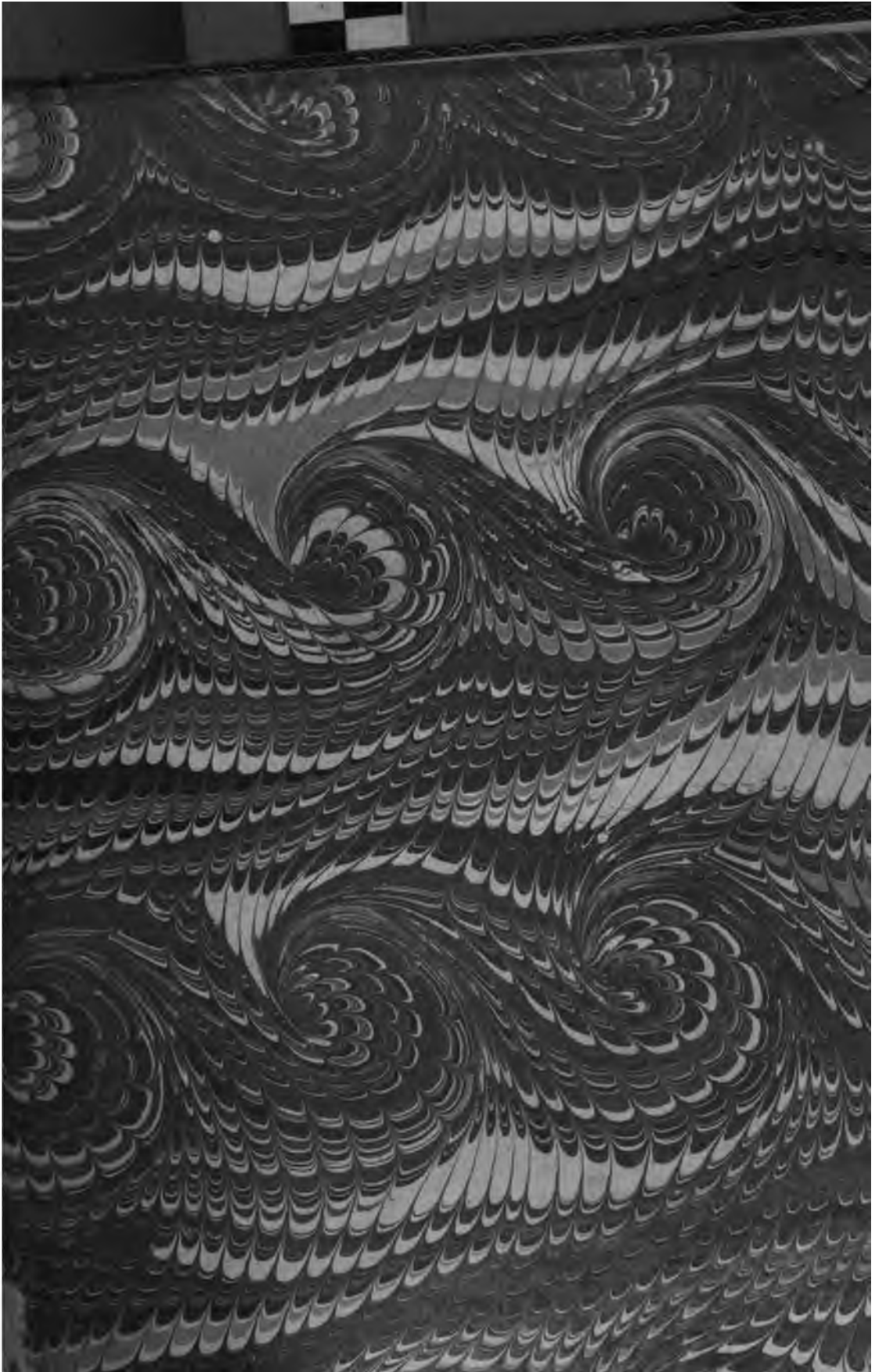


















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A NEW  
COLLECTION  
OF  
VOYAGES  
AND  
TRAVELS,

Into several Parts of the World, none  
of them ever before Printed in  
*English.*

CONTAINING,

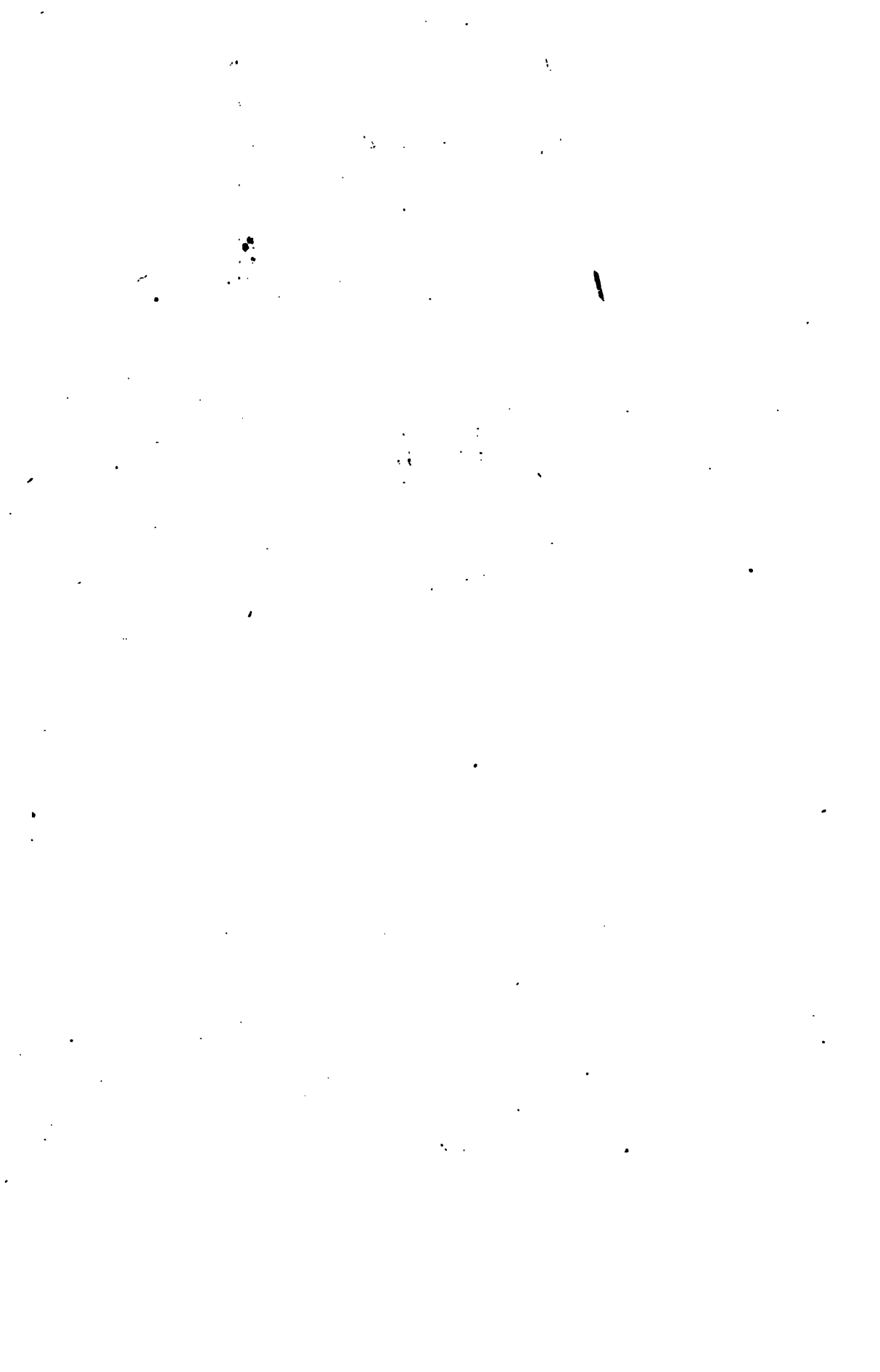
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|--|---|---|
| 1. <i>The Description, &amp;c. of the Mo-<br/>luccho and Philippine Islands, by<br/>L. de Argensola,</i> | } | 5. <i>The Captivity of the Sieur Mouette<br/>in Fez and Morocco.</i>                  |
| 2. <i>A new Account of Carolina, by<br/>Mr. Lawson.</i>  |   | 6. <i>The Travels of P. Teixeira from<br/>India to the Low-Countries by<br/>Land.</i> |
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| 4. <i>The Travels of the Jesuits in E-<br/>thiopia.</i>  |   |   |

In Two Volumes, Illustrated with several Maps and Cuts.

LONDON, Printed for J. Knapton, Andrew Bell, D. Midwinter, Will.  
Taylor, A. Collins, and J. Baker. 1711.

203. L. 117.





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TO THE  
HONOURABLE  
Edmund Poley,  
OF  
BADLEY,  
IN THE  
County of *SUFFOLK*, Esq;

*SIR,*

**R**Eiterated Favours claim a Repetition of Acknowledgments; should the latter be as frequent as the former, they might prove rather troublesome to you, than acceptable. I have therefore resolv'd once for all to express how sensible I am of the many Obligations I lye under. You would not perhaps be pleas'd, should I go about to enumerate them, because great Minds never look back upon what Courtesies they have bestow'd, being always intent upon what farther Acts of Generosity they may perform.

Among the many other Testimonies of your Bounty, there is one I am here oblig'd particularly to mention, which is your having admitted of the Dedication of so small a Work as the Translation of  
*Cieza's*

*Cieza's Travels in Peru.* Your Acceptance of that Part has encourag'd me to prefix your Name to the Whole, now grown up into two Volumes, that it may honour them both in the Front, as it gives Reputation to the first in that Place, where it shall remain as a Demonstration of your Condescension, as this is of your Right and my Gratitude. I shall therefore avoid any Repetition of what is there said, or adding more here to display your Merit. Neither am I capable of giving your Character, nor will you consent to it, which puts me upon a Necessity of cutting short; lest my own Inclination and your Desert insensibly draw me on to attempt what I am not qualify'd to go through with. True Virtue can be no more conceal'd than the Splendor of the Sun, nor does it stand in need of outward Ornaments to set it off; you have render'd your self too conspicuous to be unknown, and can receive no Addition from my poor Endeavours. The Design of these Lines is, at the same Time, to honour my Work with your Patronage, and to express my Acknowledgment and Gratitude for all Favours already receiv'd; wishing this may stand a perpetual Monument of both, and to you all Increase of Happiness; and I shall always own my self

*Sir,*

*Your most Obliged, and most*

*Devoted Humble Servant*

JOHN STEVENS.

A NEW  
COLLECTION  
OF  
VOYAGES  
AND  
TRAVELS:  
WITH  
Historical Accounts  
OF  
Discoveries and Conquests  
In all Parts of the  
WORLD.

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None of them ever before Printed in *English*; being now first Translated from the *Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch, Portuguese* and other Languages.

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Adorn'd with Cuts.

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For the Month of *December*, 1708.

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*To be continu'd Monthly.*

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London Printed, and Sold by *J. Knapton*, in *St. Pauls Church-Yard*; *J. Round*, in *Exchange-Alley*, in *Cornhill*, *N. Cliffe*, at the *Golden Candlestick* in *Cheapside*, *E. Sanger*, at the *Post-Houle*. and *A. Collins*, at the *Black-Boy* in *Fleet-street*, 1708.





THE  
DISCOVERY  
AND  
CONQUEST

OF THE  
MOLUCCO and PHILIPPINE Islands

CONTAINING,

**Their History, Ancient and Modern,**  
Natural and Political: Their Description, Pro-  
duct, Religion, Government, Laws, Languages,  
Customs, Manners, Habits, Shape, and Inclina-  
tions of the Natives. With an Account of many  
other adjacent Islands, and several remarkable  
Voyages through the *Streights of Magellan*, and  
in other Parts.

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*Written in Spanish by Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola,  
Chaplain to the Empress, and Rector of Villahermosa.*

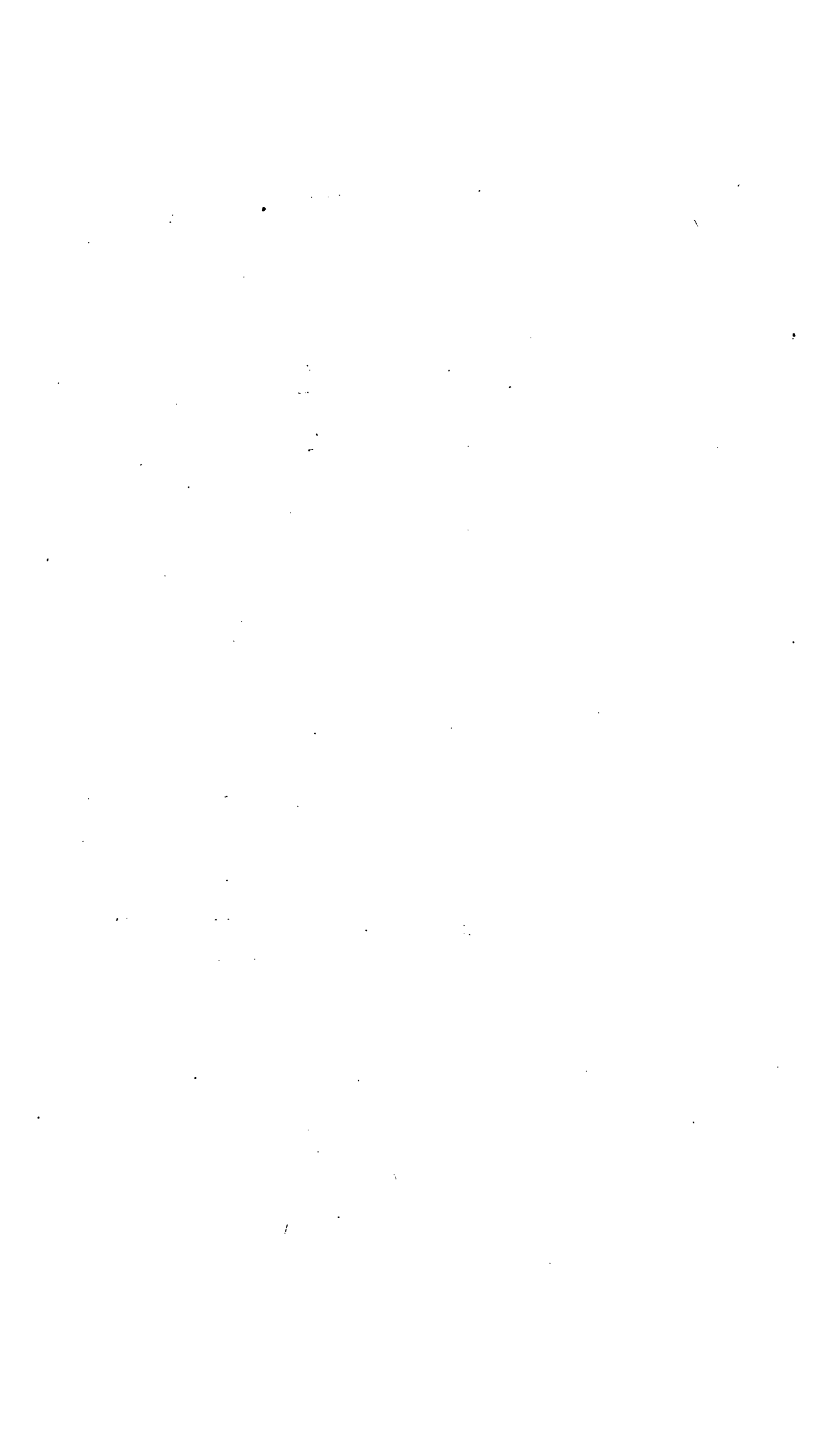
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*Now Translated into English: And Illustrated with a Map and several Cuts.*

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L O N D O N, Printed in the Year, 1708.

203. h. 117. (1)



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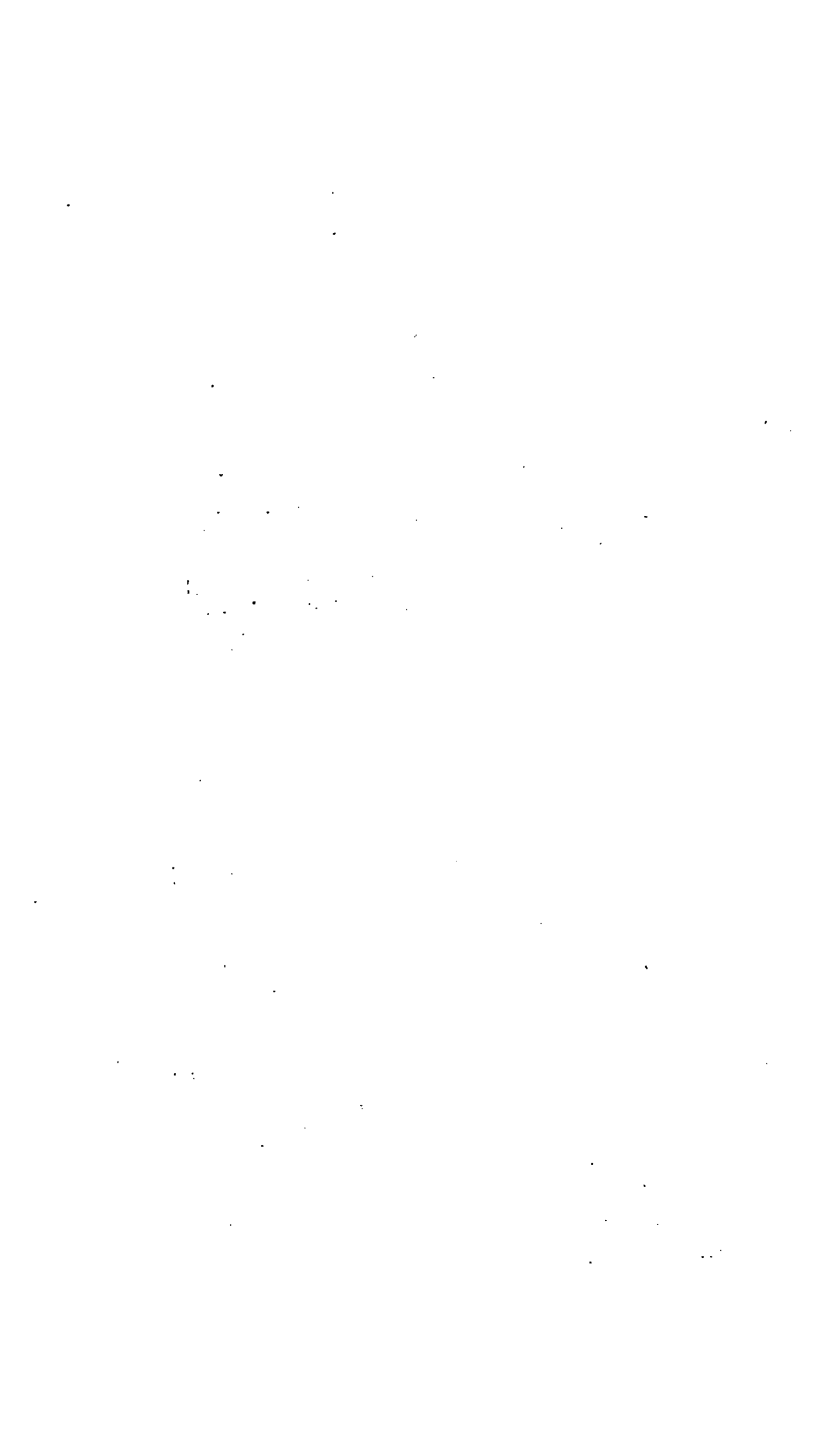
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LONDON, Printed in the Year, 1708.

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A N

# Advertisement

## Concerning this Work in general.

**I**T will be needless to trouble the Reader with a tedious Introduction, shewing the usefulness of this sort of Books, several others having already treated of that Subject, no less Learnedly than Fully, so that it would only be repeating what has been frequently said already, and what most Men are sufficiently convinc'd of; besides that, it is not design'd to fill up this small Volume with Perswasives to buy it; but rather to proceed directly to the matter propos'd. But, lest the Design should be misapprehended, it will be necessary, in as few Words as may be, to make all Persons sensible of it. Nothing is more certain, than that many curious Pieces have escap'd the search of those who have publish'd Volumes of this Nature, either because they are grown extremely Rare; or, perhaps, those who Translated were not Masters of the Languages in which they were Writ, or else for want of sufficient Information; since, as no Man can know all Things, neither can any be acquainted with all Books. These are the Things now design'd to Entertain the Publick, with assurance that nothing shall be offer'd, but what is valuable, and approv'd of by Learned and Ingenious Persons. It is needless, and even impracticable, in this First Part to give a Catalogue of the Books intended to be Translated; needless, in Regard that being very rare, few are yet acquainted with them; and impracticable, because several not yet known to the Undertakers, may hereafter come to Hand: As also, by reason that some which are not to be found in *England*, are now sent for Abroad, and considering their Scarcity, and the Hazards of the Sea, it is impossible to determine when they will be had. Besides, it is not convenient to Publish the Names of such Books, at a time when so many are gaping to catch at any thing they can hope to make an Advantage of; tho' others have acquir'd some sort of right to it, by declaring they have such a Work in Hand. Every Piece that is Publish'd, will, it is hop'd, Recommend it self, and be an Inducement to the Buyer to purchase the next, for which reason it will be superfluous to add any thing in their Commendation. Neither is this Work confin'd to Translations, the Undertakers having already a prospect of some Original Manuscripts of the same Nature, Written by Ingenious and Able Persons, who have Travel'd, and not taken care to publish their Observations. The Translations will be out of all Languages, which can afford any thing an-

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### *An Advertisement concerning this Work in General.*

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swerable to what is propos'd, that is, excellent in it self, and never before seen in *English*.

As for the Method here intended, it is to Publish every Month, as much as will make a Book of Twelve Pence, or Eighteen Pence, according as it can be contriv'd, without breaking off abruptly, to leave the Relation main'd and imperfect, for as scarce any of the Books to be Translated are so small as to come into the compass of a Month; so of necessity they must be divided into several Parts, according to their Bulk. Now each Month being Sold Stich'd, every Buyer may afterwards Bind them up when he has an Author compleat, and therefore great care shall be taken, that the one may end, and the next begin, so as to cause no Obstacle, or Confusion in Binding. All the Books shall be adorn'd with proper Maps, and useful Cuts, that is, not with Representations of Battels, or Draughts of Places made according to the Engravers Fancy, but with true Delineations taken upon the Spot, where any such are to be had; the real Habits of the People; Birds, Beasts, Plants, &c. Whether every Month will afford any of these, cannot be promised, since they are to be inserted in their proper Places, for substantial Information, and not dispers'd at Will to embellish the Book, and divert the Ignorant. Therefore some Months will contain more, others fewer, and some perhaps none, with assurance that the Charge shall not be spar'd where they are requisite, and such are to be had as can be vouch'd to be Genuine. Thus every Person will, at so small a Price, as has been mention'd have a Taste of the Author propos'd to be Translated, and of the Performance, before he launches out more Money to purchase the whole, and has every Month something New to Divert and Inform; which, tho' at first it may look slight, as being a Stich'd Pamphlet, will soon grow upon into a Compleat Work, as if Printed all at once, and be no less becoming any Gentlemans Study, or Library. No Author is design'd to be Abridg'd, but fairly, and carefully Translated at large; but if any should hereafter be thought fit, for any particular Reasons to be so dealt with, it shall not be done without the Advice and Approbation of sufficient Judges, and the Publick shall have Notice of it, that no Man may have just cause to Complain he is any way Impos'd on. Every Author shall have a particular Preface giving some Account of Him, and his Work, with a fair Title, for the Binding of him up conveniently into a Volume, and every Month, as has been said, so contriv'd, that there may be no Casma, or other Eyesore in the Book. A small number will be Printed on a large fine Paper, for such as are more Curious, at one half more than the Price of the Common Sort.

The next Book Publish'd in this Collection, will be *Diarium Italicum*: Or, Singular Remarks upon Ancient Monuments, Collections of Rarities, &c. made in a Journey through *Italy*: With variety of Cuts and Figure. By the R. F. *Bernard de Montfaucon*, Monk of the Order of *S. Benedict*, of the Congregation of *S. Maur*.

**T H E**

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# THE PREFACE.



*UR Author, Bartholomew Leonardo de Argenfola, was a Learned Clergyman, and as such employ'd by the President and Council of the Indies to Write this History. He calls it, The Conquest of the Molucco Islands, without Enlarging any further in his Title, tho' at the same time his Work contains their first Discovery, their Description, the Manners, Customs, Religion, Habit, and Political and Natural History; with all the Wars, and other Remarkable Accidents in those Parts, since they were first known to Europeans, till their Reduction under the Crown of Spain. In Speaking of them he Occasionally runs out to give the same Account of the Philippine Islands, and of several others in those Eastern Seas. This is frequent in Spanish Books, wherein we generally find much more than the Titles promise; contrary to what is Practis'd with us, who strive to fill up a Title Page with abundance of Inviting Heads, the least part whereof is Treated of in the Body of the Work, or at best so Superficially, that scarce any more can be made of them there, than was in the Frontispiece.*

*For the Compiling of this Work the Author, being Employ'd by the Authority abovemention'd, had the Command of all Authentick Manuscript Relations, which were either in the Kings Custody, or in Private Hands; besides the Testimony of such Persons then Living, as had been Eye-Witnesses to any part of what he delivers. His Design was only to Write the Conquest of those Islands, by King Philip the Third of Spain; but considering how few were acquainted with them, and that of Consequence most Readers would be at a loss to know where, or what these Moluccos were, he Judiciously Resolv'd to bring down his History from its proper Source. To this End he begins with the Antient, and Fabulous Original of their Kings; then comes to the Discovery of them by Europeans, and proceeds to the Wars between them, and with the Natives, for the Possession of those so much coveted Dominions.*

*His*



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## The Preface.

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*His Description of them is very Exact; That of the Cloves, their principal Commodity, no less Curious; and that of the other Produ& and Animals, Inferior to neither. The Wars carrying him over from one Place to another; he gives a short Account of the Islands Pappas, and that of Celebes. The Spaniards, to avoid passing through the Portuguese Sea, attempted to settle Trade at the Moluccos, by the way of the Streights of Magellan, which gives occasion to Argensola to entertain us with a particular Account of the Spanish Fleet sent into the said Streight, under the Admiral Sarmiento, which has been hitherto very Imperfectly Deliver'd in English, tho' very Remarkable, and full of Surprizing Accidents. In short, not to stretch out this Preface, with the Subject of the Work, we shall find in it a brief Description of the Island Sumatra; of the vast Empire of China; of all the Philippine Islands, and those of Ceylon, Banda, Java, and many others of less Note. Nor does he omit to speak of the Dutch Voyages; and Undertakings of Sir Francis Drake, and other English Adventurers; and Embellishes the whole with such variety of pleasing Incidents, that few Books of Travels afford so much Profitable Entertainment, with such good Authority.*

*No Author ever had a better Reputation, among all that Understand, and have had the good Fortune to Meet with him; for being so Valuable, he is extraordinary Scarce, rare to be met with in Spain, and consequently much more in England. This may perhaps be the main Reason why he has not yet been Translated, and being so Valuable, he cannot miss of that Reception which he has found in the Original. But it is not intended to prepossess the Reader, who is left to make his own Judgment, and therefore a long Preface is designedly avoided, that he may the sooner enter upon so Useful and Diverting a Work. It is not improper, nevertheless, to Advise the Reader not to take notice of some Reflections in Point of Religion, and in other Cases, considering the Book was Writ by a Spaniard, and that it was not proper to Omit, or Alter any thing, where a Fair, and Entire Translation is promised. Besides, That these are very few, and inconsiderable, and consequently, not worth observing, as indeed the generality of Judicious Readers will be sufficiently satisfy'd, and this Caution is given for their Sake, whom perhaps Passion, or overmuch Zeal may move to condemn a Work on such an Occasion, when they can find no other matter to Carp at.*

THE

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
 DISCOVERY and CONQUEST  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.*

BOOK I.



Write the Conquest of the *Molucco* Islands by King *Philip* the III. of *Spain*, and the reducing of their Kings to their former Subjection, to his Predecessors, by Don *Pedro de Acunba*, Governour of the *Philippine* Islands, and Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet; a Victory worthy the Foresight of such a Godly Monarch, the Application of those worthy Statesmen that compose his supreme Council, and the Valour of our Nation; not so much on account of the Wealth, and Fertility

of those Countries, as for that it took from the Northern Nations all occasion of Sailing in our Seas, and Debauching the new Converted *Astiaticks*, and the Inhabitants of our Colonies Trading among them. The Celerity with which the Expedition was concluded, does not in the least diminish the Glory of the Event; which, for that very Reason, might rather deserve a place in a more ample Relation. I am sensible of the Dangers I expose my self to; but am no less satisfy'd, that I shall find some to stand by me. The most famous Painters, and Carvers, have generally a great value for Heads, Arms, and other Limbs, which have been drawn to perfection from the Life, by which they compose all the Parts, when they design some excellent Piece. The ignorant in those Arts have no Esteem for such Fragments, being only taken with the entire Statue, or Picture, consisting of all its Limbs, without examining the Defects there may be in each of them. The Relation I undertake to write of these Islands will find the same Esteem, and be expos'd to no less Contempt; for the Judicious, who understand

stand how History is Compil'd, will value this part drawn to the Life; whereas those, who, as they say themselves, Read only to divert the Time, will make little account of it, as being more fond of some Romance, full of Monsterous Events; or of some bulkey Work, bearing the Title of a History, treating of numerous Armies, and mighty Slaughters, and bestowing the Success, not where Providence gave, but where they would have it. This is the Reason why many Things, worthy to be known and preserv'd, remain bury'd in Oblivion; because being left for General Histories, there are only slight Sketches of them Drawn at the Time when they happen'd, by those who had a share in them, so that when these Manuscripts are to be made use of, either they are not to be found, or else they reduce the Writer to a necessity of subscribing to whatsoever either Self-Love, or any other Passion dictated to the Authors of such Memoirs, without any possibility of examining into the Truth. To obviate this Inconveniency, in a matter of such moment as that of *Ternate*, the Capital of the *Molucco* Islands, I was Commanded to write an Account of it, at a time when they were still living who acted in and directed it: And I have such full Information of all that is requisite for this purpose, that I hope Truth will make amends for my want of Ability. This is as much as I have thought fit to Advertise the Reader, without entering upon the Advantage he will reap by perusing this Relation; because, if he is well affected, all I can say for it will be superfluous; and if otherwise inclin'd, tho' I endeavour to set him right, he will never conceive it.

*Kings of  
the Mo-  
luccos.*

*A Fable of  
their Ori-  
ginal.*

Among the fourteen most potent Princes, who Lord it over the *Archipelago* of the *Molucco* Islands, under the Title of Kings, those of *Ternate* and *Tidore* boast of a Divine Original; such Liberty to be vain do Men take upon them, or so much do they ascribe to obscure Antiquity. There is an ancient Tradition among those People, look'd upon as Sacred, That they were once Govern'd by a most Ancient Prince, call'd *Bicocigara*, who sailing along the Coast of *Rachian*, perceiv'd that among some craggy Rocks there were grown up abundance of *Rotas*, so they call a sort of solid Canes, which, when small, they make use of instead of Ropes. He lik'd them, and order'd they should be cut down, and brought into his Vessel. His Subjects going to fulfil his Orders, and having search'd all the place, return'd to their Master, desiring he would look again, least his Eyes deceiv'd him, for they could meet with no such Canes. *Bicocigara*, who saw them distinctly from his Boat, was positive with his incredulous People, and order'd them again to be brought; but to decide the matter, went himself Ashore, where immediately they appear'd to them all. He command'd them to be cut down, and as they went about it, Blood ran from the Canes that were cut. Being astonish'd at that Prodigy, he discover'd close to the Roots of them four Eggs, which look'd like a Snakes Eggs, and at the same time heard a Voice, proceeding from the hollow of the Canes cut down, which said, *Keep these Eggs; for from them shall come four excellent Governours*. He took up those fatal Eggs, with Religious Respect, and carry'd them home, where they were kept in the best place of his House. In a short time, from the four Yolks proceed'd four Rational Chickens, being three Men, and one Woman, who afterwards Reign'd, the first of them in *Rachian*, the second in *Buru*, and the third over the Islands call'd *Papua*.

*Papuas*, lying East from the *Moluccos*. The Woman was Marry'd to Prince *Loloda*, who gave Name to the Country of *Batobina*, not far from the great *Bocanora*. This Fable has gain'd such Reputation, that they honour *Bicocigara* as a Hero, worship the Rocks, and adore the Eggs. The truth of it is, that the cunning Man, by this prodigious Superstition, Sanctify'd his own Race, and gain'd Kingdoms, and Respect for his four Children. So *Greece* feign'd, or believ'd, that *Leda* Conceiving of the Adulterous Swan brought forth the Eggs, from which came *Castor*, *Pollux*, and *Helena*. Fortune, when she raises Men to a high pitch, perswades those she designs to Crown, to lay the Foundation of their Majesty on Fables, resembling true Mysteries, so to perswade the Multitude that they are somewhat Divine, and to distinguish the Royal Race by a peculiarity even in the Universal Law of being Born into the World. Of this Race thirteen Idolatrous Kings succeeded one another in *Tydore*, down to Sulran *Tydore Bongue*, the first that receiv'd the *Mahometan* Alcoran, tho' intermix'd with Idolatry, which lasted above Eighty Years, and being confounded among the Precepts of that abominable Sect, bred Divisions, and Distractions among the People. Afterwards, when the Commander *Brito* arriv'd in that Island, as we shall soon see, he found a *Caciz*, or Priest, taught them the new Superstition, and that many oppos'd him, on account of the old Fable of the Eggs, which the *Persian* *Morabout* could never Decry; so great is the power of Error transmitted from our Fore-Fathers.

King *Tydore Bongue's* Successor, was his Son *Cachil Boleyse*, no less Superstitious than the Father, but in another way. He pretending to the Spirit of Prophecy, gain'd such Reputation, by the Experience and Foresight of his Riper Years, that he came to be Honour'd by his Subjects as a Prophet; or by the least Credulous, as a Person of singular Prudence, so that all Men gave Ear to him, as to an Oracle. Puffed up with this Vanity, he pretended to Fore-tell future Events; which when no particular Persons, or set Times are appointed, is a safe way of Predicting, without Danger of being found False; either because in process of Time something accidentally happens, that may be adapted to the Prophecy, or in regard, that is always expected which will never come to pass. For this Reason, as in most Countries there are some current Notions of future Expectations, conceiv'd upon trivial Occasions, rather than any Observation of the Stars; therefore *Boleyse* us'd to tell those about him, That the time would come, when Iron Men should arrive at *Ternate*, from the remotest parts of the World, and settle in its Territory; by whose Power the Glory, and Dominion of the *Malucco* Islands should be far extended.

In the Reign of King *John* the first, of *Portugal*, his Son, Prince *Henry*, *First Discoveries* having employ'd several Persons on Discoveries, *John Gonzales*, and *Frislan Vaz* found the Island of *Madera*, in the Year 1419, and others soon after those of the *Azores*, and *Cabo Verde*, and ran along the Coast of *Guinea* and *Africk*. Afterwards, in the Reigns of King *Edward*, and *Alonso* the V. those Discoveries were continu'd, till under King *John* the II. they proceeded as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*, and a Hundred Leagues beyond it, along the Coast, call'd *Rio del Infante*. The honour of this Discovery is due to that famous Seaman *Bartholomew Diaz*, if we may believe the Manuscript Memoirs of *Duarte Resende*, for the Historian

A false Prophecy.

*Barros*. This rais'd Emulation in the *Spanish* Nation, already engag'd in such Voyages, as having Discover'd the Western Islands, call'd *Antillas*, or *Caribbee* Islands. This Discovery occasion'd a Controversy about the Right to them, *Portugal* pretending to, and *Spain* defending its Possession. After much Contention, the Difference was adjust'd by *Ruy de Sousa*, and *Don John* his Son, and *Arias de Almada*, Commission'd by *Portugal*, who in the Year 1404. agreed with the *Spanish* Embassador, That, since this inferior Globe, consisting of Earth and Water, answers to the Degrees into which the Celestial Sphere is divided, it should be equally parted between the two Kings, by a Meridian Line drawn through the North and South Poles, and compassing the Land and Sea, so as to cut them into two halves. It was appointed, That the Share to the Eastward should belong to the Crown of *Portugal*, and the other to the Westward, to that of *Castile*; and that it should be so mark'd down on the Sea Charts; the Line passing through a fixt Point on the Earth, which was to be the Boundary of both Nations. This was by mutual Consent settled 360 Leagues West from *Cabo Verde*, and so the Line, or Meridian, fell upon the Country we call *Brazil*, about the most Westerly part of the Mouth of the River *Maranhao*, which disembogues there to the Northward. This Line cuts through that Country, and to the Southward runs off beyond the River of *Plate*, from whence the *Spaniards* begin to reckon their Degrees of Longitude Westward, and the *Portugueses* Eastward, 180 belonging to each of them, for as much as the whole Circumference of the Earth contains three hundred and sixty Degrees.

*Valco de Gama* discovers *India*.

*Vasco de Gama*, employ'd by King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, to Discover and Conquer *India*, prosecuted this Enterprize, look'd upon by *Ptolomy*, as impracticable; he travers'd the main Ocean, within the *Portuguese* Division, where he Discover'd, and since the *Portuguese* Commanders have Conquer'd so many Kingdoms, Nations, and Islands, so distinct in Customs, Manners, Laws, Languages, and Colours. They returning home admir'd what they had seen, and lay'd it down in Maps, but stretching out the Longitude, that is the Distance from West to East, beyond what it really was; thus Craftily providing for the Controversy which might arise upon this Occasion, as it soon happen'd, through the Fallhood of the Sea Charts.

*Portugueses* Pretensions to the *Moluccos*.

By virtue of this practice, and by the *Pope's* subsequent Authorizing of it, the *Portugueses* pretend that the *Molucco* Islands, and those of *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, are within their Bounds, as they were adjudg'd, and settled by experienc'd Sailers, calculating the Extent of that Meridian, and they even stretch it 15 Degrees further. *Resende* complains, That *Magalhaens*, whom the *English* call *Magellan*, magnify'd the Opinion conceiv'd of the Eastern Seas, when in the Year 1519 he went away Disgusted into *Spain*. *Magellan* grew up in the service of Queen *Ellenor*, then serv'd King *Emanuel*, and went over into *India* with that *Alonso de Albuquerque*, of whose Bravery, and Conduct, we have written Histories, besides what Fame, and Tradition have deliver'd. This Man, not satisfy'd with the first Conquests, sent *Antony de Abreu*, *Francis Serrano*, and *Ferdinand de Nagalbaens* from *Malaca*, with three Ships, to Discover the *Molucco* Islands. All these three Commanders steer'd several Courses. We shall soon

Soon speak of *Magellan* again. *Antony de Abreu* arriv'd at *Banda*, and returning towards *Malaca*, richly Laden with Spice of that Country, *Serrano* was parted from him in a Storm, and Shipwrack'd on the Islands of *Lucopino*, signifying Islands of *Tortoises*, so call'd from the Plenty and Bigness of those Creatures.

There the Tempest left the *Portugueses*, only their Lives and Arms sav'd, *Serrano* for their *Junck*, which is a sort of light Vessel, was Staw'd. The *Lucopins* cast on the Islands were Horrid, by reason of their want of Water, and being Desert; Islands of *Lucopine*. For their Rocks lying under Water, and the many Sea Robbers that frequent them, and always keep Sentinels posted to discover any Sailing by,

that they may fall upon, and plunder them. Had not Hunger and Thirst threaten'd the *Portugueses* with speedy Death, they had reason to expect it at the Hands of those Pyrats; but that which had been the Destruction of others, at this time prov'd their Safety. Those Miscreants had observ'd the Shipwreck, and Rowing up in a Vessel call'd a *Caracoa*, as it were to a certain Booty, drew near to those who had so narrowly escap'd perishing in the Sea; but the *Malaca* Pilots, and Mariners were not ignorant of their design. They acquainted their Captain with the Danger, desiring him to take such Measures as might be for his own, and their Safety. *Serrano*, like a Man of Valour and Discretion, having view'd the Shore, conceal'd his Men in a hidden Place. The Pyrates landed to pursue them; but as soon as ever they were at some distance from the Shore, the Strangers rush'd out, and possess'd themselves of the *Caracoa*. The Barbarians thus surpris'd, reflecting on their Mismanagement, and perceiving they were lost Men, gave over the thoughts of Robbing, and had recourse to Intreaties, throwing down their Bows and Arrows, and begging they would not leave them in that Island, but rather take pity, and pardon what they had done; and promising, if he would carry them off, to conduct him to another place, where Strangers were well receiv'd, and there was Trade. *Serrano* granted their Request, and admitted them, and having repair'd the shatter'd *Junck*, and Embarking together, they directed their Course to the Island of *Amboyna*, where they were well receiv'd by the People of *Rucutelo*, who were ancient Enemies to those of *Veranula*, a Neighboring City of *Batochina*, with whom those of *Rucutelo* coming to a Battle, they obtain'd the Victory, through the Assistance of the New-comers. The Fame of this Success flew over to the *Molucco* Islands, at the Time when *Boleyse* Reign'd in *Ternate*, and *Almanzor* in *Tydore*, who were both not long before Idolaters, and then *Mahometans*. These two were at Variance about the Limits of their Dominions, and understanding that the *Portugueses* were at *Amboyna*, each of them desiring to Strengthen himself against his Enemy, sent Embassadors, and Ships, to invite, and bring over to them those Foreign Soldiers; thinking it also convenient upon other accounts, to enter into Alliance with those People, whose great Actions were then so fresh in the Mouths of all Men. *Boleyse* was quicker than *Almanzor*, and sent ten Ships for *Serrano*, with a Thousand well Arm'd Soldiers for their Defence, the whole under the Command of his Kinsman *Cachil Coliba*: The *Tydore* Embassadors return'd from *Rucutelo* disappointed. It is but a short Cut between *Amboyna*, and *Ternate*, and therefore *Boleyse's* Ships soon return'd with the *Portugueses*. That King went out attended by his

His Escape

Arrives at Amboyna.

Settles at Ternate.

Subjects, to receive the new Guests; all of them concluding, That they went to see the fulfilling of their so long expected Prophecy. *Serrano* Landed in bright white Armour, and his Companions in the same manner. When the King saw them, he embrac'd every Man, with a Countenance full of Pleasure and Admiration, shedding Tears, and lifting up his Hands to Heaven, blest'd God, and gave hearty Thanks, for that he had granted him to see that which had been Predicted so many Years before. *These*, said he, *my Friends, are the Warriors you have so long wish'd for, on account of my Prophecy. Honour them, and let us all vie in Entertaining them; since the Grandeur of our Country depends on their Arms.* The Portuguese, well pleas'd to be thought worthy of a Prophecy, the Belief whereof was a Politick Invention, concurring to their Reputation, made no less Courteous Returns, expressing their singular Affection. They settled Amity, and Trade in the *Moluccos*; whence they spread it to the adjacent, and remoter Islands, which it will be now requisite briefly to describe, for the better Understanding of this History.

Archipelago described.

The Eastern Archipelago, not to speak of the Division of those Oriental Parts into Northern, and Southern, Contains so many Islands, that the certain Number of them is not yet known. Hence Modern Authors distribute it into five Divisions, being so many Archipelagos, under the names of *Molucco*, *Moro*, *Papuas*, *Celebes*, and *Amboyna*. The Name of the First, in their Language, is *Moloc*, signifying, the Head, because it is the Chief of all about it. Others will have it to be *Malucco*, which, in *Arabick*, imports, the Kingdom, as the Principal of them. It Contains five most Remarkable Islands, all of them under the same Meridian, one in sight of another, their whole Extent being 25 Leagues; the Equinoctial crossing them, so that the most Northern of them has but half a Degree of Latitude that way, and the most Southern, one Degree on the other side. Near to them, on the East, is the Island *Gilolo*, by the Portuguese call'd *Batochina de Moro*, and by the *Moluccos*, *Alenacora*. Among all the others lying about them, call'd also *Moluccos*, as we say the *Cunaries*, the *Terceras*, or the *Oreades*, these are the most Remarkable, for their great Plenty of Spices: The Names of them, beginning with the Northernmost, are, *Ternate*, *Tyhora*, *Motel*, *Machian*, and *Bachian*; by the ancient Heathens call'd, *Cape*, *Duco*, *Moutil*, *Mura*, and *Segue*. This last, which is *Bachian*, is divided into many Islands, separated from one another by little Channels, Navigable only in small Vessels; for which reason, as also because it is under one Sovereign, it has but one Name, and all the *Molucco* Islands are Subject to three Kings. They are divided by small Arms of the Sea, and some Desert little Islands, as also by their Antient Enmity. The Coast both near the Shore, and farther off at Sea, full of Dangerous Shoals; among which there are some Inlets, where the Ships Ride in Safety. The Soil of them all is generally Dry and Spungy, sucking up all the Water, tho' the Rains never so much, and in many Places the Brooks that run down from the Mountains do not reach the Sea. According to that grave Historian *John de Barros*, these Islands afford an ill Prospect, and are no way pleasant to behold; because the Sun being always so near them, sometimes passing over towards the Northern, and some times towards the Southern Solstice, the natural Damp of the Earth fills them so full of Trees, and Plants,

Plants, that it thickens the Air, and hinders the Sight; for by reason of the Earthy Vapours, the Trees are never naked of Leaves; but before one falls another has sprung out; and the same is among Herbs. Others affirm, they are Pleasant to look to, but not Healthy, especially for Strangers, who are all subject to the Disease call'd *Berber*, which is common in that Country. This Malady swells the Body, and disables the Limbs, but is cur'd with Cloves, the Wine of the *Philippine* Islands, drank with Ginger, and the use of a certain Herb, known to the Natives; and the *Dutch* do it with the juyce of Lemmons, a Remedy found by their own Apprehension, and Experience.

Providence has stor'd these Spice-Islands with *Bananas*, *Coco-Nuts*, *Product of Oranges*, *Lemmons*, *Lignum-Aloes*, *Sanders*, *Cinnamon*, *Mace*, *Mastick-Trees*, the *Mot* but above all, with abundance of *Cloves*, and other Plants; all of them valuable for their Fruit, or delightful for their Ornaments: They have neither

*Wheat* nor *Rice*; but Nature gave them Industry, and Matter to supply this Defect. They beat a sort of Tree, like the *Wild-Palm*, with Mallets made of strong Canes; and those dry Trunks, so batter'd, yield an extraordinary white Flower, coming from the bruiz'd Pith; which they mould up in square *Pipkins*, and this is the *Sagu*, or *Landen*, so made into square Loaves, like the *Castile Sape*. This Plant is about Fifteen Foot high, and from the Top of it sprout out some Branches, like those which produce the *Tamawinds*. These bear a Fruit like the *Cypress-Nuts*, in which there are certain fine Hairs, which if they touch a Man's Flesh, burn it. From the tender Branches of the same Plant cut, flows the Liquor which serves them for Drink, putting the Ends of the said Branches to cut into narrow Mouth'd Vessels, which are fill'd in a Night, and the Liquor so gather'd, is like Milk Whipped, and Frothy, which they call *Zuac*. When Drank new, it is Sweet and very Fat'ning; boil'd like new Wine it tastes like Wine, and after grows sharp as Vinegar. The same Advantage they reap from two other Plants call'd *Nipo*, and *Coco*; the last of them yields also *Oyl*, *Boards*, and *Timber* to build Houses. They also Drink another pleasant Liquor, which Nature has shut up in the Hollow of the Canes they call *Ramboco*, so large that the Knots are a Yard a sunder. They abound in *Flesh*; but the People are more affect'd to *Fish*; notwithstanding *Hugo*, the *Dutchman*, says they want both. Providence afforded them no Mines, either of *Gold*, or *Silver*; whether it was a Punishment, or Mercy we do not decide. Neither have they found any, of other less precious Metals; but not far from them is *Lambuco*, an Island abounding in Iron and Steel; whence, and from the Mines of *Sula* and *Rutva*, the People of the *Maluccs* bring them, to make their *Caampilanes*, which are sharp heavy *Cymiter*s, and their *Giffes*, being small *Daggers*. The *Portugus*s and *Dutch* have now furnish'd those Islands with small *Fire-Arms*, and *Cannon* of all sorts known among us.

*Ternate* is the Capital City, and Court of that King, near to which a dreadful burning Mountain Flames out, about the Equinoxes, because at those Times the Winds blow, which kindle that natural Fire, on the Matter that has fed it so many Ages. The Top of the Mountain, which exhales it, is cold, and not cover'd with Ashes, but with a sort of light cloddy Earth, little different from the *Basie-Stone* burnt in our Fiery Mountains.

Descending

A burning Mountain in Ternate.



Descending thence to the Foot of the Hill, which stretches out like a Pyramid, down to the Plain; it is all uncooth, being thick with Trees, whose Verdure is spar'd by the Flames, and the very Fire, Waters and Moistens them with Brooks, which it draws together in the Hollow of the Mountain, and forces it to Sweat, and pour out.

*People of Ternate.*

The Natives Differ from one another, as it were through a Miraculous Bounty of Nature; for it has made the Women Fair and Beautiful, and the Men, of a darker Colour than a Quince; their Hair lank, and many anoint it with sweet Oyls. Their Eyes are large, the Eyebrows long, which, and their Eye-lashes, they colour Black. Of Body they are Strong, much addicted to War, and sloathful for all other Employments. They are long Liv'd; grow grey earlie; and are as Active by Sea as by Land; Officious, and Courteous to Strangers; but when they grow Familiar, Importunate, and Troublesome in their Requests; in their Dealings, all bent upon Interest; Jealous, Fraudulent, and False. They are Poor, and therefore Proud; and to name many Vices in one, Ungrateful.

*Religion, Manners, Laws.*

The *Chineses* possess'd themselves of these Islands, when they subdu'd all those Eastern Parts; and after them the *Javeneses*, and the *Malayes*, and lastly the *Persians*, and *Arabs*; which last, together with their Trade, introduc'd the *Mahometan* Superstition among the Worship of their Gods; from whom some Families boasted they were descended. Their Laws are Barbarous: They have no limited Number of Wives. The King's chief Wife, call'd in their Language *Putriz*, enables and gives the Right of Succession to which her Sons are prefer'd, tho' younger than those by other Mothers. Theft is not pardon'd, tho' never so inconsiderable; but *Adultery* easily. When the Dawn appears, Officers appointed by Law for that purpose, beat a sort of broad, flat Tabors about the Streets, to awake Marry'd People, who they think deserves this Care from the Government, on account of Procreation. Most Crimes are punish'd with Death; in other Respects they Obey the Will, or Tyranny of the Conqueror.

*Their Habit.*

The Men, on their Heads, wear *Turkish* Turbants of several Colours, with abundance of Feathers on them. The King's ends above like a Miter, and serves instead of a Crown. For their other Garb they all wear Waste-coats, which they call *Cbeninas*, and Blew, Crimson, Green, and Purple Breeches. Of the same they make their Cloaks, or Mantles, which are short, Soldier-like, thrown over, or knotted on the Shoulder, after the Ancient *Roman* manner, known by the written Descriptions, Statues, and other Monuments of those Times. The Women are Proud of their Hair; sometimes they spread, and sometimes they plat it, sticking abundance of Flowers among the Ribbons, which hold it together; so that in their Dress, they are not encumber'd with loose Vels, Plumes, or Feathers. All that variety adorns them without Art; they wear *Bracelets*, *Pendants*, and *Necklaces* of *Diamonds* and *Rubies*, and great Strings of *Pearls*, which are not forbid even the meanest, no more than Silks, wherein the Women particularly are Clad after the *Persian* and *Turkish* Fashion; and all this costly Attire is the Product of the Neighbouring Lands and Seas. Both Men and Women in their Habit show their natural Haughtiness.

*Language.*

The variety of Languages among them is great, for sometimes one Town does not understand the People of the next; the *Malays* Tongue is most us'd,



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us'd, as easiest to pronounce. This Diversity of Languages shows, that those Islands were Peopled by several Nations. In those Parts all Antiquity, and the Art of Navigation are ascrib'd to the *Chineses*. Some affirm; That the People of the *Molucco* Islands are Descended from the *Faos*, who settled there, being invited by the Fragrancy of the Spice. They loaded their Vessels with Cloves, till then unknown, and holding on that Trade, carry'd it to the Gulphs of *Arabia*, and *Persia*. They Sail'd about all those Countries, transporting Silks, and Porcelance, the Product, and Manufacture of *China*. The Cloves were by the *Persians*, and *Arabs* transmitted to the *Greeks*, and *Romans*. Some *Roman* Emperors had a design of Conquering the East, till they should come to the Spicy Countries; so covetous were they of that Commodity; and believing they all came from *China*, call'd all those People *Chineses*. The *Spaniards* formerly brought them among other Goods from the *Red-Sea*. The Kings of *Egypt* for some time possess'd themselves of all the Spice, which they Transmitted from the Hands of the *Asiatics* into *Europe*. This the *Romans* continu'd, when they reduc'd *Egypt* into the Form of a Province. Long after, the *Genoeses*, Transferring the Trade to *Theodosia*, now *Cassa*, handed them about to all Parts; and there the *Venetians*, and other Trading Nations, had their Consuls, and Factors. They afterwards were convey'd over the *Caspian* Sea and *Trabisond*; but this Trade fell with the Eastern Empire; and then the *Turks* carry'd them in Caravans of Camels, and Dromedaries to *Berytus*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and several Ports on the *Mediterranean*. The Sultans of *Egypt* brought them back to the *Red-Sea*, and thence to *Alexandria*, down the *Nile*. The *Portugueses* having Conquer'd the *East-Indies*, took them from *Egypt*, and brought them in their Fleets by the Cape of *Good Hope*, sinking and taking all Ships that attempted to carry any to *Grand Cayro*. For that purpose they kept Squadrons on the Coasts of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and at *Cape Guardafu*. By this means the Trade of *Egypt* was suppress'd, and all the Spice brought on the Kings account to *India*, and thence taking a prodigious compass, to *Lisbon*. He who is Master at Sea will be possess'd of this Wealth; by which, and other Commodities, we see that is made good, which some write *Themistocles* was wont to say, *That he has all things who has the Sea*.

How  
Cloves  
were  
brought  
into  
Eu-  
rope.

The Kings, *Boleyse*, of *Ternate*, and *Almanzor*, of *Tydore*, contended about Entertaining *Serrano*, and each of them courted him to build a Fort in his Island. It is well worth Observation, To see how eagerly these Kings sought after, and begg'd for that which they were soon after to be averse to. They writ about it to the King of *Portugal*; but *Antony de Miranda* coming to the *Moluccos*, besides a wooden Fort, or House he built at *Talangane*, erected another at *Machian*, an Island belonging to the two Kings, by which means he satisfy'd the Request of both. Soon after *Cachil Laudin*, King of *Bachian*, made Application to *Don Trifstan de Menezes*, on the same account. *Don Trifstan* was come to the *Moluccos* to Load Spice, and with a design to carry away *Francis Serrano*, and to induce *Boleyse* to consent to it, he perswaded him, it was requisite that *Serrano* should go to *Portugal*, to prevail upon King *Emanuel* to order the Fort he desir'd, to be built upon *Ternate*, and not elsewhere. *Boleyse* approv'd of his design, and to that end, sent *Cachilato*, as his Embassador, with

C

Serrano.

*Serrano*. *Don Tristan* set out, and his Ships being dispers'd in a Storm, was oblig'd to return to the *Moluccos*, and to Winter in the Wooden House above mention'd; but as soon as the *Monson* blew, he put to Sea again, and touching at *Bachian* was inform'd, That they had kill'd some *Portugueses*, of *Simon Correa's* Vessel in that Island. This troubled him, but he dissembled it, and proceeding on his Voyage, return'd to *Malaca*, by the way of *Ambogna*.

*Brito at  
the Mo-  
lucco's.*

*Antony de Brito*, appointed by the Governour of *India* to succeed *Serrano* in that Post, Sail'd from *Cape Sincapura*, through the Streights of *Sabaw*, with 300 Men, and some experienc'd Commanders. He touch'd at *Tuban*, a City in the Island of *Java*, and went over to another, call'd *Agazin*, a Mart in those Parts, opposite to the Island *Madura*. Its nearness inviting him, he sent a Roving Vessel thither to get some Information what Course he was to Steer. Seventeen Men there were in the Vessel Landed on the Coast, and went up along the side of a River, cover'd with beautiful Trees, whose Fruit deceiv'd the Sailers; for they attracted with the pleasant sight, and unexpected satisfaction, forgot to secure their Vessel. The Natives observing the Opportunity, first took the Vessel; and then all the Men, whose Ransom prov'd afterwards difficult, tho' the Lord of the City favour'd it. *Brito* sail'd directly for the *Moluccos*, and touching at *Bachian*, sent *Simon de Abreu* in all haste to burn a Village, and kill all the Inhabitants, in Revenge for *Simon Correa's* Companions slain there; that King *Laudin* might understand, they should not escape unpunish'd, who wrong'd the *Portuguese*, and that since his Island was the first that took up Arms against them, it should also be the first that felt their Vengeance. He executed his severity without any Loss, tho' that King did not forget the Obligation he laid on him. *Brito* went on to *Tydore*, and was Inform'd by *Almanzor* of the Disorders there were at *Ternate*, because *Boleyse* was dead, and it was suppos'd he had been Poyson'd. He being near his Death order'd, That during the Minority of his eldest Son *Cachil Bohat*, or *Boyano*, the Queen his Wife, who was Daughter to the King of *Tydore*, should Govern; and that *Cachil Daroes*, Natural Son to the said *Boleyse*, should Act jointly with her. The Queen who was Crafty, suspecting that her Father *Almanzor* might under that colour aim at some Advantage, to the Detriment of her Son, call'd her Subjects together and told them, That it was enough for her to take care of her Sons Education; and therefore she laid the greatest streſs of Government on *Cachil Daroes*.

*King of  
Ternate  
Died.*

*A Fort  
Built at  
Ternate.*

The King, and the Governour *Daroes*, expected the Commander *Antony Brito*, as the Kingdoms, and the young Kings Protector. They went out to meet him in a Fleet of *Carcoas*, with the Noise of that Barbarous Musick of *Bras* *Bafons*, and *Tabors*. He Landed, shewing State, and appearing worthy of that Applause; visited the Queen, the King, and his Brothers; and after the Ceremony of Condoling the Death of *Boleyse*, ordering Affairs in Conjunction with *Daroes*, he approv'd of that Form of Government, and upon all occasions Defended his Province against that of *Tydore*. To do this with the greatest Security, he pitch'd upon a proper spot of Ground, according to the Rules of Fortification, which were not then very perfect, no more than Military Discipline. The Foundation being dug, *Brito*, in the presence of the King, and all the People, laid the first Stone of the new Fort, with his own Hand. This happen'd on Midsummer Day, and there-  
fore

fore he gave the Fort the Name of *St. John Baptist*; and tho' it was built for the Defence of *Ternate*, yet in *Brito's* mind it was Dedicated to the service of the Gospel, and its Ministers. He us'd endeavours to send away the *Caciz* he found there spreading of *Mabomet's* false Doctrine, as an Obstacle to the True; but the War which is there always settled and natural against *Tydore*, obstructed these Designs; tho' at the same time the Troubles of those two Revengeful Nations increas'd the Revenues of *Portugal*, by contributing of their Spice; and the desire of Superiority brought them into Subjection. However, in *Portugal* *Brito* had a Successor appointed him, and he was inform'd, That the other was already sailing for the *Moluccos*; and there was need enough of them both, and of doubling their Forces; because *Spain* still insisted upon taking those Countries as its Right, and *Brito* began to be hated, on account of his offering Violence to the Royal Family.

At the same time *Magellan* having Sail'd 600 Leagues towards *Malaca*, was in certain Islands, whence he corresponded with *Serrano*; who having thriv'd so well in *Ternate*, with *Boleyse*, sent his Friend word what Kindness, and Wealth he had receiv'd from him; advising him to return to his Company. *Magellan* consenting, resolv'd to go to the *Moluccos*; but in case his Services were not Rewarded in *Portugal*, as he expected, he would take the way directly for *Ternate*, under whose King *Serrano* grew so Rich in Nine Years. He consider'd, that since the *Moluccos* were 600 Leagues East from *Malaca*, which make 30 Degrees, little more or less, they were out of the *Portuguese* Limits; according to the ancient Sea Chart. Returning to *Portugal*, he found no Favour, but thought himself wrong'd, and resenting it, went away into *Castile*, carrying with him a Planisphere, drawn by *Peter Reynel*; by which, and the Correspondence he had held with *Serrano*, he perswaded the Emperor, *Charls V.* that the *Molucco* Islands belong'd to him. It is reported, That he Confirm'd his Opinion with Writings, and the Authority of *Ruy Faleyro*, a *Portuguese* Judiciary Astrologer, and much more with *Serrano's*.

*Magellan goes over to Spain.*

Hereupon the Emperor gave him the Command of a Squadron, with which he sail'd from *Sanluar*, on the 21<sup>st</sup>. of *September*, 1519. He stay'd four days at the *Canaries*, where a Caravel overtook him, with private Intelligence, that his Captains went with a Design not to Obey him, particularly *John Cartagená*, who had the same Commission as *Magellan*. He bravely seem'd to take no notice, and sailing away with a fair Wind, being pass'd *Rio de Janeiro*, in the Province of *Santa Cruz*, commonly call'd *Brazil*, the Sea growing very cold, and much more the *River of Plate*, which is in 35 Degrees of South Latitude, the Captains question'd him about the Voyage, since they could not find the Cape, or Streight, they went in search of. He answer'd, as to Men that were entirely Subordinate to his Direction and Authority, *That they must go on, for he knew what he was about, and the Coasts of Norway and Ireland were in a greater Latitude, and yet Ships sail'd along them.* These Contentions lasted almost all the Voyage, and increas'd with the cold and dreadful Winds, and the hideous sight of the Mountains of Snow and Ice, grown old, which they met in the Latitude of 52 and 53 Degrees. They magnify'd these Difficulties, alledging, That it requir'd six, or seven Months to come from *Castile*,

*Sets out on his Discovery.*

cross the Line, and run all along the Coast of *Brazil*, through such diversity of Climates, in each of which the Weather vary'd. That this was throwing away Men and Ships, which were more valuable than all the Cloves in the *Molucco* Islands.

The Astrologer, *Ruy Faleyro*, being Distracted, was left in the Mad-House at *Sevil*; and in his Place went *Andrew de San Martin*, to whom *Magellan* gave Ear, as to what he said of the Weather; but not in other Cases, as some lay to his Charge, and with such Moderation and Integrity, as becomes Christian Piety. Nor is it to be believ'd, That *Magellan* should consult such a Deceitful a Science as Judiciary Astrology, upon such difficult Points, or should prefer it before Astronomy, amidst such dreadful Dangers. The Hardships became intollerable; and Discord so far prevail'd with the Captains, *John de Cartagena*, *Gaspar Quesada*, and *Lewis de Mendoza*, that they resolv'd either to Kill, or Secure *Magellan*. This Conspiracy coming to his Ears, as he lay at the Mouth of the River of *St. Julian*, having contriv'd what was to be done, as *John de Barros* writes, he caus'd *Lewis de Mendoza* to be Stab'd, which was done by *Gonzalo de Espinosa*. Next *Gaspar de Quesada* was Quarter'd Alive; and a Servant of his, who was concern'd, had his Pardon. *Cartagena* he condemn'd to a lingering Death, leaving him in that Desert Country, with a Clergy Man, guilty of the same Crime, which was High Treason against their King. So say the *Portuguese* Histories; but the *Spanish* inform us, That they were privately proceeded against, and the Judgment was Read to them. This done he made some Speeches to Justify the Fact, and Comfort his Companions. *Cartagena*, and the Clergy-Man, who were left with some Provisions, got away a few days after, in one of the Ships of the same Squadron, which return'd to *Spain*. *Magellan* overcoming incredible Difficulties, found the Streight, and Passage, which makes the Communication between the two Seas, and preserves his Name to this Day. He there took Giants above fifteen Spans high, who wanting raw Flesh, which they us'd to feed on, soon Dy'd; then he pass'd the Streight successfully. But tho' he got under the Equinoctial, either by reason of the Currents, or the Faultiness of the Sea Charts, he Sail'd round about, and almost in sight of the *Molucco* Islands, yet could never come at them. He Touch'd at others, where he was oblig'd to Fight; and went on to those of *Zebu*, or the *Manilas*. At this same time his Friend *Serrano* was sailing for *India*, and tho' it happen'd in several Places, yet they both Dy'd on the same Day, and much after the same Manner.

It would be superfluous to dilate upon the Story of *Magellan*, his tedious Navigation, and the many Difficulties he met with, before and after he pass'd through his Streight into the *Pacifick*, or *South-Sea*; his Arrival at the Island of *Zebu*, and perswading the Idolatrous King to embrace the Christian Faith, and the Battles he fought on his account, with his Enemies; for besides that these things are Related by very good Authors who Treat of the Discovery of the *Molucco* Islands, which was the main Object of his desperate Undertaking, we must be brief in repeating them, to show how eager several Princes, and Nations were for these Islands, and the Notion they had of what great Consequence they would be to them.

The King of *Zebu* was Baptiz'd, rather to make his Advantage of the

*Spanish*

He discovers the Streight of his Name.

*Spanish Arms*, than out of any Zeal, or that he knew the Faith he Embrac'd. He took the Name of *Ferdinand* in Baptism, to flatter his Godfather, who was *Ferdinand Magalhaens*, himself. After obtaining several Victories by his Assistance, thinking he could shake off the second Yoke he expected those Strangers might lay on him, he turn'd against them. He contriv'd an Entertainment, in Honour of *Magellan* and Thirty five *Spaniards* being at it, he fell upon them at a time appointed, with a Multitude of Barbarians, and confounding the Feast, murder'd his Guests, who handled their Arms to defend themselves, which only serv'd to render their Deaths more Honourable. The rest of the *Spaniards*, who escap'd because they were at Sea, for their better Government under that Misfortune, presently chose *Barbosa*, a Kinsman of *Magalhaens*, for their General, and *Lewis Alfonso*, a Portuguese to be Captain of the Ship, call'd the *Victory*. The perfidious King, thinking to conceal his Treachery and Apostacy, as if it were possible to keep it secret, sent to invite *Barbosa*, saying he would deliver him the Jewel he had promis'd for the King of *Spain*. *John Serrano*, thinking it a Rashness, to trust a Man again, whose Hands were still Bloody with the late Execution, dissuaded *Barbosa* from accepting of the Invitation; but was not regarded. *Barbosa* went with the other Guests, and *Serrano* himself, who, to show it was not Fear that mov'd him to give such Advice, was the first that got into the Boat. They were conducted into a Wood of *Palm-Trees*, where the King expected them, with a small Retinue, the Tables being spread in the Shade, amidst the Musick of Bag-Pipes. When they were seated, and began to Eat, a great number of Archers that lay in Ambush, rush'd out, and shot our Men. They saved *Serrano*, whom they lov'd, not out of Kindness, for they show'd him bound to those that were at Sea, demanding for his Ransom, two Brass Guns, and then he told them, the Slaughter that had been made. Our Men, not trusting to them, any longer, set Sail, and did not only see the *Indians* carry *Serrano* back to their Town, but soon after heard mighty Shouts in it; and it was afterwards known that they gave them when they killed *Serrano*, and ran to throw down a great Cross, set up before the New-Church, which they could not perform. The *Spaniards* wanting Men, burnt the Ships, call'd the *Conception*, and chose *John Caravallo* for their General, and *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, Captain of the Ship the *Victory*. They came to *Borneo*, on the Coast whereof they found those Peoples Fleet of *Carcoas*, Painted, and the Prows of them like Serpents Heads gilt.

The Soldiers appear'd well Arm'd, who having spy'd our Ship, acquainted their King with it. He order'd 2000 of his Guard to go out, and receive them, before they reach'd the City. These Men came brandishing their Bows and poison'd Arrows, Trunks, Cymitars, and Shields, and wore Breast-plates made of *Tortois* Shells, and encompass'd an Arm'd Elephant, on whose Back there was a wooden Castle. When the *Spaniards* came up the Elephant stoop'd down, and six arm'd Men coming out of the Castle, put *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, who was then General, into it. Thus attended, he went to Visit the King, in whose Presence his Secretary spoke to him through a Trunk, and *Espinosa* gave him an Account of the King of *Zebu's* Perfidiousness. All condol'd the Accident, and our Men taking Leave Sail'd away for the *Molucco* Islands, being reliev'd with what they wanted, and furnish'd with able Pilots.

He is Murder'd with others.

Soldiers of Borneo, and Reception of Spaniards.

Not.



Not far from *Borneo*, they met 150 Sail, whereof they took two *Junks*, Spaniards in which they found an Hundred Men, five Women, a Son of the King of *Luzon*, and an Infant two Months Old. This they thought would be a sufficient Ransom to recover their Companions; so they let go the Prince as Tydore. upon his Parole, he promising to restore them the Captive Spaniards. They had some Storms; but arriv'd at *Tydore*, on the 8th of *November 1522*. When *Almanzor* heard the salute of the Canon, he sent to enquire what People they were, and presently after he came to our Ships in a little Boat. His Shirt appear'd woven with Gold and Silk, a white Cloth which trail'd being girt over it. About his Head a fine Veil of several Colours, made like a *Persian Miter*: Being Aboard the Commodore, the Relations of that Voyage say, he stopp'd his Nose with his Fingers, either at the Smell of our Meat, or of the Ship. *Mahometanism* was newly come into his Island, and most of his Subjects, especially those Inhabiting the Mountains, ador'd Idols. He bid our Men wellcome, gave them good Words, and afterwards was as kind in his Actions; and being inform'd of their past Sufferings, gave them leave to load Cloves. They presented him with a Chair of *Crimson Velvet*, a Robe of *Yellow Velvet*, a great Loose Coat of false Cloth of Gold, a piece of *Yellow Damask*, four Yards of *Scarlet Cloth*; *Handkercheifs*, and *Towles*, wrought with *Silk*, and *Gold*; *Drinking-Glaffes*, *Glass Beads*, *Looking-Glaffes*, *Knives*, *Scizers*, and *Combs*. They gave his Son another parcel of Gifts, and a Cap, and did the like by his *Cachiles* and *Sangiacks*. When they ask'd the Kings leave in the Emperors Name to Trade, he granted it, adding they should kill any that offer'd to hinder them. He seriously view'd his Majesty's Picture and Arms on the Standard, and desired to see our Coin. And pretending to be an *Astrologer*, or *Soothfayer*, or as others say, having Dreamt, or Guess'd it, or being told it by *Chinese Priests*, he said, *He knew the Christians were to come to his Lands for Spice; and desired that they would not leave him.* They treated about an Alliance, and when they were agreed, two *Tydores* brought something in their Hands to the Ships, which they afterwards understood was the *Alcoran*, tho' at first they did not, because cover'd with *Silks*, and *Strings*. *Almanzor* lay'd his Hands on it, and then on his Head, and Breast; and this was the Ceremony of his Swearing Friendship, and Fealty to the Crown of *Cassile*, and that he would allow them Cloves, and all Commerce for ever. Then the General *Espinosa*, in the Emperor's Name, before an Image of the blessed Virgin, swore to protect them both in Peace and War, and presented King *Almanzor* with *Thirty Indians* he had taken Prisoners. Soon after, as some Authors affirm, *Coral*, Prince of *Ternate*, Nephew to *Almanzor*, came to *Tydore* to swear Fealty in like manner, as did *Luzuf*, King of *Gilolo*, of whom it is Written, That he had Six Hundred Sons, and that *Almanzor* had Two Hundred Wives. These Kings Writ to the Emperor; ratifying their Fealty, and *Sebastian del Cano* sail'd away in the Ship, the *Victory*, by the way the *Portugueses* use, with the Letters and Instruments; the General *Espinosa* returning towards *Panama*, for *Cassilla del Oro* on the Continent of *America*, to pass thence to *Spain*.

Ally with  
that King.

At this time the new Governor, *Don Garcia Henriquez*, was under Sail, to succeed *Antony Brito*, and being come to *Banda*, waited for the *Monson* to

to carry him to *Ternate*. *Monfon* is the Name by which the *Portuguese* call the Wind, which blows six Months to carry them to *India*, and then six Months again to bring them back. There he furnished himself with all Necessaries for the Fort built by *Brito*. He had need so to do, for he received Advice, That *Spanish* Ships were sailing thro' the Bays, and openest Parts of the *Archipelago*. He sent to discover them, by the Industry of his Soldiers, and being receiv'd at *Ternate*, view'd the Fort, and observ'd the posture of the Government. He propos'd a Peace with *Cachil Almanzor*, King of *Tydore*. We shall have frequent Occasion to repeat these Words *Cachil* and *Sangiack*. *Cachil* is perhaps deriv'd from *Katil*, which in *Ara- vick* is the same as among us, a Valiant Soldier. In the *Molucco* Islands they Honour their Nobility with this Title, which is something more than *Don* in *Spain*. The Title of *Sangiack*, which answers to that of Duke, or Earl, might come from *Senchaq*; which in the *Turkish* Language, imports a Commander: To conclude this Peace, he thought it convenient to secure the Royal Family; which he accordingly executed, and though he colour'd it with fair Pretexts, they plainly perceived this was an Introduction towards Oppressing them, and show'd a mistrust. We may safely affirm, This was the first Distaste which, as being a notorious Wrong, disturb'd that Nation, and from that time they grew Cold, and jealous, thinking themselves oblig'd to seek Revenge; and this Action was the occasion of all the ensuing Slaughters, as we often see a great Fire rise from one small Spark.

*Monfon,*  
*what it is.*

*Cachil and*  
*Sangiack,*  
*their sig-*  
*nifications.*

*Portugue-*  
*ses, why*  
*hated.*

*Cachil Daroes* endeavour'd to obstruct this Peace, as Tutor, and Governour, fearing the Trade of Cloves would be transferr'd to *Tydore*, to the Destruction of the Infant King's Dominions. But notwithstanding this Opposition, the Peace was concluded, upon certain Conditions, as, That the King of *Tydore* should deliver a Ship he had taken, the *Canon*, and some runaway *Portuguese*. *Almanzor*, who stood in need of a Peace, and the Friendship of the *Portuguese*, to gain the Affection of *Cachil Daroes*, propos'd to Marry him to one of his Daughters. *Don Garcia* believing that this Union among them would produce that of their Forces, and less Submission to the *Portuguese's* Dominion, to obstruct this dangerous Alliance, sent to the King of *Tydore* to borrow the *Canon*. That King excus'd himself, alledging, that he had lent it a few days before, to the King of *Bachian*. *Cachil Daroes* complying with him, agreed to all the Articles. *Don Garcia* being dissatisfy'd, waited an opportunity to break all that Contrivance, and be Reveng'd. *Almanzor* fell Sick, and desir'd *Don Garcia* to send him a Physician; who sent an Apothecary, and he either not understanding Physick, or, as was believ'd, by order of *Don Garcia*, kill'd the Patient. Manifest tokens of Poyson afterwards appear'd. The Funeral was order'd, and at the same time the Commander, *Don Garcia*, appear'd in the Morning, in a parcel of *Carcoas*, before *Tydore*. He sent *Baldaya*, the Clerk of the Fort, to demand the *Canon*, threatening War, in case of denial. The Regents excusing themselves at that time, with just Reasons, and particularly the Funeral Solemnity, when they were in the Height of the Ceremony of Burying their King, they heard the Shouts of *Don Garcia's* Men giving the Assault. The *Portuguese* enter'd the City, firing the Houses, plundering and killing, which oblig'd the *Tydore's* to abandon their King's

*More of*  
*their Out-*  
*rages.*

King's Body, and fly to the Mountains. During their Absence, *Don Garcia* seized the Canon, and carry'd it away to *Ternate*. Those who had fled return'd, with some Apprehension, and found the City ruin'd hideous, and almost reduc'd to Ashes; but recovering from their Fright; they proclaim'd *Cachil Raxamira*, the Son of *Almanzor*, King. They committed the Education of him to *Cachil Rade*, his Kinsman, the War being declared between *Ternate* and the New King of *Tydore*, who was seasonably supported by the *Spaniards* that came to his Country.

Spanish  
Ship first  
round the  
World.

The Ship *Victory* returning into *Spain*, with the Letters from the King of the *Molucco* Islands, which the Emperor receiv'd, he was more fully convinc'd, that these Islands were within his Limits. Their Wealth, and his Right to them were so lively represented to him, that he order'd another Squadron of four Ships, two Galloons, and an Advice Boat to be made ready at *Corunna*, to be Commanded by the Commendary *Fray Garcia de Loaysa*, a Gentleman of *Biscay*, and under him, as Vice-Admiral, *Sebastian del Cano*, and the Captains *Don Rodrigo de Acunna*, *James de Vera*, &c. They Sail'd on the Eve of *St. James* the Apostle, 1525, touch'd at *Gomera*, and running along the Coast of *Guinea*, could not make *Cape St. Augustine* for want of Wind. By reason of this Calm, all agreeing to it, he alter'd his Course to the *Cape of Good Hope*. A *Portuguese* Ship guided them to the Island of *St. Matthew*, which is Desert, and full of lofty Orange Trees, where they saw Hens, the Track of wild Boars, and some *Portuguese* Words carv'd on Trees, which shew'd they had pass'd that way. The Ships leaving them, they pass'd *Cape St. Augustine*, making for the Streights of *Magellan*. In this Course they endur'd Storms, and Err'd in their Accounts. *Sebastian del Cano* struck on a Shoal, and was reliev'd. The Galloons and Advice Boat made *New Spain*: The Admiral, by the Advice of *Cano*, pass'd the Equinoctial, upon information, That in 12 Degrees of South Latitude, he would find certain Islands that were rich in Gold and Silver. All the Men sickn'd, the Admiral, and *Cano* dy'd, with some others. The remains of the Squadron choosing *Toribio de Salazar* for their Commander, return'd under the Line; but he dy'd at the Islands of *las Velas*, now call'd *Ladrones*. or of *Thieves*. After some Strife, *Martin Iniguez*, and *Ferdinand de Bustamante* succeeded him, and agree'd to Command by turns. Thus divided they came in sight of *Mindanao*, and thence to the *Molucco* Islands, took in some Refreshment at *Cope*, a Town of the Island *Moratay*, whence they went on to *Camaso*, of *Morotoja*, whose *Sangiack* is Subject to the King of *Tydore*.

Another  
Squadron  
passes Ma-  
gillans  
Streights.

War be-  
twixt Spa-  
niards and  
Portu-  
gueses.

They proceeded through the Gulph of *Camaso*, where they were Inform'd by the Ship of *Don George de Meneses*, who had been forc'd thither by the Currents, that the *Portugueses* held the Fort of *Ternate*, and *Don Garcia* made War on *Tydore*. *Iniguez*, and *Bustamante* offer'd them the Assistance of *Spain*, by which, coming so opportunely, they gain'd the Affections of them all, and furnished themselves with Necessaries. *Don Garcia* being already provided against the new Enemy, gather'd some *Carcoas*, and tho' he could not persuade *Daroes*, the Tutor, to go along with him, oppos'd the *Spaniards*. First the *Portuguese* sent an Admonition, wherein he offer'd them Peace, and Entertainment, as Subjects to the Emperor, who was so near Ally'd to the King of *Portugal*; protesting, That the *Molucco* Islands

Islands were within his Limits. This avail'd nothing, and *Daroes* Embarking in 12 *Carcoas*, with *Emanuel Falcao*, sent that Protestation in Writing, and in case it was Rejected, to declare War. The *Spanish* Commander receiv'd the Lawyer that was to make the Protestation, with much Civility and Respect, and answer'd, That the *Molucco* Islands belong'd to the Crown of *Castile*, and therefore he, in the Emperors Name, required *Don Garcia* not to break the Peace establish'd between their Kings. After all they were oblig'd to have recourse to Arms. *Iniguez* Landed on *Tydores* strengthen'd the Works, and furnish'd them with Canon. The *Portuguese* follow'd, and both sides Firing, there was a great Slaughter; but those of *Ternate* retir'd so disorderly, that the *Tydores* remain'd Victors. However neither the Protestations, nor the Wars ceas'd, the *Spaniards* urging *Magellan's* Discovery, and the *Portuguese*, *Serrano's*, and *Brito's*. The *Tydores* and *Spaniards* took some *Carcoas* belonging to *Gilolo*, in which they kill'd a *Portuguese*, and some *Ternates*, as also a *Champan* Laden with Provisions for *Talangame*.

Portuguese  
and Span-  
nish War.

In the *Philippine* Islands they give the Name of *Carcoas* to a sort of *Carcoas*, Vessels that use Oars, open, and bigger than our Barks, and are Steer'd by two Rudders, the one ahead, and the other astern. The *Ternates* call'd them *Janguas*, which differ from the *Carcoas* only in having two Half-Moons of Wood, Painted, or Guilt, rising above the Keel at the Head and Poop. About 100 Men Row in each of them, to the sound of a Tabor, and a Bell. They carry twenty Soldiers, and six Musketers. The rest are employ'd about four or five little Brass Guns. Both the Men that Row, and the Soldiers are Arm'd with *Campilans*, that is *Cymiters*, and *Shields*, and abundance of *Calabays*, and *Sazus*, being long Canes burnt in the Fire, to harden them; which they throw, without tacking, as the *Moors* do their Darts. Their way of Fighting is to come within Gun-shot, and as soon as they have Fir'd, both sides fly with all speed, till they have Loaded again, and then return to the same Post. They set three Men to each Gun, the one Levels, the other Charges, and the third Fires it. This is the way among the Islanders; for when they have to do with *Europeans*, our Example has Improv'd them in the Art of War. But in their *Carcoas* they are always expos'd to be kill'd by our Cannon, because they have no Fights to cover them; and the same is in the *Champanes*, which differ but little from the others.

Carcoas,  
what sort  
of Vessels,  
and others.

The Victory we have spoken of Encourag'd the *Tydores*, and with the Assistance of the *Spaniards*, they Arm'd, and falling upon *Gaca*, a Town of *Ternate*, Plunder'd and Burnt it; but at their Return, they met with *Martin Correa*, whom they Fought, plying their *Carcoas*, the Success remaining doubtful. Whilst this War was at the hottest, *Don George de Mendese* came from the *Papias* to *Ternate*, to whom *Don Garcia* presently resign'd the Post, tho' the Hostilities continu'd, with Burning and Slaughter on both sides, which it was expected would be greater when the *Portuguese* Succours came from *Malaca*, and the *Castilian* from *Spain*. The new *Portuguese* Commander in Chief, and *Martin Inniguez* came to a Conference, and with much Courtsey, and desire of Peace, concluded a Truce, which lasted not long, tho' not on account of the main cause.

D. George  
de Mene-  
ses at Ter-  
nate.

There were many Battles between the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Nations,

D

from

from *Osilo* and other adjacent Islands, about the Possession of the *Moluccas*, and they were under several Commanders, the Event whereof we shall see in its Place. Therefore, and because others have Treated of them Copeately, they shall be now pass'd by, that we may return to the Actions of those Kings, which ought to be distinctly deliver'd now at the Beginning, for the better Understanding of the Causes why they came to be Lost.

King of  
Tydore  
makes  
Peace.

The King of *Tydore* was less Supported by *Spain* than he had been before, and was therefore oblig'd to sue for Peace, laying some Burden of Tribute, on his own Revenue proceeding from the Cloves. He also promis'd never to admit of any *Spanish* Succours; besides some other Conditions, which put an end to the Wars for a time.

Daroes,  
and the  
Queen go-  
vern Ter-  
rate.

We have already observ'd, That *Cachil Boleffe*, King of *Ternate*, left three lawful Sons, viz. *Cachil Bayano*, *Cachil Dayalo*, and *Cachil Tabartja*. The Eldest of them was not above six Years of Age; besides whom there were seven Bastards, the Eldest of them, *Cachil Daroes*, was Governor of the Kingdom, in Conjunction with the Queen. When *Britta*, in the Year 1521, Built the Fort, to secure the Subjection of the Island, tho' he had another Pretence for it, he took the Infant King, and the Queen his Mother, into it. She generously resenting this Violence, as not able to endure, that they should oppose the course of her Government, which she manag'd, together with her Step-Son, loudly Complain'd, and Threatned, as a Queen, and as a Mother. She wanted no Conveniencies for the Education of the Children; but there being Wrong disguiz'd among all that seeming Kindness, neither her Family, nor the Nurse, nor the Perswasions of Great Persons, could appease her Anger. The Natives observ'd the Difference of the *Portuguese* Domination, and that since their building of that Fort, they us'd intolerable Rigor, and consequently began to grow cold in their Affection, and to slacken in their Respect; especially when they perceiv'd that *Britta's* Successor continu'd to keep the Royal Family under Oppression. The young King was bred up in the Fort, till he was of Age to enter upon the Government of his Kingdom; and being 18 years old, soon dy'd, not without the usual suspicion of Poison, but it was affirm'd to be given by private order of *Cachil Daroes*. O the wonderful Effects of the Desire of Rule!

Portuguese  
Insolent.

*Sultan Bayano* being Dead, order was taken that the People should immediately Swear *Cachil Dayalo*; but *Don George* found also means to get him into the Fort; the Mother demanding him, as fearing his Death, by the example of the Elder. *Don George* condescended, not so much in compliance to her Fears, as to oblige *Cachil Daroes*, with whose Government he was well satisfy'd; and it was he that had interven'd in, and advis'd that way of Breeding the Princes. Soon after there happen'd an Accident, which broke off their good Intelligence; for *Daroes* grew jealous of the Commander in chiefs Behaviour, observing him much to favour *Cachil Bayano*, a Man of note, whose Friendship he was suspicious of, and he with reason fear'd, that the Commander would in time value *Bayano* more than him. This well grounded Fear grew up in his Breast, till it turn'd to down right Hatred, and he contriv'd to kill *Don George*. The Design could not be carry'd on so private, as to be conceal'd from him, and he to disappoint it, retir'd into the Fort. *Daroes* puffed up with the Applause of the People, sent immediatly to require him to deliver up *Bayano*, to try him

They In-  
sult the  
Natives.

him upon some Complaints he had against him, being his Judge, as Governor, and oblig'd to do Justice. Don George was desirous to save *Cachil Bayaco*, and to that purpose assembled the *Alcayde*, and other Officers. Some said he ought to deliver him, others advis'd to appease *Daroes* by fair means, *Bayaco*, who hated him so mortally, that he wou'd chuse any sort of Death, rather than fall into his Hands, being lock'd up in a Room of the Fort, understood that his Case was doubtful, for they Coulyked without any great Privacy. This made him Resolve what to do, and going to a high Window, he threw himself out with such Fury, that he beat himself to Pieces. Don George was troubl'd at the Accident, and thought himself oblig'd to Revenge it; which he began upon finding a Sow kill'd, either to spight him, or because the Neighbours were *Mahometans*, and had done it as the graz'd, or went about the Courts of the Fort. This was a ridiculous Ocasion, but of Moment enough among those People; Enquiry was made who had kill'd her, and it appear'd, or Don George would have it, that the Fault belong'd to *Cachil Baydua*, a near Kinsman to *Cachil Daroes*, very Learned, and Zealous in the Law of *Mahomet*, as also a *Caciz*, or Priest, and of great Authority in the Kingdom. He was seiz'd by Don George, and carry'd into the Fort, without regard to the publick Peace. *Daroes*, in a great Consternation, went with the chief Men of the Kingdom, to desire he would release that Sacred Person. Whilst they were discoursing this Point, *Peter Fernandez*, a mean Fellow, Servant to the Commander in Chief, by his Masters Order, or of his own Accord, in the Presence of them all, went up to *Cachil Baydua*, and rubb'd his Mouth, and Face with a fat Collop of the same Sow, neither the Opposition he made, nor his Complaints to God, and the Commander in Chief availing him; but on the contrary, the *Portugueses* laugh'd out aloud, approving the Action by their Applause. *Daroes* on his part, cast himself on the Ground, and Weeping, prevail'd to have *Baydua* restor'd to him, whom, Don George being satisfy'd, or appeas'd, and taking Security, sent to his House. *Daroes* attended him, and all the Prime Men; and *Baydua*, by Reason it is an Abomination among them to touch Swines-Flesh, presently us'd their Purifications; and the more to express his Concern, voluntarily left the Island for some Years, and travel'd about all the others in the Neighbourhood, preaching, and magnifying the Affront offer'd to one of *Mahomet's* Priests, thus stirring up the Natives, and perswading them to Unite in Defence of their Honour.

*Rudensf.*

This Accident, which as a Disgrace to their Religion, exasperated the People, was seconded by another much worse, which quite render'd the *Portugueses* Odious. The contrary Winds kept back the Trading Galeon, that us'd to carry the Soldiers Pay, and their Wants increasing, they began to seek Relief, breaking into the Natives Shops, and Store-Houses, and taking away their Provisions, without Paying for them. *Daroes*, offended at it, order'd, That no Provisions should be brought into the City to sell, and that the Shops which dealt in them, should be shut up. This was accordingly done, and reduc'd those in the Fort to such Distress, that the Soldiers mutinying, rais'd at their own Commander, and the Governor of *India*, demanding Relief with their Arms in their Hands. Don George being hard press'd, and blaming the Avarice of his Country Men, sent some

*Portugueses become odious for Rapine, &c.*

*Carcoas* with Soldiers, under the Command of *Gomez Ariaz*, to barter Goods in the adjacent Islands for Provisions. They Landed on an Island near by, where, being desperate with Hunger, they Plunder'd the Town of *Tabona*, the Inhabitants whereof, no longer able to endure such Affronts, and Robberies, running to Arms, fell upon them, and kill'd the greatest Number, and most of the rest being Wounded, were Disarm'd. They embark'd for *Ternate*, where their Wounds and Nakedness spoke what had befallen them, as much as their Words. *Don George*, who, besides his being naturally Passionate, was now quite enrag'd, threaten'd *Daroes*, That if he did not deliver up the principal Actors in this Mischiefe, he would seek his Revenge other ways. He was obey'd, and tho' *Cachil Daroes* knew that all the Fault belong'd to the *Portugueses*, yet he deliver'd up the Governor of *Tabona*, and two other Chiet Men of the Place, to *Don George*, thinking he would be satisfy'd with keeping them Prisoners for some Days. As soon as they were brought before him, he order'd the Hands of the two to be cut off, and that they should be then set at liberty. The Governors Punishment was answerable to the Cruelty of him that was his Judge; they ty'd his Hands behind his Back, and exposing him on the Shore, set two fierce Woolf-Dogs upon him, he having no way to withstand their Fury, made several vain attempts to slip aside from them, and endeavour'd to defend himself with what little Power was left him in those Limbs that were not Bound. The Multitude with Horror beheld the Spectacle, touch'd with Compassion, and admiring the Inhumanity of the Punishment. The wretched Man attempted to Fly, but perceiving that the arm'd Soldiers, had shut up every way, on the Land side, he cast himself into the Sea, the only Refuge accidentally left him, to seek some uncertain Hope of Safety. However the Dogs being already blooded, left him not; but barking and howling, bit and tore him, tho' he still swam with his Legs. At last, being desperate, and almost in the last Agony, he took a horrid Resolution and fell upon those fierce Creatures with his Teeth; such was the Effect of Pain and Despair. Thus the unhappy Man took hold of one of the Dogs by the Ear, and holding fast, sunk with him to the Bottom. The like Barbarity had never before been seen in any of those Countries to which the *Portugueses* Traded; and by it they lost the Reputation they had before gain'd, to their great Applause, that they inflicted Punishments, as it were by Compulsion, and Oblig'd to it, and that with Mildness, and Compassion, to shew their Generosity.

Barbarous  
Cruelty.

Conspiracy  
to destroy  
the Portu-  
gueses.

This Action brought them into general Hatred, and all the People of the *Molucco* Islands being excited by *Cachil Daroes*, contriv'd to kill *Don George*, with all the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards*, and to deliver themselves from their Yoke. *Daroes* undertook to Unite all the Kings of those Islands in a League against the Christians; sent away trusty Persons to stir up the Confederates; and particularly to *Cachil Catabruno*, Governor of *Gilolo*, during that Kings Minority, advising him, at a Time appointed, to rise in Arms against the *Spaniards* inhabiting his Dominions, and then to kill the Infant King, and Usurp the Crown; for the compassing whereof he promis'd his Assistance, for they should both make that their common Cause, because he design'd the same Slaughter upon the *Portugueses*, and upon the Infant King *Sultan Dayalo*, whom he would Succeed in the Throne, and never submit

to.

to any Spanish Tyranny. At this time the Voice of the Gospel resounded in the Ears of the Barbarous Nations of the Archipelago, by the Preaching of the Religious Men of the Orders of St. Augustin, St. Dominick, and St. Francis, and of Father Francis Naverius, a Jesuit, and his Companions; Churches were built, and therefore God, who was taught by them, would not suffer the Ministers of the Gospel to be extirpated. Don George was inform'd of the Conspiracy, and the Preparations that were making to put it in Execution, which he kept to himself. Daroes, the better to dissemble it, never absented himself, but resorted to the Fort, and paid Visits to the Governour; sometimes when sent for by him, and others, of his own Accord. He sent one Day desiring he would come to him, and bring Cachil Tamarano, Admiral of the Island, and Cachil Boio, the chief Justice of the Kingdom, to treat about some important Affairs. Cachil Daroes knowing nothing of Don George's Design, took those two Cachils with him, and went away to the Fort. Don George receiv'd them courteously, and with a chearful Countenance; but being come into a Room where all Things were prepar'd for the Purpose, they were seiz'd and put to the Rack, on which they discover'd the Conspiracy. Immediately he pass'd Sentence upon them in Form, and at the same time caus'd a Scaffold to be erected, adjoining to the Fort, on the Outside, where the People were already gather'd in a Crowd. Then Cachil Daroes being brought out, and plac'd high on the Scaffold, a Cryer proclaim'd his Crimes, and the Penalty he was condemn'd to. His Head was cut off, and his Companions put to a less honourable Death; but what that was, no History or Relations inform us.

Daroes  
and others:  
put to  
Death.

The Queen and all the Natives, were so terrify'd by this Action, that they fled out of the City, to a craggy strong Mountain at the Town of Laruto: Thence the Queen sent to demand her Son, whom the Governour kept as a Prisoner; but he not answering her Letter, she was so offended at, and jealous of his Silence, that she caus'd Proclamation to be made, forbidding all the People of the Island, upon Pain of Death, to sell any Provisions, or other Necessaries, to the Portugueses. Her Orders were readily obey'd, and the Portugueses press'd by Hunger, found it a more powerful Enemy, than those they had wrong'd. Their Skins began to shrivel, they grew Lank and Weak, and must have perish'd, had not Gonzalo Pereyra arriv'd then with the Trading Galeon. Gonzalo Pereyra came from Malaca to succeed Don George de Meneses in the Post of Ternate; and improving the Opportunity, touch'd at Borneo, where he visited the King, with whom, the Spaniards not obstructing, he settled perpetual Peace and Amity; thence he set out immediately for Ternate, where he arriv'd in Safety. He presently took Possession of the Fort, and paid the weak Soldiers. The Queen sent to visit him, and to complain of Don George, and demand her Son Cachil Dayalo, which was her greatest Concern. Gonzalo Pereyra answer'd her generously, promis'd to do her Justice; and to begin, secur'd Don George in the Principal Tower, to appease the Queen, engaging his Word, That he would restore her Son, as soon as the Fort was in a good Posture. He sent to intreat her to return to the City, and former Amity; that Justice might be peaceably administer'd. She seeing some Effects of his Promise, in the Imprisonment of her

Natives  
fly, and  
streighten  
the Por-  
tugueses.

New Go-  
vernour.



her Enemy, and the Expectation of Releasing the King her Son, turn'd past Sorrow into Joy, return'd to Court, and *Gonzalo Peryna* reform'd Abuses, repair'd the Fort, and built Bastions of Square Stone, which till then had been unbew'd, the Queen furnishing Workmen and Materials. Still *Cachil Dayalo* was detain'd in the Fort, without being restor'd to his Liberty; and the Queen and People help'd to build the Fort, as the sure Means of obtaining their King's Liberty. *Gonzalo Peryna*, when he thought it a proper Time, resolv'd to execute some Orders he had brought from Goa, which were the same that had before endanger'd the Disturbance of those Kingdoms.

*Fresh Murders caus'd by the Governour.*

Some Governours, says the *Portuguese* Historian, *Cauto*, only study to enrich themselves, impoverishing the Provinces, and their King; for no Prince can be rich, if his Grandeur depends upon poor Subjects. The Governour now perceiving that all Things were quiet, and he had little or no Dependance on those People, made Proclamation, that none should buy Cloves in those Islands, but the King, his Master's Factors. At the same Time he order'd, that his Officers should enter the Houses of marry'd Men, which are the Richest, and take away all their Cloves; and this not only among the Natives, but in the Habitations, and Colonies of the *Portuguese*, paying for it after the Country Rate; and that they should break all their Weights, Scales and Measures, and other Implements of this Sort, all which he caus'd to be publickly burnt. The Island was again in an Uproar, and the *Portuguese* were for quitting it, because it was to no Purpose to live there, if they were depriv'd of that Trade. Most of the *Portuguese* repair'd to the House of *Ferdinand Lopez*, a Priest, who was the Bishop's Vicar in the Fort, and ought to have given them an Example of Modesty. There one *Vincent Fonseca*, a seditious Fellow, heading the Mutiniers, they resolv'd to require the Governour to permit them to live in their former Liberty; and in case he should not Consent, they would depart the Fort, and the Country, and go over to the *Spaniards*, or else to the *Mahometans*, and Idolaters Towns. Some there were, who boggled at the Crime of abandoning the Service of their King, together with the Fort; and voted it would be less Harm to procure the Governour's Death, by Means of the Natives. Whilst they were thus unresolv'd, the Governour sent to seize *Vincent de Fonseca*, for some disrespectful Words he had spoken upon this Occasion, to another Soldier who was viewing the Guards. The Multitude, who had already given themselves up to the Direction of *Fonseca*, were as much concern'd at his Imprisonment, as if every one of them had been put into Irons; and as generally in such Mutinies, they are not without some specious Pretence, tho' it be but superficial, many of the Seditious, being incens'd, and resolute, repair'd to the Queen's Palace, where they were easily admitted, and some of them to more Privacy with certain Counsellors of her's. There they represented the Hardship of depriving them of the Trade of Clove, without any Demerit on their Side. But, said they, they may as well deprive us of this common Air, of this Light, and of the Benefit of our Senses. Our Kings give no such Orders; but they proceed from the Avarice of the Governours and Commanders, who tyrannize over us, and this Man more than all his Predecessors, being come to destroy, that which he was sent to preserve. He

*Portuguese mutiny.*

He has no Design to restore your Majesty your Son; but on the contrary we are satisfy'd he contrives to destroy both the Son and the Mother. For he will secure, as soon as he has brought his Works to perfection, that he may not be again kept from Provisions. If you will stand up for your Country, and till the Commander, we shall not obstruct it, but on the contrary shall be as vigorous to act against him, as we are ready to promise it.

The Queen and her Councillors were well pleas'd, hoping by that means to get rid of Tyrants, as they call'd them, and therefore would not let slip so favourable an opportunity to compass their Ends. The Queen assembled the prime Men of the Island; represented to them the Condition it was in; put them in mind, how King *Boleyse* her Husband, protected the *Portugueses*, who came thither in Distress; how they had sworn Amity, and solemnly given their Hands upon it; the Honour and Kindness he show'd them; and that for their sakes he forfeited the good will of the Neighbouring Princes; that after he had receiv'd them, he maintain'd Wars, and sustain'd losses, even to the hazard of his life, to protect them; that he treated them as affectionately as if they had been his own Children; and how they, in return for his Entertainment and Favours, as soon as the Breath was out of his Body, presum'd, said she, to lay violent Hands on me; from whose Tyranny and Oppression I escaped, by absconding long among the Rocks, and Brambles. My Children, they snatch'd from their Nurses Breasts, to confine them in Prison, in their own Kingdom, and among their Subjects. When *Cachil Bayano* came to age to govern, they possess'd him. They now design after the same manner to destroy his Brother, a lawful King, as if he were some run-away Slave. See what regard a parcel of intruding Strangers have for your Fortunes, your Houses, your Daughters, and your Wives, in your own Country, and in my Presence. Any one of these things ought to be a sufficient motive to cast off the Yoke we laid upon our Necks through our own Credulity. What then will not they all require of us to do? But besides all this, what ought we not to do, seeing our Religion affronted? Our Temples polluted? Our Priests trampled on? And all our selves in general despis'd? Can you have a greater Testimony of the justice of your Cause, than to see the *Portugueses* themselves on your side? Do not let slip this Opportunity, my Friends, stand by them, since they promise to assist us. Deliver by their means your King, your Country, and your Religion; that all these may be afterwards rescu'd from them, and we may exclude such ungrateful Guests.

The Queen  
stirs up her  
People.

These and other Exhortations made by the Queen, as *Maseus* writes in his *East-India History*, were receiv'd with Abundance of Tears, and they all engag'd to put their helping hands to the execution of what had been concerted; and fix'd the day and hour. Great Dissimulation was us'd, and the Queen forwarded the work of the Fort with much application, without sparing any Cost, giving out, so as it might come to the Governour's Ears, That the King her Sons Liberty depended on the finishing of the Fort. This was the effect of Motherly Affection. The appointed Day being come, the Natives appear'd in Arms, just during the scorching Heat of the Noon-day; Some hid themselves in a Mosque, behind the Fort; others in a Wood, not far off, all of them ready to assault it, upon a Signal-given, they being to enter at a Breach, which was not yet made up. Some of.

His Death.

of the Arm'd Islanders slyly mixt themselves among the Masons, and Labourers, and among the King's Servants, who were going and coming with kind Messages between the Son and the Mother, and by this means convey'd him his Arms, and being us'd to talk to him freely at other times, they had then the Opportunity of acquainting him with the Design, and advising to be in a readines to fall on boldly in due time. Thence they went to the Governour's Apartment, where he was taking his Afternoons Nap in all possible Security, his whole Family being asleep. The *Ternates* burst the Doors open with their Shoulders, and rush'd upon the Governour, whom the noise had awak'd. He defended himself with his Sword and Buckler for a considerable space; but his Enemies being numerous, and all pressing forwards, they cut him in pieces. A Woman-slave of his hearing the Hubbub, shriek'd out, which with the other Noise brought the Islanders out of the Mosque, without expecting the Signal. They laid hold of a *Portuguese* they met, but he broke loose, and escap'd their Fury by flight. The Slave continu'd crying out, *Moors, Moors*. With this the Governour's Servants came running arm'd, and going up to the chief Tower, where their Master was wont to divert himself, found all the Murderers there, whom they laid hold of, and cast down headlong, and then shut the Gates of the Fort. Then they rang the Bell, the sound whereof, and their not hearing the Signal, discourag'd the *Ternates* who lay in Ambush, so that they slunk away into the City.

Fonseca made Governour.

The *Portugues* Conspirators went slyly dissembing into the Fort, and finding the Governour dead, requir'd the rest in his place to admit of the *Alcayde*, or Constable of the Fort, because the King of *Portugal* had so order'd. They refus'd him, and particularly the Vicar, who took upon him to head them all, prevail'd so far that they chose *Vincent de Fonseca* for their Governour, who immediately took Possession of the Fort, and beginning to go on in the Tyrannical Design of *Genzalo Pereyra*, left the Trade of Clove as it was before; but secur'd King *Dayalo*. No notice was taken of the Governour's Death, as being executed by the consent of them all. The Queen insisted to demand her Son, since she had furnish'd all Necessaries for that Work; *Vincent Fonseca* refer'd the Answer to the Marry'd Men. All those Nations are of opinion that the discreetest among them are the Marry'd Men, both on account of their Age, and as more faithful Councillors, because they have a greater interest in the publick Good, and therefore it is usual to refer to them all Debates and Answers in matters of Difficulty. They all voted, That the Queen should not have her Son deliver'd to her, because it was convenient to keep him as an Hostage, fearing the second part of what had been concerted, and that their Friendships would last no longer than till it could be executed. But to palliate the true cause of detaining him, they answered, That they must first acquaint the Governour of *India*. In the mean while the Mother did not cease to weep, and to intreat. She fed upon these Hopes, grounded on the Hatred the *Portugueses* still retain'd for *Pereyra*, and on the Generosity she had us'd in restoring the Trade of Clove, and other means. The most prevalent of these seem'd to be the gaining the affections of the Marry'd *Portugueses*, to whom that Affair was refer'd, and under-hand of *Vincent Fonseca* himself, by rich Presents, and extraordinary Gifts. But she was soon

soon undeceived, for *Fonseca* offered her such Reasons or Excuses, as proved his Tyrannical Design; alledging, that having already sent to consult the Governour of *India* about the King's Liberty, it was not in his power to come to any Resolution in that affair, till the Answer came from *Goa*, for they would cut off his Head, should he go about to act of himself. The Queen perceiving that neither Gifts, nor Intreaties would prevail to get her Son, she resolv'd to use Force.

She stir'd up all the Neighbouring Kingdoms against the *Portugueses*; and order'd the Provisions to be all remov'd, that none might come to the Fort, either by Sea or Land. Those within began to feel the want of all Necessaries, to such a degree, that they su'd to the Queen for Peace, which was concluded, and they gave up her Son, which was the only thing she aim'd at, without regarding the inconveniency of losing the Fort. The Queen having obtain'd the King's Liberty, granted the *Portugueses* all the Conditions they demanded, and was so thoroughly pleas'd that the Christians continu'd their Settlements and Colonies, and Trade, and Provisions were restor'd. The Queen put the Government into the hands of her Son, who at first shew'd some Severity and Harshness towards the prime Men, and discover'd some Weaknesses, which till then his Confinement had either conceal'd, or suppress'd. These things render'd him so odious, that the case was alter'd, and they would have been glad he had been Prisoner again. The Mother could not curb his ill Inclination, for the extravagant Youth's deprav'd Nature would not allow of it.

At this time three mean Fellows of the *Portugueses* Colony, went to those of the Natives to rob; besides which they ravish'd some Women. The Islanders would not bear with that Insolence; but those who had been wrong'd in revenge kill'd the Offenders. *Vincent de Fonseca* hearing of it, magnify'd the Heinousness of the Fact, without mentioning his Countrymen's Guilt, and order'd strict Enquiry to be made after the Slayers. What Care ought Princes to take to secure the Affection of their Subjects. The King was so hated, that certain Natives went to the Governour, and being conducted into a private part of the Fort, because they were Men of Quality, they assur'd him that the King had been the Occasion of the killing of those *Portugueses*, grounding the Accusation on their own Surmises, and aggravating the Offence with other Circumstances, in such manner, that had *Fonseca* lov'd the King, he could not but have believ'd them. He presently contriv'd to seize him; but being impatient, and despairing of securing him by Art, had recourse to Force. The King did the like, tho' feasible how little Assistance he could expect from his People, however he arm'd a few Vessels, and falling upon some Christian Towns, took several Prisoners. The Governour on the other Hand, without sparing *Ternate*, attacked what Towns he could, so that Cruelty and Rapine were again in use, even to assaulting of Cities, the very Sufferers approving of it, and pleas'd with their Losses, that so they might be reveng'd of their King. He fearing that the Hatred they bore him, might occasion his being seiz'd and deliver'd up to *Fonseca*, went over to *Tyadore*, where that King for the present entertain'd and assist'd him, as a Friend and Relation. The Governour sent with speed to call the King's younger Brother, named *Sultan Tabarija*, who was fled with some Malecontents, and with the consent of

*The Queen  
recovers  
her Son by  
force.*

*Portu-  
guese Rob-  
bers kill'd.*

*King of  
Ternate  
flies.*

Sultan Tabarija mad King. all the rest of the People, who were before no less dissatisfy'd, proclaim'd him King, with all the Forms and Ceremonies us'd in that case. Many approv'd of it, yet some were scandaliz'd. The same Division reign'd among the *Portugueses*, remembring the unjust Election of *Vincent de Fonsaca*, and that he was the first and main instrument of the Death of *Gonzalo Pereyra*. *Fonsaca* himself was not at Peace with his own Conscience; but so full of Apprehensions and Dread, that he was never unarm'd, disconsolate, melancholy, and attended by all those ill Symptoms, the Memory of Guilt produces in the Mind; and he could wish he were discharg'd of the Burden he had taken upon him. The new King *Tabarija* began his Reign shewing Kindness to all Men, and cherishing the *Portugueses*, which offended his absent Brother; and administer'd occasion to irritate the Kings of *Tydoie* and *Ternate* against him so hastily, that he immediately broke the Peace, and declar'd himself their Enemy.

Tristan de Atayde Governour of Ternate. At this time *Tristan de Atayde* came to *Ternate*, whose Presence brought all Things into better Form. He pleas'd the Queen, and commending *Tabarija's* Government, gain'd his Affection. Trade went on without any Obstruction. *Vincent de Fonsaca* imbarc'd for *India*, and was seiz'd by the Viceroy of *Goa*, for the heinous Crimes he had committed in the *Molucco* Islands, whence a full Account of them was sent with him; yet he was not punish'd, but liv'd quietly for the future. *Ternate* flourish'd under this mild Government; the King, his Subjects, and the *Portuguese* Officers being united; but all those Garrisons so remote from the Head, being Receptacles of seditious Persons, who are contriving Innovations to disturb the Peace, and thrive by Discord, there wanted not some Promoters of such Changes, who perverted *Tristan de Atayde*, and divested him of his former Mildness. About the beginning of his Government two *Carcoas* of Barbarians plunder'd and almost destroy'd the City *Momoya*, the Inhabitants whereof were Idolaters, in the Island *Moro*. The Lord of it a powerful *Sangiack*, and good Moral Man, tho' a Heathen, made his Escape. *Gonzalo Velloso*, a *Portuguese*, was then not far from his City, following his Trade, and going thither, upon his paying a Visit to the *Sangiack*, he told him the Havock that had been made, complaining of the dangerous Neighbourhood of the other Islanders, and asking his Advice, how he might be reveng'd and secur'd for the future. *Velloso*, God directing his Tongue, told him, That the surest way was to sue for Peace to the Commander in chief of the *Moluccos*, and entertain Amity with the *Portugueses*, for if his Enemies once saw he was supported by their Power, no King nor *Sangiack* would dare to offend him. He assur'd him that the King of *Portugal* sent them for that End, being oblig'd to put down Tyranny and Oppression; but that for the obtaining that benefit more fully, it was requisite he should become a Christian; for by that means he would save his Soul, and secure his Escape, which was the least important of the two. *Velloso* said so much to this Point, and the Spirit which directed, suggested such important Truths, that the *Sangiack* at first admiring them, approv'd and submitted to them, and grew very earnest to be admitted to Baptism. He desir'd *Gonzalo Velloso* to be assisting to him, and gathering some of his Family and Friends, they set out for *Ternate*, the *Sangiack* himself staying behind for their Answer. The Heathens came with *Vello-*

A *Sangiack* converted.

so to Ternate, where they were generously received, and entertain'd by *Tristan de Ataide*. Having heard what they came about, he put them all into the Christian Habit, appointing Clergy-men to instruct and Catechize them. Being thus prepar'd, they receiv'd Baptism with extraordinary satisfaction, the Commander in chief being their God-father. Then he commended the *Sangiack's* Resolution, shewing how advantageous it would be to him to become a Son of the Church, and reject the abominable and foul Ceremonies of Idolatry, in which he had liv'd. He sent him word, to appoint the Day and Place for being Baptiz'd, and he would see all perform'd as he should direct, for which Reason he left it to his Choice. The Messengers returning to *Momoya*, were not only proud of having embrac'd the Christian Faith, but of the good Usage they receiv'd from the Governour and other Christians, telling the *Sangiack* all that had happen'd, and the Answer they brought him. The *Sangiack*, led by his own inclination, and encourag'd by their Account, imbarc'd in some *Carcoas* with the greatest Splendor of Musick and Gayety he was able. Being come in Sight of Ternate, *Tristan de Ataide* went out to meet him with no less Pomp. He lodg'd and entertain'd him accordingly, and order'd a Learned and Religious Man to Catechize and instruct him. Some Days after when the Cathecumens were fitted for it, they receiv'd Baptism, with publick Rejoycings, and greater Solemnity than had ever been seen in Ternate. There was not a Christian but what brought Palm-Branches and Flowers from that natural Garden of the Island; besides Musick, Dancing, Firing of great Guns, and even the very Barbarians rejoyc'd. The *Sangiack* in Baptism took the Name of *Don John*; he stay'd some Days rejoycing and Feasting with the *Portugueses*, and then return'd home, taking along with him the Priest that instructed him, call'd *Simon Vaz*, to improve him in the Knowledge of the Faith. That Priest liv'd with him some Years in his City, leading an Exemplar Life, and exercising himself in Works of Officious and pure Charity, by which means he converted great Numbers of Heathens, and particularly the Inhabitants of *Momoya*. But being alone, and the Number of those God was pleas'd for his Glory, to bring to him increasing very fast, he sent to *Tristan de Ataide* for another Priest to assist him in that Function, and he accordingly sent *F. Francis Alvarez*. They both in a short time converted the Infidels of that Part, throwing down all the *Pagodes*, so they call'd their Idols, cleansing those Places, and converting the Houses of Abomination and Darknels into Churches of the living God. *Tristan de Ataide* so far favour'd the new *Don John*, as to send along with him some *Portuguese* Soldiers to defend his Person and Fort, and this Prince maintain'd very friendly Correspondence with him. His End we shall soon see and admire in the Sequel of this History.

The People of Ternate at the same time took another Course, for they hating *Sultan Tabarja*, and desiring his Death, talk'd with the Governour in private, and gave him to understand that his Life was in Danger, for *Tabarja* contriv'd to kill him, as had been done by *Gonzalo Pereyra*, that so he might seize the Fort, turning out the *Portugueses*. The Governour hearing his Life, and the Fort were both in Jeopardy, and calling to mind the yet fresh Example of his Predecessor, easily believ'd the Design, but cunningly dissembled. He contriv'd that some *Portugueses* on account

His Con-  
version and  
Death.

of real or pretended Differences should have Recourse to the King's Favour, as sometimes they us'd to do, and should prevail upon him to come to the Fort to speak for them. He was apply'd to by some, and like an innocent Man suspecting nothing, went to the Fort to intercede for them. He was immediately seiz'd and loaded with Irons, and being brought to Trial, the same Persons that contriv'd his Imprisonment, appear'd as Witnesses against him. After a tedious Examination, or show of it, the Result was, that he should be sent to *India* to justify himself. He embark'd with a safe Conscience, and his Cause being examin'd before the Viceroy *Antony Barreto* at *Goa*, he was clear'd, and confessing the Holy Spirit had taken that method to draw him to Salvation, was Baptiz'd in that City with great Satisfaction, by the Name of *Don Emanuel*. In his Return homewards, expecting the *Monson* at *Malaca* to put to Sea, he dy'd with extraordinary Tokens of a sincere Christian; and having no lawful Heir, appointed King *John* the Third of *Portugal* to succeed him in all his Kingdoms. The Will was afterwards carry'd to *Ternate*, where the great Ones and Commonalty accepted of it, owning King *John* for their Sovereign. This was perform'd with Acclamations in the Streets and publick Places, as also in the Courts of Judicature, taking Possession with the Royal Standard of *Portugal* display'd, and all other usual Solemnities and Ceremonies. In the Year 1549, *Jordan de Freytas* carry'd the publick Instruments of the Possession to *Lisbon*.

The Me-  
lancholy  
Tree, and  
Flower.

To return to the Course of the History when *Tristan de Atayde* had Imbark'd King *Tabarija* for *India*, he sought out for a Bastard Brother of his call'd *Aerio*, born of a *Javanese* Mother. The Lad was then ten years of Age, bred by his Mother in a retir'd manner, at a Pleasure-House encompass'd with perpetual Greens, the natural Disposition being improv'd by Art, which so far prevail'd that the Flower so wonderful for its Fragancy and manner of growing call'd *Triste*, or melancholy; found only in *Malabar* and *Malaca*, abounded in this Ladies Gardens. She ador'd the Sun, and brought up her Child in that Folly, that he might forget the Rudiments he learnt at *Goa*, when in the Colledge of the *Jesuits*. The Idolaters believe, or feign, that a most beautiful Daughter of *Parizataco*, a *Satrapa*, or Nobleman, fell in love with the Sun, and that he after complying with, and obliging her, setled his Affections on another, and the first not able to endure that another should be preferr'd before her, kill'd her self. From her Ashes, for in those parts they still retain the Custom of burning dead Bodies, sprung that *Melancholy Tree*, say they, whose Blossoms or Flowers still preserving the Memory of their Original, have such a Hatred for the Sun, that they cannot bear his Light. This Plant is call'd in the *Canarine* Tongue *Parizataco*, from the *Indian* Womans Father, who was Metamorphos'd like *Daphne*, tho' on another Account. The *Malayes* call it *Singadi*; the *Arabs*, *Guart*; the *Persians* and *Turks*, *Gul*; the *Decanines*, *Pul*; and the *Portuguese*, *Arvore Triste*; that is, the Melancholy Tree. It shoots out abundance of slender Branches, regularly divided by Knots, from each of which two Leaves sprout, opposite to one another, like those of the Plum-Tree, but soft like Sage, and cover'd with a white Down. From each Leaf sprouts a Nib, or Nipple, whence five Heads shoot out small at the end, each of them adorn'd with four smaller  
round

round Leaves; from each little Head proceed five Flowers, the fifth in the middle of the other four; among them the white Flowers visibly grow out, being bigger than Orange Flowers, and so fast after Night fall, that the Motion of them is perceptible. This Fruitfulness lasts all the Night, till the Appearing of the Sun renders it barren, and causes all the Flowers and Leaves to drop off, the Boughs remaining wither'd. On a sudden all that Fragrancy ceases, which enrich'd the Air with all the sweet Odours of *Aca*, included in this alone; till the Sun leaving the Horizon again, the Plant again flourishes in its beloved Darkness, as if it then retriev'd the Wrong it receiv'd from the Light. The *Astarchs* are excessively fond of Perfumes, which is an Argument of their Lasciviousness. Great Taxes are laid in several Provinces, on all sweet Scents.

The *Portugueses* came arm'd to that House, where the aforesaid Prince's *Portugueses* had her Son, and demanded him in the Name of *Tristan de Ataydo*; she *sent to* would willingly have hid him, but could not, and therefore began to *fetch* excuse her self, and beg they would leave him. It avail'd nothing, for the *Aerio*. Messengers had Orders not to return without him, and to gain her Consent, swore they would carry him to reign in the stead of *Tabarija*, and that as soon as he came to the Fort, he should be received as King, both by the *Ternates* and *Portugueses*. Some Relations tell us, that then the Mother, shedding Abundance of Tears, streightly embracing the Prince, cry'd out, saying, *Were I assur'd that you took him away to reign peaceably, without any Opposition, or Apprehension, well belov'd and obey'd by his Subjects, and in settled Prosperity, undisturb'd by any Frights; yet would I rather see him grow up and continue in a private Life, without burdening himself with any publick Concern, than that he should reign to please your Humour; this was my Intention in retiring with him, and I would gladly conceal him from all humane Conversation. If so, what can I think of what you now promise me? Will it be reasonable, that I deliver you my Son to receive the Crown, and that you at the same time design him for Imprisonment and Fetters, from which nothing shall, or can possibly deliver him but Poison and false Accusations, which have brought his Brothers and Parents to their End? What Security have I from Fortune, that she will in this Child be reconciled to that Family, which she has condemned to immortal Enmity with the Europeans, in Requital for having friendly entertained them; and decreed that, instead of the Prosecution it hop'd to find in your Arms, you should lay on it an intollerable Yoke? Leave us then, both Mother and Son, to employ our selves about the Works of Nature, since costly Experience has so fully undeceived us as to the Effects of Fortune. Permit us to divert the Thoughts of them, with the Quiet, and Improvements of these Gardens. Let us be allow'd to want that which so many seek after.* James de Couto, in his *Decades* relates this Fact, and the Mother's Lamentation, and Words. The *Portugueses*, no longer able to give Ear to those dismal Reflections, which did not favour of a barbarous Woman, ran up to her, and forc'd away her Son, whom she struggled to defend. He, says the same Author, observing his Mother's Tears, and the Reasons she alledg'd for not parting with him, and having some anticipated Notion of the Sweetness of Reigning, which he had not yet tasted, stood gazing on her and them, full of Confusion. The Rudeness, and Insolence

*His Mother's Speech to keep him.*



The Portuguese  
murder  
her.

Confederacy  
against  
them.

Differences  
about the  
Moluccos,  
between  
Spain and  
Portugal.

of the Soldiers put an End to all; for tho' they had no such Orders from their Commander, being deaf to, and weary of hearing the Complaints of a Disconsolate Woman; they at the same time seiz'd the Son, and laying hold of the Mother, cast her headlong out at the Window: The new King was carry'd to the Fort, and at the same time that the Subjects swore Fidelity to him, they with general Lamentation celebrated his Mother's Obsequies, which were perform'd with greater Solemnity, than even those of the Principal Queens. This Inhumanity exceeding even the *Cannibals*, and consequently unworthy the pretended *Portuguese* Bravery; being bruited Abroad in the Neighbouring Provinces, produc'd that just Hatred which was of Force to unite; and actually drew into a Confederacy all the Kings of the *Archipelago*, against the *Portuguese*. They assembled in Council, and in the Meeting concerted their Design, declaring that the Oppression they were under, was intollerable, the *Portuguese* making and deposing Kings to thier own Humour and Fancy, insulting those Crowns which had given them the Power they had abus'd, contrary to all Laws of Humanity, without allowing the Natives so much as a Vote in Elections. Having agreed upon the Enterprize, they provided all Things for the Execution, whilst the appointed Time came, which they diligently made as short as might be, and executed with Dissimulation.

The *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Fleets at this Time continu'd their Voyages to the *Archipelago*, their several known Ways; the *Spaniards* from *New Spain* to the *Philippine* Islands; the *Portuguese* along the Coasts of *Africk*, and so to *Malaca*. Both Sides exercised their Power, and carry'd on their Trade with Ambition, and, as some say, with Cruelty; but the most bloody Theatre of continual Tragedies, was *Ternate* and all the *Molucco's*. There both Nations of *Castile* and *Portugal* decided their Quarrel by the Sword, whilst their Kings in *Europe* only contended by Dint of Cunning, and Cosmography. At this time the Matter was not so plain, as when the Cosmographers and Commissioners on both Sides, lay'd down the Meridian, whereby to assign each of them one half of the World to their King. For the Admiral *Christopher Columbus* returning from his first Discovery of the *West-Indies*, in the Year 1493. Pope *Alexander* the VIth. granted the Investiture of them, for the Crown of *Castile*, to their Catholick Majesties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth*; and to obviate the Differences that might arise between the two Crowns, to the obstructing the Propagation of the Gospel, by the same Apostolical Authority, which in that spiritual Capacity is not limited to any part of the Globe, he divided it betwixt those two Crowns, ordering a Line to be drawn along the Heavens to cut both the Poles, distant on the Earth one hundred Leagues from the Islands of the *Azores* and *Cabo Verde*. By Vertue of this Division, the Emperor pretended that the *Molucco* Islands were within his Limits, ever since *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, his Commander in chief, *Sebastian del Cano*, and his Companions, who went with *Magellan*, took Possession of them for his Crown. Pretending at the same Time, that they were the first Christians that arriv'd at the *Moluccos*, and that then he was own'd as Sovereign by *Sultan Corala*, King of *Ternate*, who reign'd before *Sultan Bongue*; by *Sultan Amanzor*, King of *Tydat*, by *Luzuf*, King of *Gilolo*, and other Princes, who all swore

Fealty

Fealty by their Idols, and the *Alcoran*; and that *Gonzalo Gomez* admitted them, and swore to the Observance of what had been agreed on, in his King's Name, before an Image of the Blessed Virgin. He urg'd, that by Mathematical Demonstration, and the Judgment of Men learned in that Faculty, it appear'd, that the *Moluccos* were within the Limits of *Castile*, as were all others, as far as *Malaca*, and even beyond it. That it was no easy Undertaking for *Portugal* to go about to disprove the Writings of so many Cosinographers, and such able Mariners; and particularly the Opinion of *Magellan*, who was himself a *Portuguese*. And that in Case he might be thought partial, because of his being disoblig'd in *Portugal*, that Exception did not lie against *Francis Serrano*, who was also a *Portuguese*, and had been favour'd and cherish'd. That to say the Sea Charts had been maliciously contriv'd, was a groundless Objection, and not probable. Besides that, in Relation to the Article of Possession, on which the Controversy depended, it was only requisite to stand by what was writ by, and receiv'd among Cosinographers.

Arguments  
for Spain.

In Answer to this, King *John* of *Portugal*, deny'd the Fact of the Discovery, as to its Precedency; for *Serrano's* was in the Year 1511, and that of *Magellans* Companions nine Years later, in 1520. He declar'd the Globes, Astrolabes, and Sea Charts to be partial, and that in Case they were rectify'd, drawing the aforesaid Meridian, according to Rules of Astrology, his Limits would not only comprehend the *Moluccos*, but reach far beyond the *Philippine* Islands. He offer'd King *Tabarija's* last Will on his Behalf; and said, that if the Line were fairly drawn, observing Eclipses, as had been done sometimes, the Truth of his Assertion would appear. To this they added, the Papers of the Geographer and Astrologer, *Andrew de S. Martin*, by which it appear'd, that he sailing with *Magellan*, his before unattempted Voyage, had observed several Eclipses, and Oppositions. Among the rest, on the 17th of *December*, 1519. He in the River call'd *Rio de Janeyro*, took an Observation of a Conjunction of *Jupiter* and the *Moon*; on the first of *February* 1520, another of the *Moon* and *Venus*; soon after another of the *Sun* and *Moon*, after passing the Streights, another Opposition of the *Sun* and *Moon*, and others at other times; all which, tho' calculated by him to the Meridian of *Sevil*, avail'd nothing to his Design, which was to prove that the *Molucco* Islands did not belong to *Portugal*; for which Reason he found Fault with *John de Monteregio's* Tables and Almanacks. All these Papers were preserv'd by *Edward Resende* Factor at the *Moluccos*, a learned and curious Man. They said, that since there was then a Treaty about the Possession of those Islands; in a Case of that Consequence it was not proper, to avoid alledging, and examining the Grounds of their Property, to prevent the Decision of the Sword, which was the Court where that Controversy was pleaded; and when once it comes to that pass, there was no Possibility of standing to speculative Writing, which not being made good by Experience, must at least be look'd upon as uncertain.

Portuguese-  
Answer.

The Possession of the *Molucco* Islands was of great Consequence to the King of *Portugal*, for carrying on the Trade of Spice, and being inform'd of the War still maintain'd between his Subjects and the Emperor's, in those Parts, he daily us'd fresh Endeavours to bring that Business to some Conclusion, that so the War might cease. The Emperor had not so much.

The Difference adjusted.

much Intelligence of what his Commanders did in *Asia*; because the *Portuguese* suffer'd no Ships, but their own to pass by the Cape of Good Hope, and the way of *New-Spain*, that Voyage was not much frequented therefore not so well known; and besides all this he then stood in need of a great Sum of Money. In the Year 1525, there was a Treaty at *Segovia* by his Majesties Order, for composing of this Difference, and in 1529 was held at *Sevil*, where the *Portuguese* Embassador; and the Licentiate *Azevedo* of that Kings Council, were met by the Bishops of *Osma*, Prebendary of the Council of the *Indies*, Doctor *Laurence Galindez*, of the same Council, and *Don Garcia de Padilla*, first Commendary of *Calatrava*, on the Emperor's side, as Commissioners, and Plenipotentiaries, besides the High-Chancellor, and the Popes Nuncio, *Mercurio Gatnara*. After Meetings, and much Strife, to which there were also Civilians, Geographers, and Mariners admitted; all which only puzzled the Cause, were sent to Law Suits, Arbitrations, and other Fruitless Negotiations in *Spain*, and Wars in *Asia* between the Ships of both Crowns: After all this was a Cessation, and Quietness, the Emperor mortgaging those contented Islands to the King of *Portugal*, for 350000 Ducats. This was concluded at *Zaragoza*, on the 22d of *August* 1529, as his Imperial Majesty was going over to be Crown'd in *Italy*. The Line of Division was again examin'd, and what Parts of the Earth it is to run through; Times of Payment were fix'd, with other Conditions, and Salvos of Right on both sides, that so neither Oblivion, nor the Kindred between two Kings might confound it.

Spaniards against quitting the Moluccos.

By Relations Written in those Days it appears, that the Emperor consulting *Peter Ruyz de Villegas*, a grave and learned Gentleman, about the Mortgage; his Answer was condemning it, and declaring, That his Majesty had better to have mortgaged any other of his Kingdoms, than that of *Moluccos*, *Trapobana*, or *Malaca*, or any other in the East; all which his Opinion, belong'd to his Majesty; and he grounded his Opinion Time's casting Treaties into Oblivion, and the great uncertainty of Affairs. Many others advised the Emperor to repay that great Sum to the King of *Portugal*; and what is yet more, the Representatives in the *Cortes of Castile*, propos'd that the Emperor should make over to the King of *Portugal* the *Molucco* Islands for six Years, by way of Farm, and they would pay *John* the Mortgage Money, and bring the Trade of Spice to *Coruna* after the six Years his Majesty should carry on that Trade. The Emperor hearing of this Innovation, order'd a stop to it, and that no further progress should be made in fitting out the Fleet design'd for the *Molucco* Islands, and forwarded by the Bishop of *Ciudad Rodrigo*

War ceases between Spaniards and Portuguese.

Orders, and Letters Patents, were drawn and sealed, for both Nations to forbear Hostilities, but the Emperor's Subjects never receiv'd Command from him to withdraw their Forces for any other Enterprize, nor did they know what had been agreed on in *Spain*, any other way than by the count they had from the *Portuguese* who had receiv'd Orders from the King, to conclude a Peace, and to Ship off the *Spaniards* by the way of *India* for *Spain*. This Agreement put an End to all Judicial, and Military Contention. Since then the Vicissitude of Times has invested a Right, and Title in our King. So that, according to grave Civilian

might, as they say, invert the Titles, or possess by them all, without confounding the Right; Heaven having design'd him to be Sovereign of such a vast Monarchy, and given him that Hereditary Zeal, which makes him offer his whole Power to oppose Hereticks and Sectaries, and to spread the Faith, and its perfect Politicks among such Multitudes of Souls as have received it, in so many barbarous Provinces. For this same Reason it will be superfluous to examine any further into the Limits assign'd by that Law, which could never be settled.

This Accommodation being concluded, the *Portuguese* Fleets, without any Opposition from those of *Castile*, peaceably possess'd themselves of the Islands of *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Bachian*, and the others about them. From the first of these, as their Head in Spirituals, our Priests went Abroad to preach the Word of Truth, which was receiv'd by several Kings and Nations, leaving but inconsiderable Remains of Idolatry, and other Sects. Whole Cities, whose Sovereigns chose to continue in their Darknes, not regarding their Prince's Example, which uses to have the Force of a Law, threw down their Idols, and consecrated Profanenes, dedicating their Temples to the True God. The Kings of *Portugal* built Garrisons, and Factories for the Christians to inhabit; sending their Commanders and Officers, who curbed the Kings, and the *Sangiacks* their Subjects. Some Governours there were, who besides the Care they took of propagating the Gospel, and maintaining Peace in those Parts, endeavour'd by endearing Means to attract the Barbarians to love our Habits, to affect our Ways of Entertainment, and the *European* Affability and Conversation, and gently inclin'd them to our Customs and Manners, which in some Places made them look upon that as a Sort of Equality, when it was no better than Servitude. The powerful Union of Justice and Religion was however the most prevalent; but the Commanders and Governours being defective in the first of these Virtues, on which inward Felicity and Government depend; the Subjects lost the second, and return'd to their former Blindness, as appears by what has been already said, and more fully by what is to follow, since we are now come to the Election of *Sultan Aerio*, in whose Days *Ternate* was utterly lost, and could never be recovered either by Force or Art, till the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King; a just Reward of his Piety and Zeal. The lawful Queen, by those People call'd *Putrix*, was as much concern'd for *Aerio's* Mother's Death, as for any of her own Sons. She was present at her Funeral, and lamenting immoderately, curs'd the Domination of the *Portugueses*, calling it Tyranny. All the Machinations of those who study'd Revenge were known to her; and she forwarded them with her Advice; for as they said, nothing now remain'd of the former Moderation of the Governours sent thither out of *Europe*, nor of that Regard and Respect they used to have for them.

*The End of the First Book.*

F

The

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**DISCOVERY and CONQUEST**  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.*

B O O K. II.

**T**HE Alliance concluded betwixt the Kings of the *Archipelago*, and particularly *Vaygamano, Vaigeo, Quibibio, and Mincimbio*, reigning in the Islands *Papuae*, was follow'd by such an Accident, that tho' the Minds of the Confederates had not been already so well dispos'd, nor the Blood of those Innocent Kings so newly spilt, it would have consummated the Hatred they had conceived against the *Portuguese* Nation. All the Ports of the *Molucco* Islands were so well secur'd, and the Passage for Provisions so wholly stopp'd up, that *Tristan de Atayde* despairing of Relief, sent Captain *Pinto* to *Mindanao*, and the Neighbouring Islands, to furnish such things as were absolutely necessary for the Support of Life, there being nothing to be had within his Liberties. *Pinto* sailing in a good Ship, arriv'd at *Mindanao*, visited the King, by whom he was well receiv'd; and he having seen his Credentials, and consulted the *Sangiacks* of his Council, establish'd Peace and Amity with him. He sold the Commodities he carry'd at his own Rates, and buying and bartering, loaded with Provisions to his own Content; thence he went over to the Island *Seriago*, where he was no less successful with the King. In this Island, that their Friendship might last for ever, they concluded the Peace with a barbarous Ceremony, which when practis'd in those Parts, they never break the Articles. The Parties being met, certain Officers appointed for that Purpose, draw a Quantity of Blood from their Arms, and each drinks the other's, as a Gage of Affection; believing they convey it into their Souls, by that horrid Draught. This Contract so ratify'd, produc'd such Confidence, that their Ships repair'd to our Ports,

*Pinto sent for Relief.*

*Barbarous Customs.*

Ports, and ours to theirs, with all possible Security, without any Let or Prohibition. *Pinto* perceiving what a Multitude of the Natives resorted to his Ship, resolv'd to make a Prey of them; and the last Day, Forty of them coming Aboard to Trade, he perswaded them to go down into the Hold, on Pretence of showing them its Bulk and Conveniencies, and as soon as they were down, shut the Hatches upon them; this he practis'd several times, till at last, tho' he observ'd them close, one of them forcing his Way out, leap'd into the Sea, and swam ashore. He went directly to the King, whom he acquainted with the villanous Practice: The King justly enrag'd, to see Friendship so newly contracted, and confirm'd by the the most sacred of Tyes, in his Opinion, so perfidiously violated by the *Portugueses*, thinking Religion affronted, immediately order'd all the Ships that were afloat to be brought together, and such as were finish'd in the Docks, to be launch'd; all which being well equipp'd, stor'd with Guns, and full of those furious Barbarians, encompass'd the *Portuguese* Ship, attacking her on all Sides. *Pinto* was beginning to weigh his Anchors, having seen the Ships in Motion, and the Men hastning Aboard; he defended himself with only 25 Soldiers, who had scarce time to handle their Arms; for the Natives of *Seriago* began already to Board, and those who were Prisoners under Deck had prevail'd, but that the Mariners loos'd their Sails. At this time there fell a dreadful Storm of Rain, with such amazing Thunder and Lightning, as if the Heavens had been rent asunder. The *Seriagos* quitted the *Portuguese* Ship, endeavouring to recover the Shore in their own Vessels, with their Sails rent, the Hulls shatter'd, and the Rigging disabled; and to get off the better, they threw over-board their Cannon and Arms, being in danger of sinking. This Tempest lasted two Days, during which Time, *Pinto's* Ship could not escape, his Men and he being so far spent, that they had neither Strength nor Courage to stand by their Tackle; they let the Ship drive with the Sea, and threw over-board their Provisions, Merchandize, Guns, Arms, Cloaths, and all they could come at; and being convinc'd of the Justice of the Judgment, for having broken their Faith, and solemn Engagement they had made, arriv'd at *Ternate* astonish'd, dumb, and out of Countenance, thinking they were still in the Storm. Such are the Effects of a guilty Conscience, which presently provokes God's Wrath.

All the Kings of the adjacent Islands were soon acquainted with the Perfidioufness of those few *Portugueses*, that they had transgress'd the sacred Laws of Hospitality, and always made a mischievous Use of Benefits; whereupon they immediately concluded their League, to be exercis'd like desperate Men. They presently made Proclamation, forbidding, under most severe Penalties, the conveying of any Provisions to the *Portugueses*, either by Sea or Land, that so they might be reduc'd to quit all those Provinces, and fly into *India*, and since they could not batter the Fort, for Want of great Guns, they should starve it out; enjoying all Persons of all Ages, and both Sexes, to be vigilant in observing this fatal Decree, that so the Trading Galeon might not afford them the Comfort of hoping for Relief. Then considering that the main Motive of their exercising such Tyranny, was the Spice of Cloves, wherewith *Ternate*, and all the *Molluccos* abound, the Natives resolv'd to set Fire to all the Trees, endeavouring

that the Conflagration should be so Universal, as that the *Moluccos* might ever after remain barren. They well knew that this was contriving their own Ruin; but they look'd upon it as a pleasing and advantageous Destruction, so they might but be reveng'd of their Enemies.

*Reflection.* The Crop of Cloves makes the Wealth of the *Molucco* Kings, much more than the Taxes their Subjects pay; and tho' Rage, and Despair put Fire into their Hands, to burn their Country, it might happen, as sometimes Mistakes prove advantageous, that what they design'd to render their Fields Barren, might make them more Fruitful. It is well known that course Ashes mix'd, and scatter'd on the Face of the Earth often Fertilize it. Nothing is more frequent in *Europe* than to burn the Stubble, and Straw upon barren Lands; because, either the burnt Earth gathers some unknown Strength, and produces good Pasture, or else the Fire consumes its Rankness, and exhales the superfluous Moisture. Perhaps the intense Heat opens several Passages, and dilates the close Pores, and hidden Veins, thro' which the Nourishment flows, and thence the Earth receives it in all Parts, to make it capable of a new Product; or else it hardens, and closes the Vents which were open'd, that so the thin Waters, or the continual Intensity of the Sun, or the piercing Cold of the North-East Wind, which is chilling, may do it no Harm. Besides, Nature having chosen that only Part of the World to produce this sort of Fruit, in which there has never been observ'd any Failure, or Intermision, it could not be believing that a Momentary Violence should utterly cause it to cease. However the Design of those People was not to renew those Spicy Groves, but entirely to destroy them. This shows how mischievously they were bent against themselves, and against all Nations. It will be therefore convenient in this Place to treat of the Cloves at large.

*Account of Cloves.* The first that made any Account of it, were the *Chineses*, who attracted by the Scent, began to load their *Funks* with it for the Gulphs of *Persia* and *Arabia*. *Pliny* was acquainted with, and defines it, saying, It is a long Pepper; and calls it *Garyophillum*. The *Persians* gave it since the Name of *Calafur*, it does not belong to us to decide which of these Words was derived from the other. The *Spaniards* formerly call'd it *Girofe*, and afterwards *Clavos*, because they are like Nails, which bear the same Name. The Head of the Clove, having four small Teeth that cross it, resembles a Star. The Natives of the *Moluccos* call the Tree *Siger*, the Leaf *Varaqua*, and the Fruit *Chamque*. The Plant is not unlike our Bay-Tree, but bears a greater Head. When it begins to blossom, it spreads a most delicious Fragrancy, and on the very Top like the Myrtle, from one single Stock produces an infinite Number of Clusters, like those of *Elder*, or the *Honey-Suckle*. At first coming out they are White, as they grow up Green, and the third Season, when Ripe, makes them Red; this Variety of Colours, by inward Virtue, showing the several Terms that bring it to Perfection. Those that remain on the Clusters, which they call *Mother Cloves*, continue there a year, growing larger and stronger. They either thresh the Branches to gather them, or else shake them with Cords they have made fast above, drawing from below, after the Ground about is clean'd; but it is naturally clear from Weeds, for this Sovereign Tree suffers no sort of Herb to grow about it. It draws all the moisture so powerfully to itself, that all

Roots

Roots about are destroy'd, or starv'd. It bears at eight Years standing, and lasts an hundred. Some say it would hold longer, were it not strip'd with such Violence, which it avenges by growing Barren; but they are mistaken, for in the Islands of *Bachian*, they lop the Branches, that they may produce more Cloves, and the low Branches bear least. From these they gather the Cloves with their Hands, and they only bear when the *Monson* blows. They yield their Fruit from *September* to *February* every two Years. Others say once in three; because when they gather the Clove, besides that the Plant is much impair'd, they break off those Buds, which produce the Blossoms of the Cloves; but then they afford certain hopes of another Crop. The Truth of it is, that Nature allows them a Year's respite, during which they rest like the Olive-Trees in *Europe*. They are gathered when Ripe, and their Ripeness appears by being Red. Being spread in the Sun, in three Days they dry up, and contract a blackish Ash-colour. *Avicen*, by his leave, was deceiv'd, when he said that the Gum of the Clove Tree is answerable in its Virtue to Turpentine; for Experience has prov'd the contrary: Besides, that Trees excessive hot or cold, yield no Gum, but only those which are temperate between both. Sea-Water Feeds, and Fresh does them Harm. A certain Historian Writes, that they yield Fruit twice a Year; if by it he means the middle Crop, which is very small, we grant it; but if he speaks of the most Fruitful, as the Triennial, which with general Amazement produces enough to serve all Nations, the Belief of his Assertion will remain in the Author himself. These Plants make amends for their delay in the Abundance of their Product; which is such, that after enriching all Nations with it, the K. of *Spain's* Revenue out of it, Yearly amounts to two Millions of pieces of Eight, little over or under. It is generally reckon'd that only the five *Molucco* Islands produce all the Clove, because of the prodigious Quantity they yield. They always amount to Four Thousand *Bars*, each Bar of *Ternate* being four hundred Weight, and three quarters, and this for that Island; but the third of the whole taken for the King amounts to six thousand Bars, and every common Bar is better than five hundred Weight of ours. Perhaps the Word *Bar* might come from the *Greek Baros*, signifying a Load. The Cloves grow also in the small Islands of *Ires* and *Meytarana*, about *Ternate*; those of *Pulo* and *Cavali* near *Tydore*, and in *Gilolo*, *Sabugo* and *Gamoconora*, Towns of *Ratubina*; as also in the Islands of *Amboyna* and *Veranula*, more in this last than in all the others, but they are weak, and smaller. The Clove Trees grow up without any Help of Art, like all Trees coming from Rocks, and they made the only Woods in these Islands, which sucking in all the moisture Heaven affords, it is a wonder to see any other Plant near. When they have a mind to Transplant a Clove Tree, they set it where many Weeds grow, that it may thrive the sooner, by the help of the Moisture, and Virtue it sucks from them, and as the Tree thrives those Plants perish. For the same reason Cloves are ill Neighbours to full Vessels. The Ring Doves, whereof there are great numbers in *Gilolo*, eat many of those Cloves which grow Old upon the Tree, then flying they purge in the Air with the Motion, and from their Excrements dropping on the Ground Clove Trees grow up. Heaven has given them so plentifully only to these Islands, abstractly from all the World beside; being at first not valu'd, or

Mistake of  
Avicen.

known



known by the Natives. This is what they would have destroy'd by Fire, that it might be totally annihilated; because the Flames gather more Strength among combustible Matter, than other Violences, to which sublunary things are subject.

Moluccos  
describ'd.

Since we are now upon the Description of the *Moluccos*, and in regard that those delightful Provinces are so remote from us, we will go on with what is remarkable in them, to show the desperate Fury of those People, who had condemn'd them to the Flames. All the five *Molucco* Islands are almost round, and of the same Shape. The compass of the biggest is not seven Leagues. They have all Craggs, of a wonderful Height, cover'd with an odoriferous Fragrancy of wild Cloves; and about them several Cities, Towns and Forts. Their exact Roundness is the Reason they have no good Harbours for both the *Monsons* of Norwest and South. Only *Ternate* forms the Port they call *Talangame*, and a League from it, that of *Toloco*, where Ships ride safe, and with their Boats close to the Shore: The Forts were not erected in either of them, because they should not be remote from the King's Court. Both these Ports look to the Eastward, and have ridges of Rocks that break off the Sea, and secure the Vessels. That of *Ternate*, opposite to the Fort admits of Caravels, at high Water and spring-Tides, which being unloaded ride where they will. This Ridge of Rocks is of a sort of Stone, that turns into Coral, which when old hardens, and shooting out many Branches, knits together, and turns again into Stone, whereof excellent Lime is made. It is so contriv'd that those who come to it by Sea, think they see noble Structures erected for the Defence of the Harbour. The Mountain, which rises in the midst of *Ternate*, two Leagues in Height, and cover'd with Palm, and other rare Trees, has on the Top of it a Mouth or Cave, that seems to reach down to the very Center. A Man can hardly be seen from the one side to the other. Within it is a Square Spot, like a Threshing-Floor, made of Stones and loose Earth. Some curious Persons have view'd it, and among them one *Gabriel Rebelo* Factor, and Alcaide of the Fort; who having sounded it, tying together several long Fishing-Lines, found it was 500 Fath. deep. At the Bottom gushes out a beautiful Spring, tho' no Man has dar'd to Taste of it, or try whether it is Sweet or Sower. The loose Floor shakes with the Fire in the Bowels of the Mountain; whereof the first Account was given by *Anthony Galvan*, who Observ'd it in the Year 1538, when he was Commander in Chief over these Islands. He went up to see that Wonder in Nature, at a safe Time, for he could not have done it in *April*, or *September*, when the Sun moves from one Hemisphere to the other, and crosses the Equinoctial, which cuts half a Degree of *Ternate*, because of the Winds then kindling the Flames. Had *Pliny*, when he went out of Curiosity to see the Burning of Mount *Vesuvius*, in *Italy*, taken another opportunity, he had not been Burnt to Death, as his Nephew writ to *Cornelius Tacitus*. It stinks, and casts out Smoke, Sulphur, and Red-Stones, as it were out of the Mouth of a Canon; shewing the Mountain to be hollow at the Foundation. It causes Earthquakes, and Noise; and the Flames, and burnt Stones, have reach'd to the City, and Fort, and even to the Islands of the *Meaos* and *Cafures*, twenty Leagues from *Ternate*. The Smoke is of several Colours, because the Moisture and Corruption of the Earth exhales it thick, and diversify'd, which

Burning  
Mountain.

which is help'd by the ill Quality of the Air, and that, with the falling of the Excrements the Fire casts out upon the Springs, corrupts the Waters, and destroys Health. Going up this Mountain two thirds of the Height, it is all Green and Fruitful; but the Top is excessive Cold, without any sort of Fowl, or Birds, but abundance of Flyes. Thence is descry'd a spacious Sea, and an infinite Number of Islands; because the Purity of the Air, free from Exhalations, as is said of the Top of Mount *Olympus*, represents curious Objects to the Sight, and favours it without any Let, the greater part of the Year. Where the Thickness of the Trees Terminates, a Spring of fresh Water gushes out, so very cold that there is no Drinking of it, but by Sips. At the Top, some distance from the Mouth, which casts out the Flames, they at this time tore away a piece of the Mountain, whence for two Days abundance of Water flow'd; great pieces of Rocks rould down the side of the Hill, to the Sea; forming Concavities, and bearing down Trees, and Ruins. The same Mountain, on the Top, has a spacious sweet Pool, encompass'd with Trees, wherein there are blew, and gold-Colour Alligators, above a Fathom long, who, as soon as they hear People stirring, plunge down to the Bottom.

These Islands know no Difference of Summer and Winter; nor is there any settled Rainy Season, but it generally Rains more with the North-East, than with the South Wind. The *Molucco* Islands breed Snakes above 30 Foot long, and proportionably thick; but they are neither Quick of Motion, nor Venomous. Those who have seen them affirm, That when they want Sustenance, they chew a certain Herb Nature has shewn them, and climbing the Trees by the Sea-side, cast into it what they have chew'd; many Fishes come to Eate it, and being made Drunk, lye helpless upon the Water; then the Snakes launch out upon them, and satisfy their Hunger, till they are full of those stupify'd Fishes. The Crocodils on the Land are the fiercest of Monsters; the Ancients write almost the contrary of those of the *Nile*. These in the Sea are so Timorous, that they suffer themselves to be bound under Water. A Crocodile has been taken that had four Eyes, and a very little Heart. Here are also found certain Insects, which they call *Cuzos*, living on Trees, on whose Fruit they feed: They are like Rabbits, their Hair thick, harsh, and curl'd, of a brightish Brown; their Eyes round and sprightly; their Feet small; and a very long Tail, by which they hang, the better to reach the Fruit; and they stink like Foxes.

In the Desert Parts there are Wild-Fowl; some of the Tame are the same we have in *Europe*. The Parots, in their Tongue call'd *Nores*, of several Colours intermixt, Cry excessively, but Talk well. An Islander affirms, That at this time, when the People were Conspiring, a Parrot in the Air cry'd, *I Dye, I Die*; and beating his Wings, fell down Dead. A Relation tells us of another, that came from *Amboyna*, on the Mast of a small Vessel, when they went to take him, he cry'd out, *Sebastian, Sebastian*, who was his Master, and came to his assistance. There are great flocks of black Geese, with Parrots Feet; Martins, Swallows, Feldefares, Thrushes, and Sparrow-Hawks. The variety of Fish is infinite; the Sea-Cow, like that of *Brazil*; a sort of Crab, one part whereof Eaten, kills in 24 Hours; this is on the Sea-shore, under certain Trees, whose shade suffers no Grass or Herb to grow; those who Sleep in it Sicken, and it dries and parches up the

the very Ground. There is another sort of Crabs, not unlike Lobsters, but with less Claws; they have strong white Teeth, with which they break the Shells, to eat the Almonds; they breed among Rocks, are taken at Night with Light; their Body, Claws, and all the Flesh, is like that of a Lobster. Near the Tail they have a Bag, full of a certain Substance delicious to the Taste, for which they are as much valu'd as Pullets.

Strange  
Sticks.

Tree of  
Butter-  
Flies.

A good  
Remark.

All over the *Moluccos* there grows a sort of reddish Sticks, which burn in the Fire, raise a Flame, and are like a burning Cole, without waisting; They look to be of a Stony Nature, moulder away betwixt the Fingers, and are easily broken by the Teeth. Not far from the Fort of *Ternate*, is to be seen the Plant call'd *Catopa*, from which there drop Leaves less than the common sort; the Stem whereof, on a sudden, is form'd into the Head of a Worm, or Butter-Fly; the Body and Fibers coming from it, make Feet, and the Leafy Part, Wings; so that it soon becomes a perfect Butter-Fly, and at the same time a Leaf. This Tree buds out every Year, like a Chestnut-Tree, and from the Buds proceed these Worms, which run upon Threads fastened to the Leaves. Nature was profuse with those People; especially as to the Cloves, which I distinguish from the Long-Pepper *Pliny* perhaps spoke of, when he nam'd the *Garyophillum*. But since the Profit of that so highly valu'd Product, was to occasion such bloody Wars, such incredible Voiages, from all Parts of the World, that the real Dangers, are even beyond human Belief; it may well be controverted, whether it were most for the publick Tranquility, that this Spice should be known, or ever conceal'd; for its Plenty and Virtue, which awaken'd the Avarice of the remotest Nations, has glutted those Seas with the Wracks of Ships, and Fleets, and call'd thither Armies of Rebels, making their passage through Straights before unknown, in the Sight of Mountains cover'd with blew Ice and Snow, as never reach'd by the Suns bright Beams; and yet they venture at all, not out of any Zeal of promoting Religion, or Civility, but only to load with that Spice, which has occasion'd Disobedience and Superstition. This is the precious Commodity, which gives Power and Wealth to those Kings, and causes their Wars. A Wonder of Nature, which plainly shows it has created nothing so harmless, but what is abus'd by human Malice. This is the true Fruit of Discord, rather than the fabulous Apple of the three Goddesses, since for it there has been, and still is, more Fighting, than for the Mines of Gold. Had this happen'd in the Days of the *Greek*, or *Latin* Poets, how much more would they have spoken of our *Moluccos*, than they did of the Islands *Gorgones* in the *Ethiopic* Ocean? Let us stop a little to reflect on the Dangers Mortals expose themselves to, rather, perhaps, to please their wanton Appetites, than to confirm their Health.

The Confe-  
derates  
areet.

The People of *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Bachian*, and all the Neighbouring Princes, being impatient to put in Execution their desperate Design, chose the King of *Tydore* for their Head, to joyn with him of *Ternate*, that had been expell'd on account of the Death of *Gonzalo Pereyra*. Among the Relations usually collected by the Christian Curiosity of the Religious Men of the Society, we find that these Kings met in the little Island, which divides *Ternate* from *Tydore*, before they went each of them to his proper Post for performing what was stipulated in the Confederacy, and there the King of *Tydore*,

Tydore, as Chief of the League, spoke to them in this Manner. I cannot mention the Occasion of this our Union, without shedding Tears, for the Joy of the Success, which we look upon as present, produces the same Effects it would do, were we already Victorious. Our Forces are assembled to deliver us from the Spanish Yoke, punishing those Men with the Hazard of our Total Ruin, whom neither our Benefits could oblige, nor our Threats correct. They are the great Robbers of the World, who usurp it, by browding their Avarice under specious and godly Pretences. In vain have we endeavour'd to moderate their Pride by Means of our Modesty and Submission. If they meet with Wealthy Enemies, the Portugeses show themselves Covetous, if with Needy, they are Ambitious; this is the only Nation that equally seeks after others Wealth and Miseries. They rob, kill, and subdue, taking away our Dominions under false Titles, and think they have no settled Peace, till they have reduc'd the Provinces into Desarts. We possess the most fruitful Islands in Asia, only to purchase Servitude and base Subjection with their Product, converting this blessed Bounty of Heaven into Tribute paid to the Ambition of Intruding Tyrants. Experience has show'd us, how odious our Valour has been to the Christian Commanders; whom, for the same Reason, we must never hope to find more modest, or less our Enemies. Assure your selves then, and remember, both Kings and Subjects, both you who seek Glory, and you who provide for your Safety, that neither of these is to be had without Liberty, nor this without War; nor is the War to be maintain'd without Courage and Unanimity. The Power of the Portugeses is increased, and on it their Reputation depends. Having then discover'd the Mystery, and Cause of this Tyranny, who is there that will not prepare to try the utmost of Fortune, to purchase the greatest of human Felicities, which is Liberty. Other Nations, which when they bear of our Resolution, will call it Despair and Savageness; if they weigh it with the Occasion, will rather commend than go about to find Excuses for us. Besides, every Man knows what is fit for his Religion, his Honour and his Country, better than those who judge of these Things at a Distance. In short, What is Life worth without Liberty?

King of  
Tydore's  
Speech.

Those incensed Kings made suitable Returns to these Words, and having taken proper Measures to commence and carry on the War, went away in their Vessels, without losing Time, or admitting of Delay; as well knowing the many Dangers a great Undertaking is expos'd to, which depends on Secrecy, and is imparted to many.

On the Day appointed, all the Natives departed the City of Ternate, Ternate with their Families, not in good Order, as in Transmigrations, but raging, City abandon'd and burnt. in Confusion, and loaded with their Children, and a few Necessaries, having before sent away their Effects to other Islands. To convince the Portugeses of their Design, and that the People of Ternate abandon'd the Country, they set Fire to the City in several Places; the Flames began to take hold and spread, till they met, and of many small ones became one general Conflagration, with hideous Noise and Cries; for not only the Houses were burnt, which had for so many Ages belong'd to their Forefather, and Ancestors, but all that attracts the Affection to our Native Country, the Temples, all their worldly Treasure, and the Bounty of Nature; for the open Country began now to feel the Desolation, the Caves, Lakes,

*Resoluti-  
on of the  
People.*

*Portugue-  
ses slaugh-  
ter'd.*

*King of  
Tydore  
poison'd.*

Lakes and Springs, the Rocks, and the very Sea it self shin'd, boil'd up and crack'd, and the Fire receiv'd into the subterraneous Caverns, lying in the hollow Mountains, pierc'd into the deepest Receffes, roaring and overturning Stones and Trees. In the mean while, the People travell'd towards the Desarts, looking back to view the Effects of their Revenge. *Tristan de Atayde*, amaz'd to behold that dreadful Practice, having arm'd some Soldiers, sent Messages to the Queen and Governours, to propose some Accommodation, and appease that inhumane Rage. He promis'd to make Satisfaction, and that all Things should be set right, but it avail'd nothing; for they rather grew more furious, and would not hearken to any Proposal, or admit of Treaty, that might make them slacken in their Resolution. Being come to those Places which Nature has made strong among the Rocks, they arm'd, and in Parties fell upon the Christians; lying in wait for them when they went out for Wood or Water, and killing or wounding them by Surprize. The Edict was put in Execution throughout all the Islands at the same Time, destroying all the *Portugueses* that were in them. In the City *Momoya*, they kill'd eight that were with *P. Francis Alvarez*, but he fled to a Ship, after receiving several Wounds. In the Island of *Cbion*, the Head of *Moratay*; they also slew the Priest, *Simon Vaz*; an Infidel rushing into his Chamber, broke in Pieces the Picture of the Blessed Virgin, he found there painted on a Board; but Heaven suffer'd him not to go unpunish'd, for his Hands drop'd off on the Spot, and he dy'd a few Days after. It was further observ'd, that within a Year there was not one left alive of all his Race, which was destroy'd in War, and by other Misfortunes and Calamities; as the last of them was fishing, a Needle Fish sprung out of the Water, and struck him with the Snout in the Eye, whereof he dyed. The whole Town perish'd miserably within a few Years. *Tristan de Atayde* soon receiv'd the News of this Slaughter of the *Portugueses*, and so successively of the others, throughout all the Islands. He encourag'd his Men, and labour'd to hide his Concern for being shut up among so many Enemies; he regulated the Distribution of Provisions; sent out several Spies, to get Information of the Enemies Motions and Designs; and order'd the Guard upon King *Aerlo*, who was in the Fort, to be always watchful, for the more Security, leaving only the Nurses, and other Women that attended him. Then he again employ'd other Persons to propose a Peace to the Queen, and the King of *Tydore*, with ample Commission to offer advantageous Conditions, which were to be immediately perform'd; but all prov'd ineffectual, for an Accident which soon happen'd confirm'd the Enemies Obstinacy.

*Catabruno*, Governour of *G. lolo*, and Tutor to the Infant King, finding his Usurpation establish'd by Time, and a good Disposition in the Minds of his Accomplices, poison'd the King; and possessing himself of the Palace and Forts, ascended the Throne, making the Subjects swear Allegiance to him. Tho' no Man in all those Eastern Parts expected any other Event, yet was it look'd upon as most certain, that *Tristan de Atayde* was consenting to the Poisoning, and his Usurpation; besides other Circumstances produc'd to prove his Guilt, it was notorious, that *Atayde* sent *Catabruno* a Robe of blew Velvet, which he wore the Day he rebell'd, and was sworn King. God so order'd it, that as soon as he

was

was possess'd of the Kingdom, he broke his Faith with *Tristan de Atayde*, and confederated with the other United Princes, proving the greatest Enemy the *Portugueses* had; for he fitted out numerous Fleets wherewith he war'd on all the Christians of those Islands, threatening and tormenting them that they might renounce their Faith.

At this time the Governour of *India*, tho' there were some Troubles at *Goa*, and in other Places, sent Succours to *Ternate*, because it was towards the End of Summer, and one must of Necessity go to succeed the Governour. *Antony Galvam* was the Man appointed, who laid out above 10000 Ducats of his own towards restoring the Places that had been burnt, by which it may be truly said, he redeem'd the *Moluccos*. He was desirous, not only to People, but even to enlarge *Ternate*, and to this Purpose he treated with some poor marry'd Men, and needy Families, to go over with him and their Wives and Children to those Islands; the same he did with Men and Women, who were lewd Livers, that they might mend their Lives in another Country, and embrace the legal State of Matrimony; to which End, he lent them Money, and provided Necessaries for their Voyage. In the mean while, the Tyrant *Catabruno*, assembled his Forces, and mov'd against the City *Momoya*, where the *Sangiack* of it liv'd, who had been before an ignorant Idolater, but then a Christian Prince. He finding himself inferiour in Power, retired into a Fort, with his Wife, Children and Family. Some *Portugueses* sent him by *Tristan de Atayde*, not daring to trust themselves shut up there with him, withdrew into the Mountains, where they were soon kill'd, pursuant to the Edict of the League. *Catabruno* enter'd the City, without any Opposition, where he exercis'd his Cruelty, because the wretched Inhabitants would not quit it; and many new converted Christians recanted for Fear, or thro' the Violence of Torments. Being Master of the City, he laid Siege to the Fort, giving it several furious Assaults, which *Don John* withstood, making a resolute Defence, and in some Sallies return'd Victorious; yet his Example prevail'd not on his People, as it usually does where it meets with generous Souls; so that this Prince soon discover'd how faint-hearted most of them were; he suspected that servile Fear would degenerate to such Baseness, that they would deliver him up to his Enemy, and therefore like a brave Man, he presently bent his Thoughts to secure the Salvation of his Soul. He knew *Catabruno* valu'd himself upon his Zeal for the Law of *Mahomet*, and therefore spar'd the Lives of all Christians that Apostatiz'd, putting to Death such as prov'd stanch and constant; he fear'd his Wife and Children, being pusillanimous, would fail in the Confession of their Faith, and being fill'd with this Spirit, drew his Cimiter, ran to them, and shedding Tears, which were not the Effect of Cowardice, slew them one after another, first telling them his Reasons for so doing, and that tho' in the Eyes of the World he might appear inhumane, yet considering the Salvation of their Souls, what he did was a Religious Magnanimity, and therefore they ought rather to thank him for it. This was a mistaken Notion; and to go through stich with it, he would, still persisting in the same Error, have kill'd himself, but that he was hinder'd by his own Servants, who to purchase the Tyrant's Pardon, deliver'd up to him that Christian Prince, who had been so ill advis'd by his Zeal. Being brought

*Galvam*  
sent to govern the  
*Moluccos*.

*Momoya*  
taken.

Amazing  
Action of  
an Indian  
Convert.

before *Catabrano*, who was inform'd how cruelly he had slain his Wife and Children, he ask'd him, Why he had undertaken so barbarous and inhumane an Action? *Don John* answer'd him with great Courage and Undauntedness. *At that Time, and in my Thoughts, I had more regard to the Salvation of their Souls, than to the preserving of their Lives. I mistruſted the Sex, their Age, and your Torments, and would not hazard their perſiſting in the true Faith. Souls are Immortal, and I took nothing from my Children that they can feel the want of, or which Time, or your Sword would not have depriv'd them of; the latter we ſhould all have been thankful to, as the Inſtrument of the Divine Will. But I much more dreaded your Pardon and Mercy, by which you might have perverted their Minds, with thoſe Sootbings which pleaſe frail Mortality. I being more reſolute, tho' expoſ'd to all your Fury, am ſo far from fearing the Effects, either of your Torments or Intreaties, that I ſhall look upon you as God's Executioner, and were it his Will, that you ſhould take away my Life, I ſhould receive a greater Benefit from your Sword, than from your Mercy. Catabrano, enrag'd at his Answer, order'd him to be kill'd; but the Tyrant's own Friends, who lov'd *Don John*, the *Sangiack*, carry'd him out of the Room, and contriv'd he ſhould have his Liberty, and be reſtor'd. Their Intreaties prevail'd on *Catabrano*, and he liv'd many Years after in his own Dominions, with a Chriſtian Conſtancy, confeſſing his indiſcreet Zeal, which had cauſed his own Sword to deprive him of Wife and Children. A Mind truly worthy the beſt Part of *Europe*, and not to be the Product of the moſt remote barbarous Nations; and highly commendable, had it been directed by more ſolid Rules, to curb that Fierceneſs, ſo oppoſite to all natural and divine Laws, which looks upon ſuch horrid Murders, as a Piece of Piety.*

Several  
Actions.

*Triſtan de Atayde* was troubl'd at theſe Miſfortunes, which were almoſt under his Eyes; tho' he wanted nor for others nearer, for the People of *Ternate* being now Maſters of the Iſland, burnt all the new and old Towns, belonging either to themſelves, or the Chriſtians, and amongſt others, thoſe of *Trutupalate*, *Calamata*, and *Iſico*, yet they met with brave Oppoſition in them all, and they coſt much Blood. Twice our Men went out to Fight the *Tydore Fleet*, which came within ſight of the Fort, and tho' they both times retir'd Shatter'd, and well Beaten, the Barbarians had not much cauſe to Boaſt of their Victory, for Abundance of them were kill'd, and ſcarce any went off-unhurt. The Confederates fitted out other numerous Fleets, wherewith they much Streightened the Chriſtians in the Fort, till *Antony Galvam* arriv'd, who was at this time Sailing. But Relief came before, *Don Stephen de Gama*, ſending a Galeon laden with Proviſions and Ammunition to *Ternate*, under the Command of *Simon Sodre*. The Galeon arriv'd ſafe, and with it the Support of thoſe Diſconſolate People. They took Heart, and ventur'd to go abroad, ſpreading themſelves about the Iſland, and going into the Woods, met with ruin'd Buildings, the remains whereof ſtill ſmoked, and when it was Dark, they obſerv'd the high Flames on the Mountains. However they made Incurſions upon the Barbarians, and throughout all the Iſlands there were hourly Engagements, either with the Chriſtian Inhabitants, or the Soldiers of the Forts; and at Sea they heard the Martial Muſick, which Sounded whiſt they Sail'd, or Fought Manfully, and at that time was dreadful.

In

In the mean while Captain *Alvarado*, a *Spanish* Gentleman, sent by *Fernand Cortes* to *Ternate*, that the Valour he had shewn in those Parts, serving God and his King, might not lie idle, discover'd the Islands of the *Papuas*, and fought those Barbarians with Resolution, tho' the *Portuguese* Histories assign the Honour of this Discovery to *Don George de Meneses* who arriv'd at them in the Year 1526, as we have seen. The great Commander *Alvarado* also Discover'd other Islands, call'd *Gelles*, in one Degree of North Latitude, and East from *Ternate*, 125 Leagues from *Batochina*. The Natives of those Islands are like those of the *Moluccos* in Colour, Habit, and Customs, differing only in Language, which is peculiar to themselves.

Spaniards  
at the Pa-  
puas.

*Antony Galvam* sail'd from *Malaca* with the proper *Monson*, with the Men, and all Neccessaries to fight, and settle Colonies. When he was past the Island *Borneo*, and the ridges of Rocks which lie under Water, in sight of that Coast, as *F. Marta*, the Jesuit, writes to the Governor *Gomez Perez*, and appears by his Papers, in Sight of *Malaca* he Discover'd a great Fleet of *Carcoas*, and other *Chinese* Ships, with Sails made of Canes, and Palm-Tree Leaves wove together. He was soon satisfy'd, that they were the Auxiliaries which had joyn'd the *Janguas* of *Tydore* and *Catabruno*, who, with the expell'd King of *Ternate*, were Cruizing to meet the *Portuguese*, or *Spaniards*, that should come into their Seas. *Galvam* order'd his Men to be in a Readiness, to clear his Guns, and prepare all Things, doing the Duty of a Commander, and of a Soldier. The Enemy drew up in three Lines, each of its particular Nation, as if the *Portuguese* had many Ships. He was himself in the Trading Galeon, and with it a Pink, and another small Vessel, wherein, among the Marry'd Men, and Families unfit for that Service, there were some few that could take up Arms. The Infidels drew near, but without Artillery, the *Gilolo* Archers let fly a great number of Arrows upon our Men, and then one Line shearing off, the other discharg'd, the Air resounding, being peirc'd by the Darts, and *Calabays*, or Staves hardned at the Fire. *Galvam* not regarding the Danger, tho' at first he defended himself with Fights and Planks; when he thought they had spent most of those flying-Weapons, among which they fir'd some Muskets, he began to play his great Guns, tearing their Vessels, and destroying the Men. He Sunk a considerable number, and Took several, because they fought disorderly, relying, as it were a Land-fight, on the Multitude of their Soldiers, as ours did on their Valour, and Experience. But *Galvam*, whose Business it was to get to *Ternate*, held on his Voyage, and arriv'd there as he desir'd. His Men landed in that dismal Solitude, among Smoke and Ruins. The Joy of those who were in the Fort, and the extraordinary Relief, coming quite unhop'd for, were an Encouragement to them all. The Clergy came out to receive him, the Soldiers shouting amidst the Divine Hymns, confounding the Procession, and their Satisfaction. It was a Pleasure to behold, and they gazed on him as a Deliverer sent from Heaven. *Tristan de Atayde* resign'd his Post, and *Antony Galvam* took Possession, enquir'd into the Nature of the Confederacy, and the Fame of his Arrival being spread Abroad, Things began to mend. To this Purpose he arrested *Tristan de Atayde*, and afterwards sent him to Goa. He had before sent Messengers to the Queen, to acquaint her with his Arrival.

Galvam  
Fights at  
Sea.

Arrives at  
Ternate.



Tydore  
burnt.

their Houses, and departed the City with the flying Multitude. *Galvam* was now coming down from the Hill, having drawn together his Men, and form'd them into small Bodies, with sound of Trumpets and Singing, to make his Victorious Entry into that City, now void of Defendants, and full of Wealth. Considering that the Avarice of the Victorious Soldiers spur'd them on to take Possession of that inestimable Booty, for all the Merchants had brought their Effects to *Tydore*, as the safest Place. *Galvam* order'd to set Fire to the Houses, all which were consum'd with their harmless Treasure, in Sight of those who had hop'd to be Masters of it; only the Provisions being providentially sav'd.

Peace con-  
cluded.

Of the People of *Tydore* as many were taken as did not in Time save themselves by Flight; as also a Junk in the Port, and several other small Vessels. The Enemies afterwards perish'd in other smaller Actions. The daunted King, hasted Home to secure their own Lands, dissolving the Confederacy, and being sufficiently warn'd, gave Ear to, and embrac'd Proposals of Peace; taking leave of him of *Tydore*, and agreeing with *Galvam*, whose Vertue and Discretion gain'd so much upon *Cacbil Rade*, that King's Brother, that he came to a Conference with him and concluded a Peace upon certain Conditions. The King of *Tydore* oblig'd himself to restore *Galvam* the Cannon; not to assist the Enemies of *Portugal*; not to permit the Clove to be dispos'd of into any other Hands than the *Portuguese* Officers; and to sell it as was usual at *Ternate*. *Galvam* went over next to subdue *Gilolo*, and the other Kings, all which he compass'd successfully. The Queen also submitted, either on Account of the King of *Tydore*'s Falshood, or that, as she said, she grew weary of the War, or else because the depos'd King was kill'd. *Catabruno* was appeas'd by *Galvam*'s good Behaviour, and accepted of Conditions, among which the chiefest was, that *Galvam* should set *Sultan Aerio* at Liberty. Thus the Confederacy was dissolv'd, and the *Maluccos* laying down Arms, submitted again. Provisions were furnish'd as before, and the Crops, and Trade of Spice were restor'd.

Sultan  
Aerio  
King of  
Ternate.

*Sultan Aerio* attended by the Christians and Gentiles, Dancing, and making other demonstrations of Joy, went from the Fort to his Palace, where he remain'd with his Guard, and Family. Before he Marry'd, tho' he never wanted for Concubines, he in Person took a Progress to the principal places in his Dominions of *Ternate*, *Moutil*, and *Machian*. Those in the Fort attended and assisted him, together with the *Sangiacks*, who went all about that *Archipelago*, first on that side they call *Del Moro*, that is towards *Batochina*, and is distant from the *Moluccos* 60 Leagues Northward, beginning at the Isles of *Doe*, two Leagues to the Point of *Bicoe*. All these are Inhabited by Wild People.

Batochina,  
that is Gi-  
lolo de-  
scrib'd.

*Batochina* is 250 Leagues in Compass, and Subject to two Kings, which are those of *Cylolo*, and *Lolada*. This last is Ancienter than all those of the *Moluccos*, or in those Seas, and formerly was the most Powerful; but now the Weakest. The Inhabitants of the North part of *Batochina* are Savage, without any King, Laws, or Towns, living in Deserts. Those on the East-side have populous Towns, on the Sea Shore; and tho' they speak several Languages, yet they understand one another. This Coast they call'd *Morotia*, that is, *Land Moor*. The other Islands opposite are call'd *Morotay*, that

that is, *Sea-Moor*, and all those Isles bred deceitful, brutal and dastardly Men. Only the City *Moncoya* is Warlike. It ever wanted Laws, Weights, Measures, Coin, Gold, Silver, and all other Metals, and a King; but it is overstock'd with Provisions, Arms, Idols, and Devils speaking in them. The Women Till the Land. Each of these Towns is Govern'd by a Magistrate chosen by the People: they pay him no Taxes, but have Regard to his Descent. The *Molucco* Kings conquer'd them, and every one kept what he could get; the better part belongs to him of *Ternate*, and less to the King of *Iydore*, whose Dominions were enlarg'd by the Power of Spain. They went on to establish their Possessions among the *Papuas*, or *Pappus*, East from the *Moluccos*, being Islands little resorted to, because many of them are all encompass'd with Flats and Shoals. The Natives of them are Black, like the *Cafres*; they wear their Hair wound about in large curl'd Locks, their Visages lean and ugly. The Name of *Papuar* in their Language signifies Blacks, being a stern People, enur'd to Labour, and fit for any piece of Treachery. All their Islands are subject to Kings, and abound in Gold, which they do not Transport, because no Man lays up any more of it than is us'd in their Ornaments. Among these Black-men there are some as White and fair as the *Germans*; if these go out in the Sun, they are struck blind, tho they do not look at it. Those in *Spain* are call'd *Albinos*; yet some of them are strong, and can behold any Object. Among these *Papuas* there are many deaf. As to the Extent of this Country, if we may believe the Accounts of *Spanish* Pilots, who have sail'd that way, these Islands run along a vast Continent, which terminates at the Straights of *Magellan*. These Kings entertain Friendship with *Ternate*, whither they sent Embassadors, and as much as was here subject to the *Moluccos*, had no Share in the desperate Fury of the League. So did those of *Celebes* to the Westward, being many notable Islands, the great Island *Celebes* it self, as also *Mindanas*; so those of *Bisaya*, abounding in Iron; *Mascaga*, and *Masbate*, which have much Gold, as well as *Mindanas*; that of *Sologo*, and others producing Provisions, Spice, Sanders, Eaglewood, Cinnamon, Camphire, Tortosshell, Ginger, and Long Pepper. Some of these Islands are subject to the King of *Borneo*, others to those of *Iydore* and *Bachian*, but the most to him of *Ternate*. The People are generally treacherous; many of them go naked, painting their Bodies in Falcage, and other Figures; their Hair long, hanging on their Backs, or else knotted, and cut short over the Forehead, like our Peasants; their Faces large; their Teeth well shap'd and black; and their Ears bor'd. The Natives of *Celebes* are filthy, and vile in their Behaviour; the Equinoctial passes over their Island, which is full of little Towns; a whole Race living in every House. On their Walls they hang the Hair of those they have kill'd in War; and the greatest number of them is most Honourable. There are among them several sorts of Monstrous Productions. One of these is a Tree bearing a vast Head, the shade whereof kills any Man that lyes down under it on the West-side, unless he immediately lye down on the East-side; the same shade at only a Yard distance being an Antidote against its opposite Malignity. In these Towns there are horrid Stews of Sodomy; tho there are no such at *Ternate*; but they have gone as far as *Amboyna*, which lyes South of it. Among the *Moluccos* there are many Islands sub-

*Aerio's  
Innocent  
Bravery.*

his own Sincerity, and the fresh Reconciliation, made him think he was secure. But if the Nature of Man be such as not to forgive when it has done a Wrong, what can be less secure than injur'd Innocence? The Commander feigns himself Sick, and sends to desire the King, that since he is not able to wait on him in his Palace, he will be pleas'd to honour him with a Visit in the Fort, there to confer with his Highness about some important Affairs which concern the King of Portugal, his Master, and are not fit to be communicated to any other. All the Answer the King return'd, was to go himself to Visit the Sick Man, tho' he had Information better ground'd than on bear Surmises, that *Martin Antonio Pimentel*, the Commanders Nephew, had Orders to murder him, as soon as ever he came into the Fort. He could not prevail upon himself to believe a Treacherous Design; so far does Innocence prevail over a generous Soul. But when he saw that at the Gate, they stopp'd his Guards, the *Sangiacks* and *Caebiles*, that attended him, he then began to be convinc'd of the Villany, yet went on without being disorder'd, and showing an undaunted Countenance. And tho' he could not forbear dropping some Tears, when he took leave of his Sons, however, he presently compos'd his Countenance, so that he was not at all dismay'd, tho' in the Commanders Nephew's Looks he saw visible Tokens of his Unkles Commiffion. He would have complain'd to the Commander of the Disrespect of those who stopp'd his Attendance, but they would not suffer him to go on. The Mask being now laid aside, and the true Design appearing, in Violence he call'd out to the *Sangiacks*, but the Gate was shut against him and them. *Pimentel* came up to him with a Naked Ponyard, and begg'd his Pardon like an Executioner. The King, without showing any Surprize, or Disorder, Bid him consider what he was going to do; for there were many left to-revenge his Death, besides his Sons and Subjects, all the Kings of the *Archipelago*, as well the Sovereigns who were in Alliance, as those who ow'd Fealty to the Crown of Portugal. *This Instance*, said he, *will make them dread every Capricious Humour of a Commander in chief. If still that Jealousie furvies, which has so often been prov'd groundless, I will deliver my self up to the King of Portugal; and if my Death be of such Consequence to you, yet respite the Execution but a little, for at my Age, Time will soon perform what your Swords are to do.* They now began to fall upon him, and he seeing a Bra's Cannon, on which were the Arms of Portugal, clasping his Arms about it, said, *Christians, at least show some Respect to these Arms; for you kill a King that has paid the greatest Deference to your Crown.* This last Testimony of his Innocence was of no Force to appease those Murderers; though formerly in Rome, the embracing the Statues of the Emperors was sufficient to deliver Slaves from being punish'd by their Masters. It may be a Question whether his Soul was sav'd; for there are those who asfitm, he intreated the Murderer to permit him to be Baptiz'd; who answering, It was then too late, without granting his Request, or any Respite, ran furiously upon that Antient Prince, who made no Resistance, and stabb'd him in several Places. They carry'd the Body into a Vault. The King's Kindred and Servants heard the Noise, and suspecting the worst; went away in great Disorder, to the City, where there was already a confused Rumour of what had happen'd, and being Distracted, ran shrieking about the Streets, where nothing was to

*He is murder'd.*

to be heard but Weeping, Threats, Complaints and Disorder.

The Principal Queen, with the Kings other Wives, and Slaves, his Sons, and Brothers, laying a side all State' came out of the Palace, already surrounded by the Multitude, in Confusion and Dispair, and being follow'd by most of the *Portugueses*, who no less abhor'd the Fact, ran to the Fort, crying out to let them see their King, as still doubting of what they heard. The Commander appear'd in Armour on the Wall, and said, *They should see him immediatly*; and then came up a Soldier, bringing the Kings Head with the Royal Turbant on it. After him came others, with his Arms, Legs, and Body cut into small pieces, all which they hung upon the Battlements in the sight of his People. Afterwards they Salted them, as if the perpetuating of the Wrong had been requisite. This was what most provok'd the injur'd People, who no longer able to behold so inhumane a Spectacle, and being beside themselves, and fearing more Mischief, return'd with their Family. The Sons out of Respect to their Fathers Body, went away from *Ternate* to several Islands, tho' in Reality they departed to excite others by their Presence, representing the Hideousness, and Horror of the Fact; and to dispose their Revenge. For the present they were satisfied with sending to complain of the Commander in Chief.

*Mezquita's Inhumanity.*

Their Ambassador arriv'd at *Goa* clad in White, which is the Mourning of the *Molucco* Islands, and upon the Faith of his Credentials, acquainted the Viceroy with the whole matter; proving the Innocency of the Murder'd *Sultan*; representing the Wrong done to, and the Sorrow of his Family, and Kingdoms, who so passionately Lov'd him; and beseeching him, in the name of them all, to Right them against the Man, who with the Power and Authority of the *Portuguese* Arms, had Violated the publick Faith and the Laws of Nature. The Viceroy gave him a favourable hearing, tho' by that Time the matter was otherwise represented at *Goa*, at least among the *Portuguese* Nation. They said, That King *Aerio* going to visit the Commander in Chief, *Martin Antonio Pimentel* went in with him, and they contended in Words upon some Point, when the *Portuguese* answering him angrily, they fell to their Weapons, and the King was kill'd in the Quarrel. They added, That he was Advis'd so to do, by some of our Religious Men, who were offended at the Persecution of the Christians, and the Obstrucking of the King of *Portugal's* Service. *Pimentel* made his Defence with the Original Letters, of those who perswaded him to commit the Fact, and who afterwards sav'd him. However the Viceroy did not Reject the Plaintiffs; but promis'd to Right them; and to shew that he design'd them farther satisfaction than a bare Promise, he sent away the necessary Supplies for the Security of the Fort of *Ternate*, and *Nunno Pereyra de la Cerda*, a Gentleman of Courage, and the necessary Sagacity to succeed the other in a Post where all things were in Confusion. He also writ to King *Sebastian* of *Portugal*, acquainting him with the Death of King *Aerio*; how Cruelly and Unjustly he had been kill'd; what a Revolution there was cause to fear it might produce; whom he had sent to succeed *Mezquita*; the Orders he had to Secure him, as also *Pimentel*, if he could find him.

*Complain'd of at Goa.*

*False pretences of the Portugueses.*

*Nunno Pereyra* arriv'd at *Malaco* with the *Molucco* Ambassador, whence, at the proper Season, they Sail'd to *Ternate*, where as soon as they Landed, order was taken for Correcting the Insolency of those in the Garrisons, who

*Pereyra succeeds Mezquita. rob'd*

robb'd, and obstructed Trade. When he had settled these Affairs, he seiz'd the late Commander in Chief, *James Lopez*; but did not punish him there, in the sight of those who had been wrong'd, which would have pleas'd them. The new Commander solicited the Kings Sons to return to *Ternate*, and endeavour'd to give them, and the Kingdom Satisfaction. He easily convinc'd them, that the Publick was no way guilty of their Fathers Death, but only the Commander *Mezquita*, who should be severely punish'd. That he deliver'd them the Kings Body, to be Bury'd with due Honour. That they should settle the Succession, offering it to *Cachil Guarate*, *Derio's* Eldest Son. He told them, the King of *Portugal* did not send his Commanders to be Enemies, but Protectors of the Royal Family and State of *Ternate*, and therefore they should make use of his Arms, as their own. They return'd apparent Thanks for what *Pereyna* did, and being indifferently satisfy'd with his Promises, took the Kings Body. A few Months after, on the Day appointed for the Barbarous Obsequies, Embassadors from the neighbouring Kings, and Kingdoms landed at the City, who all repair'd to the Palace, clad in White, with the dead Kings Sons, and Brothers, the *Sangiacks* and Soldiers, and the Chiefest of them, going into the Room where the Coffin was before the Mourners, who are Officers of the Grave, began their Lamentations and Cryes, they all swore upon the dead Body, to take a Revenge suitable to the Wrong; but because this Resolution requir'd a more deliberate Preparation, they suspended it for a Year. It is reported, that Heaven anticipated them within that time, punishing *Pimentel*, striking him to the Heart with the Disease call'd *Berber*, whereof he dy'd swelling up, and raving.

*He fawns.*

*Revenge  
vow'd.*

*Assembly  
of the In-  
dians to  
consent.*

The Funeral Rites being perform'd, the Prince took leave of *Nunno Pereyra*, to go over to the Island *Ires*, where they have a most stately Country-House, and the principal Mosque. There they all met on pretence of Diverting themselves after their Sorrow, tho it was now almost two Years since the occasion of it happened. The *Cachilas* and *Sangiacks* repair'd thither under the same Colour, and without loosing any Time, they propos'd the Uniting the Forces of their Kingdoms, and shaking off the *Portuguese* Yoke. *What shall we, said they, value the Portugueses, if once we come to be sensible of our own Strength? What can we Fear, or not Dare to attempt? The Portugueses value him who Robs most, and is guilty of the greatest Crimes and Enormities. The forcing away of our Product, their one lewd Pleasures, and our Wrongs, are Occasion for them to make War; ours are our Country, and the Defence of our Parents, our Wives, our Children, and our Liberty. It is necessary to expedite the Execution, because a Secret is not lasting among many, and in Affairs of this Nature, there is more Danger in Consulting, than even in Execution. We have been already too long in Confusion, without a Head.* No Man contradicted; but neither *Cachil Guarate*, the Eldest of the Brothers, nor the Second, durst take upon them so difficult an Enterprize. *Cachile Babre*, the Third, undertok it, with the usual Engagement, either to Conquer, or to Dye. They presently lifted him up, with general Applause, and his Election being made publick, the Kingdom easily submitted to him, through the desire of Revenge; tho' according to the Custom of the *Molucco* Islands, as soon as the King has any Son born, they swear him his Successor, in his turn, and there was then no need

of

of any other Oath, yet they again swore to *Cochil Babu*. This done, they went out to their Mosque, in Procession, to offer Sacrifice. A Boy went foremost with a naked Sword on his Shoulder, and with the other Hand leading a Kid, which was to be the Victim, with the little Horns Gilt. The *Alcoran* forbids Sacrificing; but these Islanders receive the Rites of *Mahometanism* so confus'dly, that with them they also retain those of their ancient Idolatry, and intermix the Ceremonies. He that conducts the Sacrifice, is, according to their Custom, follow'd by part of the Kings Soldiers, with their Pikes advanc'd, and after them goes one holding up on high a small Gold Vessel, or Pan, with burning Coals in it, the Frankincense they throw in Smoking. Next to him was the new King, over whose Head they always carry an Umbrello, made of Feathers of several Colours, in shape of a large Semicircle. The King was encompass'd by those Soldiers, that are given him by his Subjects by way of Acknowledgement, like the *Turkish Janizaries*. In this Order they came to the Mosque, at whose Gates, whensoever they are to enter, they find Kettles and Pots full of Water, to wash their Hands and Feet before they go in. As soon as the King was upon the Threshold the Musick play'd, and they spread Milk-white Carpets, as is the Custom: Kneeling on them, they mutter out their vain Prayers, bowing their Heads down to the Ground. In the midst of the Mosque stands a Pulpit, cover'd with white Cloth. Instead of a Bell, there hangs up the holy great flat Drum, which they beat with Sticks; tho' each Mosque has a great Bell, without a Clapper, which they strike with a Stone, or piece of Iron, when requisite. All that hear it, of what Condition soever, repair to the Temple, with Pikes, Shields, Cymitars, and Muskets. The profane Sacrifice being ended, they conducted the new King to the Harbour; he went into his *Carcoa*, with his Family, and the other *Singjacks*, and great Men, into many others. The King's is so contriv'd, that there is a Gang-way all round it, made of Canes. There are two Slaves to each Oar; others do the Service of the Vessel, and near every one lies a Number of Arrows. Instead of Oars they use a sort of great Paddles, like Spoons, with which they also lade out the Water the Vessel takes in. On the upper part they make Musick with their Tabors, and Sounding-Basons of Metal, according to which they Row faster or slower, as we Dance to our Musick. In the same Place there are seven Brass Guns; a considerable number of Pikes advanc'd, longer than ours, and a Bed adorn'd with Quilts interwoven with Gold, and by it hung the King's Helmet, Breast, and Back Plates. He sat, or lay on that rich Bed, the Servants of his Bed-Chamber Fanning him with a large Wing, made of various-colour'd Feathers of the Birds that fly about his Islands; thus he Coasted about, the Sea and Shore resounding with Guns, Shouts, and Barbarous Instruments.

Sacrifice.

The King's Carcoa.

At the same time that they seem'd to be wholly taken up with Sports and Diversions, in the Island *Ires*, they Vow'd an irreconcilable Enmity to the *Portuguese* Nation, with the same Solemnity as they had sworn Allegiance to their King; and this Secret having been inviolably observ'd, when the new K. thought convenient he caus'd it to be Publish'd throughout all his Dominions, which consists of seventy two Islands in that *Archipelago*, betwixt those of *Mindanao*, on the North; *Bima* and *Corca* on the Coast

War Proclaim'd.

King Philip  
rejects it.

His Reasons

Product of  
Asia.

Arguments  
against  
settling  
the Philip-  
pines

mischievous Advice. That most prudent Monarch answer'd, That the *Philippine* should be maintain'd, in the same Manner they were, and the Court should be invest'd with more Authority, that Justice might prevail, for he laid the Stress of Government, on its being upright, and impartially administer'd. That in the same manner the Troops should be kept up there, and maintain'd out of the Revenues of *New-Spain*, or any other of his Kingdoms, since all the Treasures discover'd, or still hid in the Bowels of the Mines, ought to be apply'd to the Propagation of the Gospel. For what would the Enemies of *Christ* say, if they perceived that the *Philippine* Islands were left destitute of the true Light, and its Ministers to propagate it, because they did not produce rich Metals, and other Wealth, like the Rest of the fruitful Islands in *Asia* and *America*? That all the Power of Kings, ought to be subservient to this Sovereign End, as becomes Sons of the Church, and Promoters of the Apostolical preaching, which is continu'd by Succession. That since he had refused to mitigate the least Point of his Severity towards his Northern Subjects, or to grant them Liberty of Conscience; why should he remit any thing among Heathens, and *Mahometans*, which were the Harvest God had assign'd him, to enrich the Church with those Children, so remote? Thus the Project was put down, and this has always been the glorious Resolution, when mistaken Zeal, or worldly Interests have propos'd the quieting of those Dominions. This seems to have been a peculiar Providence of Heaven, which knew how soon they were all like to belong to the same Master, and that the Right and Conquests should be all United in his Person, the one being the Means to recover the other, as has been seen in our Days.

King *Philip* was govern'd by this Religious Motive; but there were others urg'd by such as were acquainted with the Riches of *Asia*, which are chiefly Diamonds, Rubies, large and Seed Pearl, Amber-Greece, Musk, Civet, Camphir of *Borneo* and *China*, Vermillion, Coral, Quick-Silver, Copper, fine Mussins, and Calicoes of *Cambaya* and *Bengala*, Carpets, Coverlets, and fine Quilts; *Persian* Silks, Brocard, Ivory, Rheubarb, Cardamome, *Cassia Fistula*, Frankincense, Benjamin, Wax, China-Ware, Lake for dying, and Phnyck, Cloves, Mace, Gold, Silver, Medicinal Plants, Aloes, Eagle Wood, Calamba, Ebony, and very many more rare Trees, Drugs, Spices, and Ornaments. All this they said, *Venice* lost, when the Trade was remov'd to *Portugal*; and this fame stir'd up the Sultan of *Egypt*, as well knowing therein consisted all substantial Wealth, to enter into a Confederacy with all the Kings of *India*; who were already alarm'd by the *Portuguese* Fleets; so that they at the common charge fitted out a Navy of Gallies, and other Vessels, in the Port of *Suez* furnish'd it with Cannon, and put aboard 3000 *Mamelucks*, besides a great Number of *Persian* and *Genoese* Renegadoes. With this Power the Sultan enter'd *India*, in the Year 1508, and tho' the King of *Cambaya* assist'd him, he was vanquish'd by the *Portuguese* in the Port of *Chaul*. They urg'd, That at present these Riches are still more valuable, and that if the Trade of them were once brought into the Way of the *Philippine* Islands, it would save all the Dangers met with, by the way of *Ambayna*, *Banda*, *Borneo*, and the many Shoals about them, as also the many Storms those narrow Seas are subject to. For the Clove particularly was brought by the *Portuguese*, in their Trading Galeon, which goes from *Goa* to the *Moluccas*, to pay their Garrisons. In this Ship they every year carry'd away to *Malaca* and *Goa*, 24000 Quintals, or Hundred Weight of Cloves, little more or less. At those Ports it was dealt to *Persians*, *Turks*, *Chineses*, and *Africans*, so that scarce the third Part came to *Europe*. The King of *Achem*, in *Sumatra*, secur'd another Part, whence it was sent to *Alexandria*. All these Commodities, when they come to *Malaca*, pay eight per Cent. The Spice that comes into *Spain* is distributed into all the Kingdoms of *Europe*; and it might be easily contriv'd, say these People, to bring the greatest Part to *Spain* from the *Philippine* Islands; which would be one of the noblest Projects, that will be thought of for the improving of the Revenue, considering what a great Price Clove bears in *Spain*, and how cheap it is in the *Molucco*. This was the Opinion when those Islands belong'd to another Master, and it was no easie Matter to divert the Trade of Spice, and other Goods, from the usual *India* Voyage. Besides the Religious Men of the Orders of St.

Augustin

*Augustin* and *Sa. Dominick*, had already propagated the Faith in those and other *Islands*, whence that which flourish'd, and advanc'd in *Ternate* and *Tydore* was

*Cabral Babu* sail'd with his Brothers, and a great Number of Vessels from *Ives* for *Ternate*, with much Joy, and forebodings of Victory; greater Forces continually joining him, through the earnest Desire they had all of delivering those Parts from the *Portuguese* Domination. As soon as ever they arriv'd at *Ternate*, they landed, and immediately invested the Fort, which they call'd the *Seat of Servitude*. They assaulted the Houses of the *Portuguese*, and that so suddenly, that though they had Notice before, and lived in Fear, they scarce stood upon their Defence. Rage and Success made a more than Barbarous Havock. They set Fire to the Houses with Fury, and popular Tumult; so that whatsoever was not within a Wall and Ditch, perish'd that Day. Those in the Fort attempted to succour their People; but greater Numbers of *Ternates* coming on, kill'd some of those, who had sall'y'd out, not only with Darts of solid Canes, which they cast most dexteriously, with Arrows, Cymiters and Shields, which they us'd when Idolaters; but with Muskets and other Fire Arms. The rest of the *Portuguese* routed, fled to their Fort; for those who had gain'd Reputation by so many brave Exploits, were that Day depriv'd of their Courage, by the Injustice of the Action they had been concern'd in. They sent again to *Goa* to desire Relief, and to represent the Distress, not only of the Fort of *Ternate*, but of all the others the King of *Portugal* held in those Eastern Parts; for they had cast off Subjection to him in most of them. They forgot not to mention the perikation of the Religion, and the scarcity of Arms and Provisions, of both which the *Ternates* had deprived them. These News were down into *India* and *Spain* by other Ways; and all the while the Siege lasted *Goa* sent Succours to the *Moluccos*, in their trading Galeons; but the vast Distance, the many Shoals, and the violent Storms those Seas are subject to, occasion'd the Loss of those Ships, or put them by their intended Voyage.

Portuguese  
Fort be-  
sieg'd.

Desolation.

Tydore and  
Ternate  
mortal Enem-  
ies.

The Commanders in those Eastern Ports, who follow'd the Example of those of *Ternate* were not idle; for the *Portuguese*, tho' the reducing of those Rebels succeeded not at that Time, did not miss of obtaining other Victories, which should we relate them here, would make this look more like a History of all *India* than of one small part of it; besides that the *Portuguese* Nation has not wanted Learned Authors, who have transmitted them to us, where they may be seen at large. The *Spaniards* have also done the like, in a much more loftier Style than mine. We must therefore circumscribe our selves, and return to the *Moluccos*, where the Besieged, as it were forsaken, and abandon'd by all the Earth, endure the Hardships and Perils of Places so streightned.

Thus all their Hopes, under Heaven, depended on their own Valour, and the inviolable Friendship of the King of *Tydore*, so implacable an Enemy to him of *Ternate*, that neither the Neighbourhood of the Kingdoms, divided only by an Arm of the Sea, a League and half over, in the midst whereof is a small Desert Island, which almost joins them, nor the ancient and reiterated Alliances, do in the least abate of their Hatred, which seems to be fatal, and consequently unavoidable betwixt those two Kings and Nations.

However, the *Ternates* being always intent upon War, and thinking no Practice unlawful, that may secure their Success, they ply'd their Weapons on one Hand, and on the Other, carry'd on their Intrigues, for a Pacification with the King of *Tydore*: not so much out of any Desire of coming to a Conclusion with him, as to the End that being amaz'd with the Hopes of Peace, he might grow slack in Revenge and Assisting the Besieged. They offer'd to restore him some Places, taken from him during the late Wars; and to give him those and others, as a Portion with a Daughter to the King of *Ternate*; besides other Advantages, of which Accommodation the King of *Bachian* was the chief Manager. To these fair Offers, they added Threats; and both the Kings and their Nations agreeing in Religion, and it being easy to cover any Occasion of War under fair Pretences; it happen'd that the *Tydores*, at least while this Politick Game was playing, did not afford their Succours with the same Zeal as they had done at first; and that

Practices  
of Babu  
with Ty-  
dore.

King,



*Policy of  
the K. of  
Tydore.*

King, who till then had been a constant Friend, upon another Consideration, deferr'd his coming to a Resolution. He waited, as well as the Besieged, the Arrival of the *Portuguese* Succours, and several of his *Carcoas* often touch'd at the Islands of *Borneo*, to enquire what Ships pass'd that Way from *India*. They examin'd every Vessel they met, and every slight Intelligence puff'd them up, or quite cast them down. In short, both Parties protracted the Time, with so little Regard to any other Principles, that all their Courage and Fidelity, depended on it alone.

This is so certain, that the King of *Tydore* being just at the Point of accepting the Wife, and Lands offer'd him by the Enemy, fell off upon the News brought him, that a Galleon was seen sailing for the *Molucco* Islands, and he rejected all the Proposals. It was afterwards known to be bound for the *Philippine* Islands, and belong'd neither to the *Portuguese* nor *Spaniards*; but to *Venetian* Merchants, who traded between *Manila* and *China*, with several Commodities of their own Country, and other Parts of the *Levant*; so that the King of *Tydore*, and the Besieged themselves began to make fresh Reparations, like Men that sharpen their Weapons, and fit their Armour.

*Sallies,  
and the  
Length of  
the Siege.*

These Succours encourag'd them to several bold Attempts. The Besieged made a Salley, to nail up the Enemies Cannon, and tho' few in Number, several Times assault'd their Camp, still returning Victorious, without any considerable Loss. They dismounted all their Cannon from the Walls, their Works nothing availing them, because they were not made according to Art. The Siege lasted five Years, the *Portuguese* sustaining it with notable Resolution, and the *Indians* pressing with no less Obstinacy; nor would the Hunger, Thurst, Nakedness, and the Hardships of the Seasons have been tollerable, had not they been common to both Parties. Extream Want, was the Occasion of several signal Exploits of that Valour, wherewith they defended their Lives, and the Fort. This produc'd Rage and Admiration in the Enemy; and an affectionate Compassion in the Women of the Island; among whom they found Advice, Secrecy, Intelligence and known Favour. So great is the Power of Persecuted Virtue, that it prevails, even upon those Enemies, who harbour the Memory of a Wrong, to convert it, first into a Desire of forgetting it, and without long Interposition of Time, produces a Zeal to support that Valour they first hated.

*The End of the Second Book.*

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
 DISCOVERY and CONQUEST  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.*

BOOK. III.

**B**OTH Sides now took the Breathing of a short Cessation; advantageous to *Ternate* for the Liberty of Trade, and to the *Portugueses*, because it gain'd Time to their Hope of Relief, which they concluded must be near at Hand, by Reason it had been long expected. They were not discouraged by Events, those having prov'd alternatively Successful and Unfortunate, and Victory was tofs'd to and fro; besides that the Interruption of Commerce had knit some the closer together in Friendship. I could mention several Instances of this Sort, contain'd in Letters, and other *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Relations, sent by Religious Men from the *Moluccos*, to the Governours of the *Philippine* Islands, whose Papers have, upon this Occasion, been lay'd before me, for my better Information, for which Reason we may make Use of some of them, without departing from the main Subject. The gravest of the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians sometimes intermix private Adventures, as it were short Episodes to divert the Reader. The Example of great Masters is a sufficient Authority for Learners, for which Reason I may well be allow'd this Freedom. *Cessation of Arms.*

One *Duarte*, a brave Ensign, had contracted strict Friendship with *Cacbil Tudura*, which was no way obstructed by the Difficulties of the Siege, nor so much as interrupted. *Duarte* was wont in the dead of the Night, to go safely into the City in the Habit of the Country, and by the Help of the Language, being Master of it, where he was privately admitted into his Friend's House, and well receiv'd there on another Account by *Tudurise*, *A Love Story.*

K

his

his only Daughter, who, being prevail'd on by the Love she bore *Duarte*, imbrac'd the Christian Religion. The Father was not unacquainted with their Love, but he also knew that it was attended by Modesty in *Tudurisa*, and true Courtesy in *Duarte*. Returning to the Fort, he used to be taken in the same dangerous way, by those Persons who had let him down with a Rope. He brought with him some Intelligence and Provisions; but he came not so entire himself, for the *Indian* Woman, who was to be his Wife, had robb'd him of his Heart. *Nunno Pereyra* going the Rounds miss'd the Ensign at his Post, and enquiring into it, understood the Cause of his Absence; in Respect to which, considering the mighty Power it often has over great Souls, he conniv'd at the Breach of Martial Discipline, assigning that to the Passion, without reproving the Lover. Whether he follow'd the Example we read of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, in the like Case, or on Account that Experience shows, there is Nothing can hold a Lover so fast as the Presence of the lov'd Object; *Pereyra* enjoining all Persons to keep the Secret, contriv'd, without offending *Tudura*, that his Daughter should come privately into the Fort, which she consented to, without many Persuasions. Having so done, the Commander in Chief, calling his Ensign, said to him, *I am inform'd, that at certain Times, and that when the Danger is greatest, you forsake us; but that it is not for want of Affection, or not knowing the Duty of your Post; tho' we were not confin'd to these narrow Walls, I would not punish your Failure, because Mildness has ever been more efficacious for correcting of Generous Souls, than Rigour. It will not be convenient for the Future, that we be left without you, and in Fear for what may befall you: Here is your Wife, and then she appear'd, brought hither without any Force, or Opposition from her Father. Take her to you lovingly, and do not suffer the Honour of Portugal, depending on these few Men, to want the Bravery of so able an Officer.* *Duarte* was amaz'd, generously out of Countenance, full of Love, and knew not what to say; but was excus'd by his Friends, and even by *Nunno Pereyra*.

*Hopes and Despair of the Besieged.* It was now the Year 1575, when the Besieged began to conceive some Hopes of their Deliverance; because the *Sangtacks* and *Cachils* of the King of *Ternats*'s Race were divided into Factions, and there wanted not some among them, who endeavour'd to draw the *Portugueses* over to their Party. These Misunderstandings made them act less vigorously; and did not they look on theirs as the Common Cause, the Design had succeeded. The *Portugueses* in this Condition, despairing of all Relief, the Natives of *Ternats* on the other Side of the Island, next those of the *Meaos*, discover'd a Galeon coming from *Malaca*, having coasted about *Borneo*; they concluded it was that which brought the Succours from *Portugal*, and being assur'd it was so, they became unanimous again, and press'd on the Siege; but Force little prevailing against the Resolution of the Besieged, *Cachil Tulo*, by Permission, propos'd some Terms, which the Commander in Chief had long listen'd to from the Wall. One Day making several Overtures, *Tulo* told him, That the King, his Brother, was willing to put an End to that tedious Siege, upon any Conditions. That to this Effect he had concluded a Peace with the King of *Tydore*, that he might not relieve them for the Future. That the King of *Barbian* had joy'n'd

*Proposals of Accommodation, and Reasons for it.*

joyn'd him for the same Purpose; to the End, that since they were all convinc'd that was their common Cause, they might with their joynt Power make their utmost Efforts. That the Cessation which had lasted till then, tho' advantages to the King, as encouraging the Trade with the *Javanese*, and *Rumes*, who came to Load Clove, must of Necessity cease. He ask'd how long they would expose their Lives to the utmost Dangers, only to gain an empty Name of *Loyal Subjects*, which, perhaps, would never be known to him that was to reward it. He bid them consider the Villany of his Father, King *Aerio*'s Death, and that by their Obdurate holding out they made the Murderers Cause more Criminal. That they thus show'd they approv'd of anothers Treachery, whose Punishment they would compass by other Means. That they ought to be very thankful, that the King would not involve them in the Guilt of that Wretch, who contrary to his solemn Oath, to the Laws of Friendship, and the Honour of the *Portuguese* Nation, or rather to Nature it self, had Murder'd that King, who most inviolably observ'd the Faith he had engag'd to him. Besides, that they were sensible how little Comfort uncertain Hopes could afford amidst real Wants; and how impracticable it was for Relief to come from so great a distance, through such boisterous Seas, causing so many Shipwrecks, and which seem'd to have conspir'd against those who had oppress'd and injur'd *Ternate*.

He concluded his Discourse requiring the Commander in Chief, to deliver up the Fort, or expect the utmost Rigour; for if he once refus'd the Terms offer'd, and provok'd them, they would spare neither Sex, nor Age. The Besieg'd were not free from Jealousie, that there was Fraud in these Offers; yet, perceiving that the Succours never came from *India*, either because retarded by the *African War*, in which King *Sebastian* had engag'd himself, or by the Difficulties of that dangerous Voyage; and believing that the two Kings of *Tyde* and *Ternate* were reconcil'd, as *Tulo* told them, thinking he of *Tyde*, without whose support they could not subsist; had forsaken their Friendship, the Proposals were accepted by unanimous Consent, after *Nuno Percyra* had return'd a resolute Answer, suitable to that Part of *Casili Tulo*'s Words, which contain'd any Threats, signifying to him, how little they mov'd himself, or his Men; and that he would hearken to no Conditions to the disservice of his God, or his King, or to disparage the Bravery of his Soldiers, which had been so often try'd to the cost of the Natives of *Ternate*; nevertheless upon some other Considerations, he would surrender the Fort, provided that all the *Portuguese* might march out in a Body, Colours Flying, with their Wives, Children, Slaves, and all their Goods, having first Hostages given them to their content, that no Harm, or Injury should be done them. That the King should secure them their Passage to *Anhoyna*; and find them Vessels; and that such as should happen to be left in his Dominions for want of them, should have no Ransome demanded of them, either then, or at the time of their departure. That the Forts Guns should be deliver'd to King *Babu*, upon express Condition, That he should hold it for the King of *Portugal*, and in his Name, to whom he should restore it, whensoever he effectually punish'd the Murder of King *Aerio*. The King easily Granted, and Swore to perform all those Conditions, being eager to possess himself of the Fort, before the Succours arriv'd, which were now near at hand. On the Day appointed, which was Saint

*The Besieg-ed Surrender.*

*The Capitulation.*

*The Fort Deliver'd.*

his only Daughter, who, being prevail'd on by the Love she bore *Duarte*, imbrac'd the Christian Religion. The Father was not unacquainted with their Love, but he also knew that it was attended by Modesty in *Tudurisa*, and true Courtesy in *Duarte*. Returning to the Fort, he used to be taken in the same dangerous way, by those Persons who had let him down with a Rope. He brought with him some Intelligence and Provisions; but he came not so entire himself, for the *Indian* Woman, who was to be his Wife, had robb'd him of his Heart. *Nuno Pereyra* going the Rounds mis'd the Ensign at his Post, and enquiring into it, understood the Cause of his Absence; in Respect to which, considering the mighty Power it often has over great Souls, he conniv'd at the Breach of Martial Discipline, assigning that to the Passion, without reproving the Lover. Whether he follow'd the Example we read of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, in the like Case, or on Account that Experience shows, there is Nothing can hold a Lover so fast as the Presence of the lov'd Object; *Pereyra* enjoining all Persons to keep the Secret, contriv'd, without offending *Tudura*, that his Daughter should come privately into the Fort, which she consented to, without many Persecutions. Having so done, the Commander in Chief, calling his *Officers*, said to him; *I am inform'd; that at certain Times, and that when the Danger is greatest, you forsake us; but that it is not for want of Affection, or not knowing the Duty of your Post; tho' we were not confin'd to these narrow Walls, I would not punish your Failure, because Mildness has ever been more efficacious for correcting of Generous Souls, than Rigour. It will not be convenient for the Future, that we be left without you, and in Fear for what may befall you: Here is your Wife, and then she appear'd, brought hither without any Force, or Opposition from her Father. Take her to you lovingly, and donot suffer the Honour of Portugal, depending on these few Men, to want the Bravery of so able an Officer. Duarte was amaz'd; generously out of Countenance, full of Love, and knew not what to say; but was excus'd by his Friends, and even by *Nunno Pereyra*.*

*Hopes and  
Despair of  
the Besieg-  
ed.*

It was now the Year 1575, when the Besieged began to conceive some Hopes of their Deliverance; because the *Sangtacks* and *Cachils* of the King of *Ternate's* Race were divided into Factions, and there wanted not some among them, who endeavour'd to draw the *Portugueses* over to their Party. These Misunderstandings made them act less vigorously; and did not they look on theirs as the Common Cause, the Design had succeeded. The *Portugueses* in this Condition, despairing of all Relief, the Natives of *Ternate* on the other Side of the Island, next those of the *Meaos*, discover'd a Galeon coming from *Malaca*, having coasted about *Borneo*; they concluded it was that which brought the Succours from *Portugal*, and being assur'd it was so, they became unanimous again, and press'd on the Seige; but Force little prevailing against the Resolution of the Besieged, *Cachil Tulo*, by Permission, propos'd some Terms, which the Commander in Chief had long listen'd to from the Wall. One Day making several Overtures, *Tulo* told him, That the King, his Brother, was willing to put an End to that tedious Seige, upon any Conditions. That to this Effect he had concluded a Peace with the King of *Tydore*, that he might not relieve them for the Future. That the King of *Bachian* had

*Proposals  
of Accom-  
modation,  
and Rea-  
sons for it.*

joy'n'd

joyn'd him for the same Purpose; to the End, that since they were all convinc'd that was their common Cause, they might with their joynt Power make their utmost Efforts. That the Cessation which had lasted till then, tho' advantages to the King, as encouraging the Trade with the *Javaneses*, and *Rumes*, who came to Load Clove, must of Necessity cease. He ask'd how long they would expose their Lives to the utmost Dangers, only to gain an empty Name of *Loyal Subjects*, which, perhaps, would never be known to him that was to reward it. He bid them consider the Villany of his Father, King *Aerio's* Death, and that by their Obstinate holding out they made the Murderers Cause more Criminal. That they thus show'd they approv'd of anothers Treachery, whose Punishment they would compass by other Means. That they ought to be very thankfull, that the King would not involve them in the Guilt of that Wretch, who contrary to his solemn Oath, to the Laws of Friendship, and the Honour of the *Portuguese* Nation, or rather to Nature it self, had Murder'd that King, who most inviolably observ'd the Faith he had engag'd to him. Besides, that they were sensible how little Comfort uncertain Hopes could afford amidst real Wants; and how impracticable it was for Relief to come from so great a distance, through such boisterous Seas, causing so many Shipwrecks, and which seem'd to have conspir'd against those who had oppress'd and injur'd *Ternate*.

He concluded his Discourse requiring the Commander in Chief, to deliver up the Fort, or expect the utmost Rigour; for if he once refus'd the Terms offer'd, and provok'd them, they would spare neither Sex, nor Age. The Besieg'd were not free from Jealousie, that there was Fraud in these Offers; yet, perceiving that the Succours never came from *India*, either because retard'd by the *African War*, in which King *Sebastian* had engag'd himself, or by the Difficulties of that dangerous Voyage; and believing that the two Kings of *Tyore* and *Ternate* were reconcil'd, as *Tulo* told them, thinking he of *Tyore*, without whose support they could not subsist, had forsaken their Friendship, the Proposals were accepted by unanimous Consent, after *Nuno Perceyra* had return'd a resolute Answer, suitable to that Part of *Casbil Tulo's* Words, which contain'd any Threats, signifying to him, how little they mov'd himself, or his Men; and that he would hearken to no Conditions to the disservice of his God, or his King, or to disparage the Bravery of his Soldiers, which had been so often try'd to the cost of the Natives of *Ternate*; nevertheless upon some other Considerations, he would surrender the Fort, provided that all the *Portuguese* might march out in a Body, Colours Flying; with their Wives, Children, Slaves, and all their Goods, having first Hostages given them to their content, that no Harm, or Injury should be done them. That the King should secure them their Passage to *Ambouva*; and find them Vessels; and that such as should happen to be left in his Dominions for want of them, should have no Ransome demanded of them, either then, or at the time of their departure. That the Fort and Guns should be deliver'd to King *Babu*, upon express Condition, That he should hold it for the King of *Portugal*, and in his Name, to whom he should restore it, whensoever he effectually punish'd the Murder of King *Aerio*. The King easily Granted, and Swore to perform all those Conditions, being eager to possess himself of the Fort, before the Succours arriv'd, which were now near at hand. On the Day appointed, which was Saint

*The Besieg-  
ed Surren-  
der.*

*The Capi-  
tulation.*

*The Fort  
Deliver'd.  
Stephen's,*

his only Daughter, who, being prevail'd on by the Love she bore *Duarte*, imbrac'd the Christian Religion. The Father was not unacquainted with their Love, but he also knew that it was attended by Modesty in *Tudurisa*, and true Courtesy in *Duarte*. Returning to the Fort, he used to be taken in the same dangerous way, by those Persons who had let him down with a Rope. He brought with him some Intelligence and Provisions; but he came not so entire himself, for the *Indian* Woman, who was to be his Wife, had robb'd him of his Heart. *Nuno Pereyra* going the Rounds miss'd the Ensign at his Post, and enquiring into it, understood the Cause of his Absence; in Respect to which, considering the mighty Power it often has over great Souls, he conniv'd at the Breach of Martial Discipline, assigning that to the Passion, without reproving the Lover. Whether he follow'd the Example we read of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, in the like Case, or on Account that Experience shows, there is Nothing can hold a Lover so fast as the Presence of the lov'd Object; *Pereyra* enjoining all Persons to keep the Secret, contriv'd, without offending *Tudura*, that his Daughter should come privately into the Fort, which she consented to, without many Persuasions. Having so done, the Commander in Chief, calling his Ensign, said to him, I am inform'd, that at certain Times, and that when the Danger is greatest, you forsake us; but that it is not for want of Affection, or not knowing the Duty of your Post; tho' we were not confin'd to these narrow Walls, I would not punish your Failure, because Mildness has ever been more efficacious for correcting of Generous Souls, than Rigour. It will not be convenient for the Future, that we be left without you, and in Fear for what may befall you: Here is your Wife, and then she appear'd, brought thither without any Force, or Opposition from her Father. Take her religiously, and donot suffer the Honour of Portugal, depending on these few Men, to want the Bravery of so able an Officer. *Duarte* was amaz'd, generously out of Countenance, full of Love, and knew not what to say; but was excus'd by his Friends, and even by *Nuno Pereyra*.

Hopes and  
Despair of  
the Besieged.

It was now the Year 1575, when the Besieged began to conceive some Hopes of their Deliverance; because the *Songiacks* and *Cachils* of the King of *Ternate's* Race were divided into Factions, and there wanted not some among them, who endeavour'd to draw the *Portugueses* over to their Party. These Misunderstandings made them act less vigorously; and did not they look on theirs as the Common Cause, the Design had succeeded. The *Portugueses* in this Condition, despairing of all Relief, the Natives of *Ternate* on the other Side of the Island, next those of the *Maas*, discover'd a Galeon coming from *Malaca*, having coasted about *Borneo*; they concluded it was that which brought the Succours from *Portugal*, and being assur'd it was so, they became unanimous again, and press'd on the Seige; but Force little prevailing against the Resolution of the Besieged, *Cachil Tulo*, by Permission, propos'd some Terms, which the Commander in Chief had long listen'd to from the Wall. One Day making several Overtures, *Tulo* told him, That the King, his Brother, was willing to put an End to that tedious Seige, upon any Conditions. That to this Effect he had concluded a Peace with the King of *Tadore*, that he might not relieve them for the Future. That the King of *Bachian* had

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He concluded his Discourse requiring the Commander in Chief, to deliver up the Fort, or expect the utmost Rigour; for if he once refus'd the Terms offer'd, and provok'd them, they would spare neither Sex, nor Age. The Besieg'd were not free from Jealousie, that there was Fraud in these Offers; yet, perceiving that the Succours never came from *India*, either because retarded by the *African War*, in which King *Sebakian* had engag'd himself, or by the Difficulties of that dangerous Voyage; and believing that the two Kings of *Tydore* and *Ternate* were reconcil'd, as *Tulo* told them, thinking he of *Tydore*, without whose support they could not subsist, had forsaken their Friendship, the Proposals were accepted by unanimous Consent, after *Nuno Pereyra* had return'd a resolute Answer, suitable to that Part of *Casbil Tulo's* Words, which contain'd any Threats, signifying to him, how little they mov'd himself, or his Men; and that he would hearken to no Conditions to the disservice of his God, or his King, or to disparage the Bravery of his Soldiers, which had been so often try'd to the cost of the Natives of *Ternate*; nevertheless upon some other Considerations, he would surrender the Fort, provided that all the *Portuguese* might march out in a Body, Colours Flying, with their Wives, Children, Slaves, and all their Goods, having first Hostages given them to their content, that no Harm, or Injury should be done them. That the King should secure them their Passage to *Amboyna*; and find them Vessels; and that such as should happen to be left in his Dominions for want of them, should have no Ransome demanded of them; either then, or at the time of their departure. That the Fort and Guns should be deliver'd to King *Babu*, upon express Condition, That he should hold it for the King of *Portugal*, and in his Name, to whom he should restore it, whensoever he effectually punish'd the Murder of King *Aerio*. The King easily Granted, and Swore to perform all those Conditions, being eager to possess himself of the Fort, before the Succours arriv'd, which were now near at hand. On the Day appointed, which was Saint

*The Besieg'd Surrender.*

*The Capitulation.*

*The Fort Deliver'd.*



his only Daughter, who, being prevail'd on by the Love she bore *Duarte*, imbrac'd the Christian Religion. The Father was not unacquainted with their Love, but he also knew that it was attended by Modesty in *Tudurisa*, and true Courtesy in *Duarte*. Returning to the Fort, he used to be taken in the same dangerous way, by those Persons who had let him down with a Rope. He brought with him some Intelligence and Provisions; but he came not so entire himself, for the *Indian* Woman, who was to be his Wife, had robb'd him of his Heart. *Nunno Pereyra* going the Rounds miss'd the Ensign at his Post, and enquiring into it, understood the Cause of his Absence; in Respect to which, considering the mighty Power it often has over great Souls, he conniv'd at the Breach of Martial Discipline, assigning that to the Passion, without reproving the Lover. Whether he follow'd the Example we read of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, in the like Case, or on Account that Experience shows, there is Nothing can hold a Lover so fast as the Presence of the lov'd Object; *Pereyra* enjoining all Persons to keep the Secret, contriv'd, without offending *Tudura*, that his Daughter should come privately into the Fort, which she consented to, without many Persuasions. Having so done, the Commander in Chief, calling his Ensign, said to him, *I am inform'd, that at certain Times, and that when the Danger is greatest, you forsake us; but that it is not for want of Affection, or not knowing the Duty of your Post; tho' we were not confin'd to these narrow Walls, I would not punish your Failure, because Mildness has ever been more efficacious for correcting of Generous Souls, than Rigour. It will not be convenient for the Future, that we be left without you, and in Fear for what may befall you: Here is your Wife, and then she appear'd, brought thither without any Force, or Opposition from her Father. Take her to you lovingly, and do not suffer the Honour of Portugal, depending on these few Men, to want the Bravery of so able an Officer.* *Duarte* was amaz'd, generously out of Countenance, full of Love, and knew not what to say; but was excus'd by his Friends, and even by *Nunno Pereyra*.

*Hopes and  
Despair of  
the Besieg-  
ad.*

It was now the Year 1575, when the Besieged began to conceive some Hopes of their Deliverance; because the *Saugiacks* and *Cachils* of the King of *Ternate's* Race were divided into Factions, and there wanted not some among them, who endeavour'd to draw the *Portugueses* over to their Party. These Misunderstandings made them act less vigorously; and did not they look on theirs as the Common Cause, the Design had succeeded. The *Portugueses* in this Condition, despairing of all Relief, the Natives of *Ternate* on the other Side of the Island, next those of the *Meaos*, discover'd a Galeon coming from *Malaca*, having coasted about *Borneo*; they concluded it was that which brought the Succours from *Portugal*, and being assur'd it was so, they became unanimous again, and press'd on the Seige; but Force little prevailing against the Resolution of the Besieged, *Cachil Tulo*, by Permission, propos'd some Terms, which the Commander in Chief had long listen'd to from the Wall. One Day making several Overtures, *Tulo* told him, That the King, his Brother, was willing to put an End to that tedious Seige, upon any Conditions. That to this Effect he had concluded a Peace with the King of *Tidore*, that he might not relieve them for the Future. That the King of *Sarbian* had join'd

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of Accom-  
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*The Capi-  
tulation.*

*The Fort  
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Hopes and  
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*The Fort Deliver'd.*

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*Proposals of Accommodation, and Reasons for it.*

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Stephen's, the *Ternates* took up all the advantageous Posts to view the *Portugueses*, who march'd out as if they had been Conquerors; and no sooner were they out of the Fort, than the Natives running in, possess'd themselves of the Guns, with loud Laughter and Shouts, Scoffing at those that left it; for the third Day after the Galeon arriv'd, well Mann'd, and furnish'd with Guns, and all Necessaries, and *James de Azambuja* in it, as Commander in Chief. They had thoughts of Recovering the Fort, but it was too late, because the Enemy was possess'd of all Things, without any Opposition. *Pereyra* then perceiv'd how great an Obstacle Precipitation is to the chusing of the safest Advice, and how infallibly it is follow'd by fruitless Repentance; since had he delay'd but never so little longer, tho' it were only to weigh the Enemies Proposals, who ought never to be suppos'd Sincere, he might have sav'd himself and Destroy'd them. For this Reason, tho' he wanted not an honourable Excuse, he resolv'd not to return to *Goa*, having private Intelligence that the Viceroy would not fail to secure him, in Order to cut off his Head. *Azambuja* protected him in his Galeon, and he went over with many others to *Amboyna*. The rest spread themselves throughout the Neighbouring Islands, in Vessels they begg'd. Some return'd to *Malaca*, and only sixteen *Portuguese* Families remain'd in *Ternate* for want of Shipping; who at first submitted to the change of their Fortune; but could not afterwards comply with the Difference there is betwixt Domination and Servitude. The King of *Tydore* a most trusty Friend to the *Spaniards* in their greatest Affliction, offer'd them his Islands, Houses, and Trade of Spice. He sent them a good Number of *Carcoas*, which carry'd them over to his Dominions, and soon after assign'd them a convenient Place to build their Houses and Churches. This Colony was increased, and the Number of its Inhabitants augmented by *Sancho de Vasconcelos*, who sent others from *Malaca*, being Commander in Chief of *Goa*, and afterwards of *Amboyna*, in the Year 1578. At last he came thither himself, and erected a Fort, a quarter of a League from the City of *Tydore*, which gives its Name to the Island.

Portugueses settle at *Tydore*.

*Tydore* describ'd.

*Tydore*, in the Language of those Parts, which was formerly spoken, signifies, Fertility and Beauty. *Europeans* generally give it this Name; but its King, as appears by his *Arabick* and *Persian* Subscriptions, Writes *Tudurna*, and not *Tydora*. It is not inferior to *Ternate* for Fruitfulness, and Delight, but far exceeds it in Magnitude and Populousness; and yields the same Aromatick Product. Curious Persons have there try'd to improve the Clove, watering and pruning the Tree at proper Seasons, and it appears to embrace the Helps of Art, by growing bigger, more active in its Vertue, and the Scent stronger. The white Sanders here come to more Perfection, than in any other of the Eastern Parts. In this, as well as the other *Molucco* Islands are found those Birds; they, in their Language, call *Manucodiatas*, signifying Birds of Paradise, from a Fable, credited by those superstitious People, that they came down from Heaven. The Fort here was afterwards enlarg'd by *Nuno Pereyra*, not far from the Port, and then by *James de Azambuja*. The latter did not only contribute with his Industry, but with his Labour, carrying the Materials himself, when it was requisite to set the Soldiers an Example, and forward the Work; which the King often view'd, and was well pleas'd to see the Fortifications. He discours'd

Birds of Paradise.

Fort of *Tydore*.

discours'd familiarly with the Officers, advis'd with them in his Wars, and comforted the Christians, and they sai'd best, for from that Time forward, there being none in *Ternate*, and that Fort in the Hands of the Natives, the Heathens and *Mahometans* seem'd to be Superior and Conquerors throughout all those Provinces. They strengthen'd themselves with Works and other Preparations, erected Forts on high Places, and bending their Minds against the Christians, put many to cruel Martyrdoms; that so the Foundation of our Faith may be in all Parts cemented with the Blood of the Faithful. They dismember'd the Bodies, and burnt the Legs and Arms in the sight of the still Living Trunks. They impal'd the Women, tore out their Bowels, and they surving themselves, beheld their still moving Flesh in the Hands of their Executioners. Children were pull'd Piecemeal before their Mothers Eyes, and Infants still in Embrio were rent from their Wombs. It has been made out, that above 6000 Christians fell by the Sword in only the King of *Ternate's* Dominions. This is asserted in the Annual Relations of the Fathers of the Society, who preach'd in those Parts. They give an Account of this dismal Persecution, with all the Circumstances of the Cruelties; as how the persecuted Persons fled to the Mountains, seeking for Compassion among the wild Beasts, others cast themselves into the Sea, where they perish'd, either devour'd by its Monsters, or swallow'd by the Waves themselves, not being able to reach the other Islands. A considerable Number of these religious fugitives, as they swam met a *Portuguese* Ship, coming to the Relief of those at *Amboyna*; and with dismal Voices cry'd out, *Help, Relieve us, for we are Christians*. They carefully took them up in their Boats, and having view'd them at Leisure, found that none of them were above 12 Years of Age. Yet at this same Time, when cruelty advanc'd God's Glory, Providence seem'd to act Counter in the very Cities, and Deserts. Idolaters and *Mahometans* were converted, and our Religious Men preach'd and catechis'd, without any Fear of Punishment, which they rather coveted, and thought themselves unworthy of it; encouraging one another with the Examples the Tyrant made, for several Purposes. But all those People looking upon it as their Duty to seek Revenge, their Cruelty gaining Applause under that Name, and *Europe* being involv'd in Dismal Troubles, they met with no Opposition in the Execution of their Vengeance, and the Calamity ran so high, that in the space of thirty Years, they either quite obliterated, or much obscured the Name of Christianity in those Eastern Parts, destroy'd our Churches, and, like those who prepare to hunt wild Beasts, arm'd themselves against the Faithful who liv'd in more security among those savage Creatures, or in Deserts never penetrated by Men, feeding on Herbs, and gaining Time, by that lawful Retreat for the sake of the Gospel, for the Wrath of Heav'n, whose Executioners those Men were, to pass over. Above 36 Towns, of each 800 Inhabitants in *Gilolo* and *Celebes*, a spacious and populous Country, and in those of the two Kings of *Sian* and *Sanguil*, who profess'd Christianity, with most of their Subjects, in the Kingdom of *Cawripana*; in that of *Bachian*, whose King and his People were Sons of the Church; in the Islands of *Amboyna*, where Forty Towns worshipp'd CHRIST, in the Bosom of his Faith, and in those of *Tydore*, which were

Persecution.

Many Apostatize.

not

not without this Light; in all those Places they fell off from Christianity, and were utterly lost; first through the Insolency of the Portuguese Commanders, and lastly on Account of the Death of *Sultan Aerio*; who, as was prov'd, had given no real, nor so much as a likely Token of Falshood, for which they might be provok'd to destroy him. However the Christians dy'd with such Resolution, that the Persecuters took not away any Life but what became a fresh Example of Magnanimity, and perhaps Providence might permit that Accident of *Aerio*, with a Design to advance the Churches Glory.

**Augustin Nunez sent to Command at Amboyna.** *Sultan Babu* making his present Victory an Instrument to obtain others, Ship'd his Men, in Order to besiege *Tydore* and *Bachian*; and tho' he met with a vigorous Defence in both Places, and the Portuguese Auxiliaries made some Amends for his Superiority of Power, yet they submitted to the Tyrant. This Revenge made him stick at no Cruelty. In November, this same Year, a Galeon came to *Malaca* from *India*, to carry Succours for the *Moluccos*, commanded by Captain *Augustin Nunez*, the Eldest and Bravest Commander in those Days, as he made it appear in the Expedition of *Chaul*, when it was besieged by *Niza Maluco*, when *Don Luys de Atayde* was Viceroy of *India*, in the year 1578. The Galeon was stor'd with all Necessaries, and in it *James Lopez de Mezquita*, the Murderer of *Aerio*, design'd for Punishment, in Satisfaction for the Wrong done. He was so strong, and fierce, that to secure him, he was fetter'd with a great Chain, the End whereof was made fast to a heavy Piece of Brass Cannon. *Augustin Nunez* had Orders to convey him to the new King of *Ternate*, to be deliver'd to him bolted, like a Criminal, that he might pass such a sentence of Death on him as he thought fit, which should be executed in his Presence, pursuant to the Orders sent by the King of *Portugal*. They put him on double Fetters, Manacles, and Chains, and kept him in the Steeridge. *Augustin Nunez* went to succeed *Sancho de Vasconcelos*, in the Fort of *Amboyna*; but a storm rising, he was forc'd into the Port of *Japara*, of *Sunda*, in the greater *Java*. The Galeon wanting water, and Refreshment, he there sent for it; which the Native *Javanese* brought him in 40 Vessels. Among them came 150 Soldiers in the Habit of Peasants, and Fishermen; who making many words as is usual among Buyers and Sellers, drew the Ponyards they brought conceal'd, and surprizing the Portuguese, fell on with such Fury and Cruelty, that they kill'd them all. Among them dy'd *James Lopez de Mezquita*, but fighting with extraordinary Bravery, tho' held by his Chain, hinder'd by his Fetters, and other heavy Encumbrances, and restrain'd by the Cannon, to which his Chain was made fast. However he got a Sword and a Buckler where-with he cut down ten *Javanese*, revenging on them the Death of the Portuguese, and they on him, that of King *Aerio* of *Ternate*, which had occasion'd so much Slaughter. Seventy three Christians were kill'd and above the same Number of *Javanese*, and their Vessels had been taken, but that others came to their Assistance from the Shore in the Heat of the Action, in which there were Men with Fire-Locks and Lances, six Yards and a Quarter long, the Points of them poison'd. The Galeon was taken without any Succour, nor was the Cannon of any Use.

It is but reasonable that so manly and honourable a Death should, as is usual,

usual, render all this Gentlemans Life honourable ; and that his Fetters, and Sufferings joyn'd to it, excite Compassion and Affection in the minds of the Readers, so to blot out the Hatred they have conceiv'd against him on Account of *Sultan Asrio's* Death. It is to be observ'd, for his justification that it does not appear, nor is it reported, he was incens'd to perform that Act through Interest, Ambition, or any other private Motives ; but was mov'd to it by Informations which perswaded him it was convenient, for the Establishing and Advancement of Religion, and the publick Peace. Very brave men must also be allow'd some Excesses of Fierceness, which proceed from an extraordinary Force in the irascible Part of the mind, and wherein Valour is subdu'd. When these Persons find themselves encompass'd by great Numbers, and streightned by wrongful Violence ; if they are not to be daunted and overcome, it comes to pass that Patience often provok'd turns that Courage into Fury and Rage, which causes them to make mighty Slaughters, and Examples of Cruelty ; led to it not only by Passion, but also by Judgment and Thought, which directs them to cause themselves to be dreaded even to Astonishment, to save themselves and their People from other great Cruelties which usually mean Souls attempt and practice upon those they stand much in Fear of. Let this Reflection serve for a general Excuse to other Offences of this sort mention'd, or blam'd in our History.

This Accident, in as much as related to the Death of *James Lopez de Mezquita*, was forgot, or at least not known for many Years, for in 1603 the King of *Ternate* demanded Justice of our King, against that Man not knowing that God had summon'd him before a more upright Tribunal. The News being brought to *Malaca*, the Commander *Arias de Saldana* immediately sent away another Galeon, he call'd *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, for the *Moluccos* under command of *Peter Lopez de Sousa*, and a Galley with 150 Soldiers to relieve *Sancho de Vasconcelos* at *Ambocyna*, where he wanted Provisions, and was streightned. They sail'd in May 1579, to touch at *Borneo*, there to take in all Necessaries for the Design. He arriv'd on that Island in *June*, and found it in an Uprear, occasion'd by the Spaniards who came thither with Doctor *Sandi*, Governour of the *Philippine* Islands in 30 rowing Vessels. He took the City, and put the King to flight, who was a Lover of the *Portugueses*, and from that time *Manila* began to be look'd upon as a place of Arms, for the recovering of the *Molucco* Islands; and if *Sandi* had then employ'd those, he carry'd to this other Expedition against them, he would have found the Tyrant less settled, and consequently his Revenge more easy. *Vasconcelos* died at *Ambocyna*, and *James de Azambuja* succeeded him, so that nothing came now from *India* but fair Promises. In the *Philippine* Islands they had no Orders at that Time to intermeddle in those Wars, because they then belong'd to another Sovereign, and therefore they were only Lookers on to those Martyrdoms, and Revolutions and employ'd themselves as they us'd in *Camboja*, *Mindanao*, *Japan* and *China*, and then particularly in *Borneo*, without regarding those other Successes.

*Borneo* lies between *Malaca* and the *Moluccos*, and according to the Opinion of *Gerard Mercator*, is that which *Ptolomy* calls, the Island of Good Fortune. A Point of it lies under the Equinoctial, and the greater Part stretches out to 6 Degrees of North Latitude, taking up the two first Parallels. Thus it appears to be above 400 Leagues in Compass. It abounds in

His Vindication.

Peter Lopez de Sousa sent to Moluccos.

Spaniards at Borneo.

Borneo described.



they contels'd their Sins at the Sight of the Prodigy, begging Mercy with Sighs and Tears. Our Understandings ought to stand amaz'd, and praise him that produces both what is Natural, and Miraculous, and who by so many Warnings shows us, that he has reserv'd Times, and Moments in his own Hand.

King *Sebastian*, at that Time had other Conquests in View. The Loss of the Recovery of *Ternate* and the neighbouring *Moluccos* concern'd him alone; but he referr'd that to the Governour of *India*; whilst he himself, solicited by the *Xerif Muley Mabomet*, whom he design'd to set upon the Throne of *Morocco*, tho' with a good Design, joynd the *African Army*, with another of *Catholicks*, consisting of the *Portuguese Gentry*, of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and  *Germans*. And, if we may believe those who committed that Expedition to writing, he went over into *Africk*, contrary to all the Known Rules and Maxims of Martial Prudence, which Proportions the Strength to the Undertaking, to ascertain the Success and forecasts, in Case Things prosper, to secure and preserve them. This he did upon the Assurances the *Xerif* gave him, that as soon as ever the *Portuguese Forces* appear'd, the People would submit to him. But God permitted that most Christian Prince to be kill'd, the *Xerif* perishing with him; and their Armies to be routed, *Muley Moluc* the third Person remaining Victorious, tho' he also dy'd in the same Battel, and was bury'd in triumphant Manner. The Prodigies, and Fears of the wiser sort were verifi'd in the King of *Portugal*, and particularly that which happen'd before his Birth. It is certainly reported, that the Princess *Joanna* his Mother, one Night saw a great Number of *Moors* come into her Chamber, in the Palace at *Lisben*, clad in several Colours; she believ'd or fancy'd they might be those they call *Monetros*, who are such as do the Duty of Guards in the Royal Apartment. Some went out to enquire, and found them all still, as husht as at other Times. The Princess seeing the imaginary *Moors* come in again, swoon'd away in her Ladies Arms. Afterwards at the proper Time, she was deliver'd of King *Sebastian*, whose singular Virtues, supported by the Loyalty of his Subjects, might have shin'd as bright as his natural Magnanimity, had not that hasten'd his End. That was mourn'd for and lamented by all Christendom, and brought Trouble to all its Princes, who began seriously to discourse about the Successor to the Crown of *Portugal*. There they presently swore *Henry the* *Henry*, the Prince Cardinal, Uncle to the late King, then Eighty Years of *Cardinal* *Age*, and the last Lawful Male of that Royal House, which began in another of his Name. *Antony*, Prior of *Crato*, Son to Prince *Lewis*, pretended to succeed him, and the declar'd illegitimate, there was a Party that follow'd him. This Revolution, and the Hurry in such difficult Exigences, were the Occasion, that Care was not taken to supply other Places, much nearer than *Ternate*. Besides that dismal Accounts brought 5000 Leagues, tho' they were represented by *Demosthenes*, would come cold from his Mouth and scarce move the best dispos'd Prince, when never so much at Leisure; and King *Henry*, had no Power, but only his Zeal for Religion, to oppose the Tyranny practis'd in the *Archipelago* of the *Moluccos*. The Cardinal King thought all his Forces little enough, and necessary considering the extraordinary Jealousie he had conceiv'd, upon our King *Philip's* declaring himself a Pretender to those Kingdoms, and having order'd a considerable Army.

King Sebastian prepares for the War in Africk.

Is Kill'd there.

Prodigy.

Henry the Cardinal King.

Army to make up to the Frontiers, which he had drawn together during the said Cardinal's Life. The Generals were the Duke of *Alva*, and the Marquess *de Santa Cruz*, the first at Land, the other at Sea; and in the mean while the ablest Divines and Civilians of *Europe*, in all the Schools, and Parliaments writ concerning his Right.

First Eng-  
lish Voyage  
to the Mo-  
succos.

The Year before, being 1579, about the Beginning of it, *Q. Elizabeth* of *England*, seeing the Princes of *Europe*, particularly those in the Western Parts, make Warrilike Preparations, as being divided in Opinions; form Leagues, and direct all their Designs towards the Kingdom of *Portugal*, she to make some Diverſion with Security, had on a sudden fitted out four Ships, of eighteen Brass Guns each, and in them two hundred Men, and ten young Gentlemen, who besides employing their Valour, on such Occasions as it should offer, were to be very intent upon the Business of Navigation for greater Ends. She appointed *Francis Drake* of the County of *Devon* their Commander in Chief; who at his own, or at the Charge of *John Hawkins*, from whom he stole a great Quantity of Gold and Silver at *S. John de Ulva*, in the Year 1566, added some more Ships. He set sail from the Port of *Plymouth*, for the South Sea, and to find out that Streight of *Magellan*, scarce believed by the Vulgar, and declar'd by several Cosmographers. He promis'd to sail as much as might be to the Northward, and to take rich Prizes, infesting all those remote Seas, and to return Victorious into *England*, through the same Streight. This presumptuous Hope he grounded on his own Valour, on the Negligence of the *Spaniards*, who are intrusted with the Places of Strength; on our want of Ships; and above all on that Opportunity, or Season so full of sundry and extraordinary Commotions. He touch'd on the Coast of *Africk*, and refitted all his Ships at *Cape Bojador*. The *Moors* took two of his Men, and a *Portuguese* Ship pay'd for it, he robbing her at *Cabo Blanco* of an hundred Quintals, or hundred Weight of Bisket, besides much Fish, and many Arms. He touch'd at the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, where he took another small *Portuguese* Vessel, richly Laden with Wine, Cloth, Holland, and several other Commodities, with *Sylon*, the Pilot in it, who was well acquainted with those Seas, and better on the Coast of *Brazil*. But six or seven Days after the Vessel sunk, and not a Man was sav'd except only the said Pilot. *Drake* went on to the River of *Plate*, and Winter'd for some Months in *S. Juliens Bay*, which is not well shelter'd, but expos'd to excessive cold Winds, in 50 Degrees of South Latitude, where he lost some Men.

Sir Francis  
Drake his  
Voyage.

One *Thomas Houghton* rais'd a Mutiny there, in order to Debauch the Squadron, *Drake* laid hold of him, and struck off his Head. Here they saw eight *Indian* Giants to whom the tallest *Englishman* look'd like a Dwarf. They show'd their Bows and Arrows, and an *Englishman*, who valu'd himself upon his Dexterity at those Weapons, breaking the Peace establish'd with those People, let fly an Arrow at one of them, which pierc'd him through, and he dropt; the others in Revenge discharged theirs, and kill'd two of the *English*. The rest then assail'd the *Indians*, but they fled so swiftly that they seem'd not, to those *English* who saw and writ this, to set their Feet on the Ground. They departed thence, as soon as the North Winds they had expected began to blow, and holding on their Course to the Southward, in fifteen Days came to the Mouth of the Streight.

Giants.

From

From thence to the second Narrowing they spent five Days, by reason of the Currents and Shoals; at a small distance from them they found no Bottom. They met with some Gales and Storms, and being come into the South-Sea had one which lasted forty Days, and in it lost some Ships. The Vice-Admiral return'd through the same Streight into *England*, where the Queen order'd him to be Hang'd for having forsaken his Admiral; but he was repriev'd till *Drakes* Return, and then Pardon'd, at his Request. He went on with only his own and some other Ships, but wanted not Men, Provisions, nor Ammunition; he took some belonging to private Persons, and the Kings, loaded with the Plate they were bringing for *Spain*, a Robbery of great Consequence, not so much for the Quantity of the Treasure, as for the Use it is apply'd to in our Monarchy, which is the Advancement of the Catholick Church, and which thereby ceas'd, and deplorable for the unjust Abuses it was to be apply'd to in Scismatical Kingdoms. Having wander'd, Steering various Courses, in which his Pilots made their Observations by Sounding and their Charts, he touch'd at six Islands, to some whereof he gave Names, in Imitation of the fabulous Heroes, and even of true Catholicks, who assign such Names according to their particular Devotion. One he call'd *S. Bartholomew*, another *S. James*, and a third, which he thought larger and more fruitful, *New Albion*, from the Ancient Name of *England*, this is *California*. There he stay'd a Month and a half, refitting his Ships, and sailing thence to those call'd *de los Ladrones*, or of Thieves, in nine Degrees of North Latitude, kill'd 20 *Indians*, because they attack'd him with 100 *Canoas*. Twenty Days after, he came to an Anchor at the *Malucco* Islands, having before touch'd at others, without any Action worth remembering. His Cruelties, and Robberies might well gain him the Title of the greatest of Pyrates, in those remotest Parts, as he had it in *Europe*. He came to *Ternate*, but succeded not at first, that People being War-like, and at that time Arm'd by their own Malice, and an implacable King. He attempted to barter for Clove, without his Leave, was inform'd how severely he handled such as Transgress'd, and slighting the Advice, the King came to hear of it, and order'd him to be Kill'd. It came very near the Execution; but *Drake*, whose Genius well experienced in Frauds was no Stranger to Dissimulation, retir'd to his Ships, to make his Escape by Flight. Thence he contriv'd to appease the King, which was no difficult Matter, by means of some Presents he sent him. With them he purchas'd the good Will, and an Audience of that cunning Tyrant, and going ashore several Times to visit him, agreed he should enter into Amity with the Queen, and Nation of *England*, and that Factories should be settled out of Hand. The King consented, and *Drake* promis'd him the Protection and Arms of *England*; and taking with him, among other Gifts, a rich Ring the King gave him for the Queen, he sail'd homewards, with a great quantity of Clove. He met a *Portuguese* Ship crossing the small Channel of *Ty-Jore*, but either durst not, or thought not fit to attack her, whether it was for being Inferior in Strength, or out of a Desire of securing the new acquir'd Wealth. Scarce was he got clear of *Ternate*, before the Winds began to toss him, in that Sea full of Flats, whence they forc'd him, in order to deliver him quite up to Tempests. He was oblig'd to lighten his Ships, and among other Things of Value, threw over-Board a Cannon, of an extraordinary

*Drake takes the Kings Plate.*

*He gives Names to Islands.*

*Arrives at the Moluccos.*

*Is in a Storm.*



The Discovery and Conquest of

... Islands, which the King of Ternate, hearing afterwards of the ... Then he built a House be- ... on the Roof whereof he planted it openly, and pointing ... Account of its Magnitude, or by way of Ostentation, and in ... the first Englishman, that came into his Kingdoms, from whom ... had taken that new offensive Booty. Drake went on to the ... where he laid in Provvisions of Casabi, Plantans, and Flcul, ... for Cloth. Next he put into another Island, in four Degrees ... Latitude, where he stay'd for Weeks. There he left a Woman, ... Blacks, that belong'd to him, giving them Fire, Rice, ... that they might People the Place. An Heroick Founda- ... Then he continu'd his Voyage, turning in and out to ... with unexpected Dammage to all those he touch'd at.

... that it being possiblly believed in Spain and the In- ... the first that ever pass'd the Streights of Magellan, since the first ... Garcia de Loaysa, and one of the Ships sent by Don ... Bishop of Palencia, to the Spice-Islands, it was look'd ... that any Pyrates were come into the South-Sea, espe- ... the Streights, and to the Islands of Ternate, and that Arch- ... was the first that open'd the Passage to the Sectaries ... who afterwards pierc'd into those Seas, ... Texts, Heretical Biblies, and other Books of ... Divine Providence has given Proofs, that it is ... Innovation, tho' it permits Idolatry, and ... those Souls which through its pro- ... in the Shades and Darknes of Ignorance, to ... them the Gospel in its Purity. It has Op- ... Instruments of Spanish Religious ... King, who protects them, his main Design ... This Truth plainly appears in the many ... through his Officers, and the Armies ... of the Monarchy, for the Propagation of ... Indians.

... the true Forecast and Care, I think it a ... Preparations made by the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, directing his Actions ... a Minister who follow'd his Princes Design, in Order ... Celerity and Boldness; for as much of this as concerns the Molucco Islands, obliges us to write it, and we will lightly run over all the particular Passages.

Preparations of the Viceroy. The Viceroy of Peru was of Opinion, That in Order to secure the Indies, their Peace and Religion, and for the removing, at first, of all Obstacles to its Exaltation, and making Examples for a Warning, it was of the greatest Consequence to erect Forts, as divine and humane politick Precautions, and to Attacke and take Pyrates, so to give a Check to the Northern Parts by his Punishment. To this Purpose, and in Order to his Destruction, a more exact Observation was to be taken of the Passes into the South-Sea, and more particularly of the Way he was to take, to return into his own Country. He was egg'd on by Fear, or the Loss of Reputation

Relation of the Discovery

Preparations of the Viceroy.

Way into the South Sea. They found the Latitude by three *Afrolabes* to be 50 Degrees. The Harbour they call'd of, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, and the Island of the most Holy Trinity.

The next *Sunday*, *Sarmiento* order'd all the Men to land, in order to take Possession, and perform'd all that is contain'd in the Authentick Instrument of what happen'd that Day, the exprefs Words whereof are thus,

*Sarmiento takes Possession of the Land.*

In the Name of the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons, and one only God, who is the Beginning, Maker and Creator of all Things; without whom nothing that is Good can be done, began, or preserv'd. And in regard that a good Beginning must be in God, and through God, and in him it is requisite to begin, to his Honour and Glory, and in his most Holy Name, Be it known to all those who shall see this Instrument, that this Day, being *Sunday* the 22d of *November*, 1579. this Royal Navy of the Mighty Renowned Lord, King *Philip* of *Spain*, and its other Dominions, my Sovereign, being arriv'd in this Country by Order of the most Excellent Lord, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, Viceroy, Governour, and Captain General of *Peru*, to discover the Streight of *Magellan*, under the Command of the General *Peter Sarmiento*, the Land by him nam'd, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, and the Bay of, *The most Holy Trinity*. The said Lord General having landed with most of the Sea and Landmen belonging to his Navy, and the Religious Men, he brought ashore a Cross, which he devoutly worshipp'd, with all his Men. The Religious Men sang the Hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, and he with a loud Voice, said, That in the Name of his Majesty *Philip* the Second, our Lord, King of *Castile* and *Aragon*, and their Dependencies, whom our Lord God long preserve, with the Addition of greater Kingdoms and Dominions, for the Glory of God, and Good and Prosperity of his Subjects; and in the Name of the most Potent Kings his Heirs and Successors for the Time being; he, as his Commander in chief, and Admiral of this same Navy, and by Virtue of the Order and Instructions given him in his Majesty's Royal Name, by the said Lord Viceroy of *Peru*, took, did take, seiz'd, and did seize the Possession of this Land on which he is now ashore, and which he has discover'd for evermore, in the said Royal Name, and of the said Crown of *Castile* and *Leon*, as has been said, as being his own, and really belonging to him, by Virtue of the Donation and Gift the Holy Father *Alexander* the Sixth, Pope of *Rome*, pass'd *Motu proprio*, in Favour of their Catholick Majesties *Ferdinand* the Fifth, and *Isabel* his Wife, King and Queen of *Castile* and *Leon* of glorious Memory, and to their Heirs and Successors, of the one half of the World, being 180 Degrees of Longitude, as is more fully contain'd in the said Bull, dated at *Rome*, on the 14th of *May*, 1497. By Virtue whereof, these said Lands fall, lye, and are included within the Limits and Meridian of the said Partition of 180 Degrees of Longitude, belonging to the said Royal Crown of *Castile* and *Leon*. And as such he takes, and did take Possession of these said Lands, and their Territories, Seas, Rivers, Creeks, Ports, Bays, Gulphs, *Archipelagos*, and of this said Harbour of the *Rosary*, whereat present this Navy is at Anchor. And he sub-

*The Form of it.*

jects,

jects, and did subject them to the Power, Possession and Dominion of the said Royal Crown, as has been said, as being their own Property. And in Token of Possession, or as it were, drawing the Sword he had by his Side, with it he cut Trees, Branches, and Grasse, and remov'd Stones, and walk'd over the Fields and Shores, without any Opposition; requiring such as were present to be Witnesses thereof, and me the under-written Notary, to give him a Testimonial thereof in publick Form. And immediately, taking up a great Cross, and the Men belonging to the Navy being drawn up in martial Manner, with Muskets and other Arms, they carry'd the Cross in Procession, the Religious Men, *P. Antony de Guadramiro*, the Vicar and his Companion, singing the Litany, and all the others answering. And the said Procession being ended, the said Lord General planted the Cross on a hard Rock, and rais'd a heap of Stones at the Foot of the Cross, in Token, and as a Memorial of Possession of all the Lands and Seas, discover'd, adjacent, and contiguous. And he gave the Name of *Our Lady of the Rosary* to this Port, as has been said. And as soon as the Cross was set up, they worshipp'd it a second Time; and they all pray'd, beseeching and intreating our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*, would be pleas'd that what they did might be for his Glory, and to the End that our Holy Catholick Faith might be exalted and dilated, and the Holy Gospel preach'd and spread abroad among these barbarous Nations, which have hitherto been remote from the true Knowledge and Doctrine; that it may defend and deliver them from the Frauds and Dangers of the Devil, and from the Blindness they are in, that their Souls may be sav'd. And then the Religious Men sung in Honour of the Cross, the Hymn *Vexilla Regis*. Next the Father Vicar said Mass on an Altar there erected, being the first that was ever said in that Country, to the Honour and Glory of our Almighty Lord God, and for the Extirpation of the Devil and all Idolatry. And he preach'd to that Purpose, and some confess'd and communicated. And as soon as the Mass was said, the General, for a more absolute Token and Memorial of Possession, caus'd a large Tree to be trimm'd, and on it caus'd a very high Cross to be made, and on it plac'd the most Holy Name of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST. F. N. R. I.* And under it, *Philippus Secundus Rex Hispaniarum*. Of all which, I *John de Esquivel*, Royal Secretary to this Navy and Admiral Ship, do give Affidavit and true Testimony, that it was so done as is said. Then follows *Esquivel's* Subscription.

Sarmiento  
gives  
Names to  
Places.

Four Days after, *Sarmiento*, in the Vice-Admiral's Boat, with the Pilots, *Palos* and *Lamaro*, and ten Sailors and Soldiers, with Muskets, Bucklers and Swords, and four Days-Provision, set out of this Port to discover the Channels they saw, that they might not endanger the Ships. Going out by the Ridges of Rocks, he run along the Gulph, close to the Shore; all which he observ'd, and founded the Harbours, giving Names to them and the Mountains, according to their Shapes, such as *Sugar-Laaves*, *Pitchers*, *Guinea Peppers*, and the like. He observ'd the Trees, the Plants and the Birds. At one Place on the Shore he found several Tracts of People, and two Poiiards or such Weapons made of Bone, with a Cross on the Handles, near a small Stream of fresh Water, whose Sands

Sands are Red, and therefore he call'd it the *Red-River*, which falls into a Harbour, and that also took the same Name. They saw abundance of Fish, and among the Shells thrown up by the Sea, vast Quantities of Oysters and Mussels, and in those that were left upon the Rocks above the Water, great and small Pearls, some Grey, others White. This Sort of Fish, at certain Times, the Shells being first open, gape with their Mouths, and receive the pure and substantial Dew, which, as it were, impregnates them with Pearls, which are in Colour answerable to the Nature of the Dew. If they receive it pure, they produce them white; if disturb'd, they are of a Dark, or other Muddy Colours. *Sarmiento* describes the Vexation that tormented him and his Men; for being eager to satisfy their Hunger with Oysters and Mussels, and they being unfit to Eat, because of the Hardness of those Pearls they found in them, they threw them away, cursing the Inventors of putting a Value on those Productions, or Horny-nesses of Fishes, which Nature had treble hid in the Waters of the Sea, in Shells, and in the Fish it self. They said, that true Wealth consisted in tame Cattle, Fruit, and Corn brought up by Tillage, as they had in *Spain*; for that precious Obstacle to feeding, then not valu'd, depriving them of the Sustainance of the Shell-Fish, and being forc'd to live ten Days on the Provision they brought for four, the Fast made them all Philosophers. From this Red Harbour, he was obliged to return to the Ships left in that of the *Rosary*, no Day passing without violent Storms; when they had run backward, and forward, above 70 Leagues, landing on Islands, and taking Possession of them. They were Fruitful and Habitable, but till then Untill'd and Desert. From a very high Hill, he discover'd the main Chanel, which runs out into the great Ocean, and so many other Channels and small Islands, that they could not be reckon'd up in a long Time. Whilst he staid, he founded Harbours, Deeps, Channels, Creeks, Inlets, Flats, Roads and Bays, making Draughts of, and giving them Names. He settled the Latitude, and certain Course to be steer'd, in the Presence, and with the Opinion of the Pilots, Seamen, and Soldiers, in order to reconcile those disagreeing Persons by examining all that were present.

Here the Vice-Admiral began to cavil, saying, They were imbar'd, and that it was impossible to hold on their Voyage that Way; and would have quitted his Admiral, as he did afterwards. From *Red-Port* they held on their Course, trying those in other Islands. *Sarmiento* came to a Bay, which he call'd *S. Francis's*, where, as they were taking their Station, a Soldier fired a Piece at some Birds, and in Answer to the Gun, certain *Indians*, near a Mountain, on the other Side of the Bay, gave horrid Shouts. By the first Noise, the *Spaniards* thought it had been made by Sea-Wolves, till they discover'd the naked Red Bodies. They afterwards found the Reason of that Colour, for they daub'd themselves from the Head to the Feet with a glutinous Red-Earth. *Sarmiento* took some of his Company into a Boat, and coming to a Thicket, found them in the closest of the Trees, without any other Cloathing but that Clay as Red as Blood. Only one old Man, who talk'd to, and commanded, and was obey'd by them, appear'd cover'd with a Cloak of the Skins of Sea Wolves. Fifteen Youths came out upon the open Shore, near the Sea, and drawing near, with peaceable Demonstrations, very earnestly pointed,

*Pearls de-  
spis'd for  
Hunger.*

*Vice-Ad-  
miral dis-  
agrees  
with Sar-  
miento.*

*Painted  
Indians.*

lifting up their Hands towards the Place where the Ships remain'd. The Spaniards did the same. The Indians came close, and Sarmiento giving them two Towels and a Night-cap, for he had nothing else then, and the Pilots some other Trifles, they were well pleas'd. They gave them Wine, which they tasted and then threw away. They eat of the Bisket, but all this did not satisfy them; for which Reason, and because they were on an open Shore, in Danger of losing the Boat, they return'd to their Station, making Signs to the Indians to go to the Boat. They did so, and Sarmiento posted two Sentinels for the more Security, then forcibly seiz'd one of the Indians for an Interpreter, put him into his Boat, embrac'd him lovingly, cloath'd and fed him. This Place he call'd, *The Point of People*, as being the first where he found any. Thence he proceeded to Three small Islands, lying in a Triangle, and lay there. They went on, taking Draughts of the Lands, and being before a very craggy Country, the *Indian* who had never ceas'd shedding Tears, throwing off a Shirt they had put him on, leap'd over-board, and swam away. They held on their Way, quite weary of seeing so many Islands, containing strange Productions of Nature, but without any Inhabitants. Only in one of them, which they call'd, *The Cleft Rock*, near a deep Cave, they found much Tract of Men's Feet, and the whole Skeleton of a Man or Woman. They went on thence with Storms through incredible Solitudes, which it would be too much to describe, tho' our Design were to treat only of this Voyage. At another Land, where they arriv'd full of Uncertainty, as it were by Accident, in the Bay they call'd, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, thinking to discover whether one Channel ran to the East, and another to the North; they saw a Piragua, being a Vessel made of Planks put together, without any Sides, and sometimes of Rufhes, and of Calabashes, and properly a Float, coming along on the Water, and in it five Indians, who getting to the Shore, left the Piragua, and ran up a Mountain in a Consternation. The Pilot went into the Piragua, with four Soldiers, and the Boat proceeded further.

A Piragua.

A Cottage  
and what  
in it.

Coming to another Point, where they thought there were more People, they only found a low round Cottage, made of Poles, and cover'd with broad Barks of Trees, and the Skins of Sea-Wolves. In it were little Baskets, Shell-Fish, small Nets, and Bones for Sticking of Fish, like Harping Irons, and Scips full of that Red Earth wherewith they dye their Bodies, instead of Cloaths. This is all the Gayety and Habic they use, instead of the Gold and Silks worn in the Courts of Princes. Sarmiento left the Piragua, and return'd to the Ships with only the Boat, because his Provisions were spent. In this small Vessel, and a Brigantine, he found newly built by his Company, whilst they were viewing those most desert Islands, with the Advice of the Vice-Admiral, he went from the *Red Harbour*, and finding no other safe for the Ships, return'd to the same. Then in the Boat call'd *Nuestra Senora de Guia*, or *Our Lady of the Guide*, he went away to make Tryal of the Mouth which appear'd to the Eastward under a mighty long Ridge of Snowy Mountains, so various, that they saw some Tops cover'd with white, others with blew, and others with black Snow. Sarmiento calls that the Continent. There is no Number of the Islands he took Possession of, and those he discover'd, being inaccessible in other Archipelagos, from the Top of a Mountain rising above those

Snow of  
several  
Colours.

those about it, and cover'd with blew Snow, which he compares to the Colour of the *Turky Stones*. This Height he call'd *Anno Nuevo*, that is, *New Year*, because he found it on the first Day of the Year, 1580. He left no Saints Name, or the Resemblance of any natural Thing, but what he apply'd to distinguish those Islands he touch'd at, erecting Crosses on them all, and writing as he did in the first. He saw Men, only in these here mention'd.

He ran again in his Boat through those Seas, where Nature seem'd to set up new Islands every Day; and Anchor'd in a Harbour, where, among Sarmiento's other Precautions for Navigation, he drew a Meridian Line on the Earth; and mark'd the Magnetick Needles, refreshing them by touching again, *Str.* because they had receiv'd some Damage by the Storms and Damps. How weak a Guide have Men for mighty Enterprizes! He prosecuted his Discovery of little Islands, and taking Possession; and observ'd an Eclipse for the Benefit of Navigation, in the Port of *Misericordia*, or *Mercy*, as he nam'd it. The Vice-Admiral not coming to him, he suppos'd he was return'd to *Lima*, however he waited for him ten Days, and five more in another newly discover'd, and call'd, *Nuestra Senora de la Candalaria*, or *Our Lady of Candlemas*, three Leagues from the other. This Time having been agreed upon between them to expect one another, which when expir'd, each was to make the best of his Way into *Spain*; *Sarmiento* being positive, contrary to the Opinion of the Pilots, that there was the Streight of *Mogellan*.

On *St. Agnes's Day* he Anchor'd at the Island which forms that Harbour, for which Reason he gave it that Saint's Name. From the Ridge of a Hill, which hangs bending like a Bow over a River, he perceiv'd five Native *Indians*; who with Cries and Signs desired him to come to them; the *Spaniards* answering them in the same Manner, the *Indians* held up a white Scarf, and our Men another. When they were come down to the Shore, they seem'd to request they would draw near. *Sarmiento* sent them his Ensign, and the Pilot *Ferdinand Alonso*, with only four Men; that they might not fear; however they durst not come near the Boat. One of our Men went ashore, and yet they would not trust him, yet drawing nearer because he was alone, he gave them *Chaquiras*, that is, Glass-Beads, Hawks-Bells, Combs, Ear-Rings, and Hempen-Cloth. Observe what mighty Designs were couch'd under those Childish Gifts. Then the Ensign and Pilot came ashore, cherishing and giving them other Toys, and show'd them what every Thing was for, by applying it to the Use before them. This pleas'd them extremely, as did some little Linnen Flags, or Banners, our Men carry'd, made of narrow Slips of *French Linnen*, *Canvas*, and *Slesia-Cloth*. This made *Sarmiento* judge that they had before seen *Europeans*, and they, without being ask'd, signify'd by intelligible Tokens, that two Ships like ours had pass'd that Way, or were still thereabouts, pointing to the South East, and in them bearded Men, clad and arm'd after the same Manner. This was the first Intelligence they found of the *English Ships* under *Drake*. The *Indians* with smiling Countenances promis'd to come again. They went up the Land, and our Men aboard the Ship, which not being far off, *Sarmiento* came ashore to take Possession, with the usual Religious and Civil Ceremony.

The next Day the Ensign and *Ferdinand Alonso* were with six Soldiers by break of Day in the Harbour, carrying a considerable Quantity of Toys, to gain

- Spaniards catch three Indians.** gain the Affections of the Natives, who came also; but would not draw near our Men. They made the same Signs they had the Day before. The *Spaniards* to be better inform'd of what Course the *English* Steer'd, ran at the *Indians*, and took three of them, every two Soldiers holding one of them; and tho' they gave our Men many Blows and Bangs, struggling to get loose, they could not prevail, and yet were very strong. The *Spaniards* put up all that they might get them to the Ship, where *Sarmiento* receiv'd, and treated them Courteously. They Eat and Drank, and Kindness so far prevail'd; that they laid aside all Fear, and Laugh'd. Being show'd the narrow Slips of Linnen, they pointed with their Hands to a Bay, where the Ships had Anchor'd, with the bearded People, who had Arrows, and Partefans. One of them show'd two, and another one Wound they had receiv'd fighting against the Men of that Fleet.
- Vice-Admiral returns to Chile.** The Vice-Admiral was now gone back to *Chile*, and among other Accidents which happen'd in his Return, he was wont to tell, that being come to the Island *Mocha*, he sent his Boat thither to ask some supply of Provisions, and understanding how Friendly they behav'd themselves towards *Drake*, and that the Hatred those People bear the *Spaniards* might be an Obstacle to him, his Messengers, by Order, conceal'd their being such, pretending they were *Lutherans*. The Islanders gave Credit to the Fiction, being desirous to gain Friends, for preserving of their Liberty. Accordingly they sent them Flesh, Bread, and Fruit, with a Letter, in answer to theirs, the Supercription thereof in *English* run thus, *To the very Magnificent Lords, the Lutherans, in the South Sea.* Our Men answer'd, That since they had supplied them with such plenty of Provisions, they desir'd they would come and partake. About 30 of the Prime *Caciques* accepted of the Invitation, and came very joyfully, in a *Canoe*, to our Ship. No sooner were they Aboard, than the Vice-Admiral, not regarding their Complaints, gave order to loose the Sails, which were ready, and carry'd them away Prisoners to *Chile*. Some things that befell him, might justify his deserting his Superior, but they must be left to those who write a particular History of those Actions.
- Sarmiento pres'd to go back.** To return to *Sarmiento*. In the aforesaid Port. of *Caudelaria*, or *Candlemas*, the Pilots pres'd him hard, with Intreaties and Protestations, to do as his Vice-Admiral had done, representing how much his Men were harass'd, and his Ship disabled, and that he had done more than all the Discoverers before him. That they wanted Anchors, Cables, and Rigging; that the Winds oppos'd him, without which it was impossible to proceed. This was a Dangerous Tryal, because amidst the Complaints, and almost Threats of the Pilots, there was a mixture of Flattery, commending him, for that no other Discoverer had ventur'd so far; so that *Sarmiento* was no less mov'd by their Praises than by their Anger. However he bore up against both, and severely check'd the Pilots: Who knows but he might conceal the same Fears they urg'd? And in short, he appear'd so Resolute against all they could say, that he brought them to his Beck. He sail'd thence, keeping the Channel, and about a League to the South-East, the *Indians* show'd him the way the Bearded Men took, of whom, after killing many, they, as was afterwards known, sav'd one *Catherine*, and a Boy, both *English*, who
- Account of Drake's Voyage.** Kill liv'd among those wild Beasts, which they were more like than Rational Creatures. Somewhat farther in another Island, which the *Indians* said was call'd *Puchabailgua*, full of extraordinary high grey Rocks, the bearded.

bearded Men again fought the Natives without Succes. They went on to another Island Nam'd *Capitolligua*, on the Coast call'd *Cayrayaxiilgua*. *Sarmiento* did not change the Ancient Names of Countries, when he could learn them. They were sufficiently dismay'd in the next they came at, thinking they were Imbay'd; but presently after they took Heart again, at the Sight of the Channel, which begins at the Mouth call'd *Xaultegua*, and it widen'd, bringing them out to a most spacious Sea, full of thousands of Islands. Passing by, in Sight of one of them, they perceiv'd high Smokes; and the Captive *Indians* began to Weep, and they saw it was for Fear of the Natives, expressing that they were Giants, and fought desperately. Our Men encourag'd them, giving them to understand that they should be able to deal with those People. They went ashore on that Country, which is call'd *Tingutchiigua*. *Sarmiento* alter'd it, in Honour of the Cross he erected there, calling it, the Island of the Cross. There he saw Abundance of Whales, Wolves, and other Sea-Monsters, and great Clods of Snow, on the Waves. He made ready his Cannon, and small Arms, providing against both Pirates and Natives, for he expected to find the *English* possessed of the Land. From that Time he stood upon his Guard, and no Man quitted his Arms. They went on to a third Island, which is the biggest, heard Humane Voices, and saw some *Piraguas*, with the People that cry'd out, who were crossing from one Island to another. Our Men drew near in the Boat to take a View, and all of them put into a clean Harbour, whence they discover'd a Town, not Barbarous, but Decent and Lofty, like ours in *Europe*, and abundance of People, who having sunk the *Piraguas*, and standing on the Mountains, with their Arms in their Hands, call'd to our Men from a Wood, to Land, as ours did them to draw near the Sea. Among the Trees appear'd many more of those Islanders, with Bows and Arrows, as if they intended to fall on. This made our Men discharge some Muskets at them, the Noise whereof so terrify'd the *Indian* Women, that they set up hideous Shrieks, and therefore the *Spaniards* forbore Firing, for fear of losing all hopes of gaining their Affections. By this time the Ship which had been Cruizing up and down, came into the Harbour. *Sarmiento* made a Gun ready, and the Boat came Aboard, Towing a *Piragua* after it. Having writ the Instrument of Possession, tho' he had not inquir'd into the Government of the Inhabitants of that great Town, he Landed on the Shore, whence is discover'd a vast high Mountain, all white with aged Snow, and encompass'd with Rocks. Ancient Relations call'd it *Orlando's* Bell, he being one of *Magellan's* Companions. He Sail'd on to 54 Degrees Latitude, at the Point he call'd of *S. Isidorus*. Near to it the Natives call'd out to him, and coming up to our Men, Embrac'd them familiarly. *Sarmiento*, besides Hawks-Bels, and other Toys, sent them Bisket and Flesh from the Ships. They sat down to Converse, by Signs, with the Ensign, the Pilot; and Eight other Christians, signifying, that they were pleas'd with their Friendship, and those rich Gifts; and gave such confuse Tokens of the *English* having pass'd that way, as the others had done. Then they return'd to their Huts, and the Admiral having taken Possession, and found the Latitude to be 53 Degrees, and 40 Minutes, advanc'd in sight of the Coast, which eight Leagues from thence lies flat with the Sea, and forms a Shore of white Sand. Before he came to it he Discover'd a prodigious high burning Mountain, cover'd with Snow; where the Fire and

Several Islands.

Populous Islands.

Traffable Indians.



Indian Pre-  
Jents.

the Snow seem, out of natural Courtesy, to Respect one another, and to confine within themselves their Force, and Effects; for neither is the one Quench'd, nor the other Melted by their near Neighbourhood. The Channel carry'd him to the Point he call'd of *S. Anne*, in 53 Degrees and a half of Latitude. He took possession, and rais'd a heap of Stones, at the Foot of a Cross, and left a Letter written with Charcole-Dust, which he thought incorruptible, in the Shards of an Earthen Vessel, well Pitch'd, among those Stones. In it he declared to all Nations, That those Lands and Seas belong'd to the King of *Spain*, and by what Title he held them. In the same Letter, he left Orders for his Vice-Admiral, to return to *Pern*, and give the Viceroy an Account of all that happen'd, till they discover'd the Streight. The Ship steer'd off with the Ebb, and the *Indians* when it was gone came down with their Wives and Children, and a Present of great pieces of Sea Wolves, stinking Meat, Sea Fowl, call'd *Mimos*, which are White and Yellowish, *Martins*, a sort of Fruit like Cherries, and bits of Flint, bro'd through and Painted, in a small Box of Gold and Silver. Being ask'd, what that was for, and they answering, *To Strike Fire*, one of them took some Feathers he brought, and with them lighted it, as if it were Tinder. A little before, when our Men made a Fire to melt the Pitch, for securing the Vessel the Letter was in, which was left stopp'd at the Foot of the Cross, the Flame spread upon the Mountain, and rais'd a Smoke. The *Indians* believing they were Fires made by those so much dreaded Enemies of theirs, went away and could not be stopp'd by any means; nor was their Fear groundless, for they answer'd immediately in the opposite Island, with great Smokes. The River which falls into the Sea at the Point *Sarmiento* call'd *S. John's*; and the Streight dividing these Islands, which is the very Old one of *Magellan*, look'd and sought after with so much Danger, he nam'd of *The Mother of God*, changing its first Appellation, that through this Devotion she may obtain of her Son the Salvation of those numberless Provinces, extending the Voice of his Gospel to them, that it might reach the Ears of so many Souls, most of which are Ignorant of their own Immortality, without knowing any more than common Nature has taught them;

Possession  
taken.

*Sarmiento* was so well pleas'd with having thus express'd his Devotion, that when he return'd to *Spain*, he intreated the King, to direct that Streight to be generally so call'd, and his Majesties Orders. The Possession of this so remarkable Place was taken with extraordinary Joy, inserting in the Instrument the Clause of Pope *Alexander* the 6th's Bull, the Title that gives the Kings of *Castile*, and the Limits assigned by the Line he drew through both the Poles of the World, as Gods Vicar. *F. Guadramiso* said Mass, and they all heard it devoutly, considering it was the first offer'd up in that Place by Man to his Creator. It was intended as a Thanksgiving, and they all took Courage to undertake any difficult Enterprize. They saw the Track of Tigers, and Lions, and also White and Grey Parrots, with Red Heads; and they heard the sweet Notes of Goldfinches, and other Birds. Holding on their Course along the Channel, with excessive hot Weather, they came into a Bay, that was cover'd with white Weeds, and Anchor'd at the Point, on which a Company of Giants immediately appear'd, who call'd out to them, lifting up their Hands Unarm'd; our Men imitated their Actions, which denoted Peace on both sides. They being come to the Boat, which was Guarded by ten Musketeers, the Ensign leap'd Ashore, with

with four others. The Giants made Signs to him to lay down his Leading-Staff, and then they withdrew, to the place where they had hid their Bows and Arrows. The Ensign did as they directed, and then shew'd them the Toys and Gifts he design'd for them. This withheld them, but still they were jealous, wherefore our Men supposing their jealousy proceeded from what they had suffer'd before, and guessing they had receiv'd some damage from the *English* Pyrate, to be the better enform'd of it, ten of our Men fell upon one of the Giants, whom they took; but had enough to do to secure him. The others running to their Arms, return'd so quick upon the *Spaniards*, that they had scarce time to get into their Boat. They shot their Arrows, which flying thick, and our Men taking care to avoid them, they dropt two Muskets. The Steward of the Ship was shot in the Eye with an Arrow. The *Indian* they took was a Giant even among the other Giants, and the Relation says, he look'd to them like one of the *Cyclops*. Other Relations assure us, each of these Giants is above three Yards high, and they are proportionably spread and brawny. Being brought into the Ship, he was extraordinary melancholy, and tho' they offer'd him the best they had to Eat, he would take nothing all that Day. They set Sail, crossing Channels, and passing by Islands, in most of which they saluted them with Smokes: In the narrowest Part, which they call'd of *Our Lady of Grace*, through which they must pass of Necessity, and is in 53 Degrees and a half Latitude, *Sarmiento* was of Opinion, Forts might be erected on the two Capes to secure the Passage. They made haste thro' it, and again saw the Natives on another Point of Land, calling out, and shaking their Cloaks, or Woolly Blankets. *Sarmiento* went to them with eighteen Soldiers, Only four *Indians* appear'd with Bows and Arrows, and making Signs of Peace with their Hands, said, *Xitote*, which, as was afterwards known, signifies Brothers. They pos'd themselves on a rising Ground, and when the *Spaniards* were landed, made Signs to them for one of our Men to come to them. One went unarm'd, with some Gifts, as Glass-Beads, Hawks-Bells and Combs, which they receiv'd pointing to him to go down again. He did so, and the Ensign went up in his stead, obliging them with other Presents. They accepted of them, and yet neither they, nor any Courtesie could dispel their Jealousie. *Sarmiento* left them, to avoid provoking them, and going up the Moustain another way, to view the Ridge, Plains, and Channels, the four Archers appear'd before him, and without any Provocation receiv'd, but on the contrary after receiving the aforesaid Gifts, they furiously assaulted our Men, wounding the General with two Arrows in the Side, and betwixt his Eyes; and another Soldier had an Eye put out. The rest of the *Spaniards* covering themselves with their Bucklers ran at them, but the Giants fled up the Country so swiftly, that a Mustet Ball would scarce over-take them. This Action seems to verifie the Cowardice the Authors of Fabulous Books, commonly call'd *Romances*, ascribe to their Giants. *Sarmiento* view'd the Land, call'd it *Nuestra Senora del Valle*, or *Our Lady of the Vale*, discovering betwixt two spacious Ridges, some delightful Plains, numerous Towns, lofty Buildings, Towers and Pinacles, and to his Thought sumptuous Temples of so Majestick an Appearance, that he scarce believ'd his own Eyes, and judg'd it an imaginary City.

A Giant Taken.

Other Indians.

*The End of the Third Book.*

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**DISCOVERY and CONQUEST**  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.*

BOOK IV.

*Reasons  
 for Di-  
 gressions.*

**T**HESE Endeavours us'd by *Spain* to shut out the Monster: Heresy, dispell'd the Dread spread abroad by *Drake*, and Example in the North and South Seas. And since his coming to *Ternate*, oblig'd us to write all these Particulars, could not, once they began to have any Place in this Relation, forbear making it perfect by delivering the Success of them. A complete History is the Witness of Times, the Light of Truth, the Life of Men, and in fine the Mistress of Life. Therefore, to perform the Duty incumbent on it from such important Employments, it is not to spare; notable Digressions; especially when they deviate but little from the main Subject, and have some Connexion with it. This here is due to a prudent Action of King *Philip* II. and his Ministers; and shows his Catholic Indignation against Sectaries, and his Zeal for preserving Faithful of his *Indies* untainted, and improving the Disposition in the Souls of Idolaters, towards drawing them to the Faith. It demonstrates how compass'd the whole World by Means of his Commanders, that he might introduce the said Faith in all Corners thereof; to the Reputation of Watchfulness in the Service of this Misical Empire, which is now Mantant, in order to its being Triumphant. For this Reason it is absolutely Necessary, not to conceal *Sarmiento's* Resolution, nor to leave him in the remote Seas, till we have brought him back to *Spain*, and then we will turn to the *Molucco* Islands, which were in the mean while busy about their own Destruction.

*Sarmie*

*Sarmiento* did not go up to the great City he discover'd at a Distance, because he would not depart from his Ship; to which he return'd; leaving us still desirous to be thoroughly satisfi'd of so strange a Thing. By the Way he found two extraordinary long Cloaks, or Barbarian Blankets, made of Sheep-Skins with the Wooll on, and a pair of Shoes made of raw Hides to bind about the Feet, which the *Indians* could not carry off, thro' the fearful Precipitation of their Flight. They continu'd their Discovery, and the Wind oblig'd them to strike over to the Southern Coast; five Leagues distant from *Our-Lady of the Vale*; and thro' the cold Winds blew, they found this Country more Temperate than the others. It is inhabited by proper People, has wild and tame Cattel, and Game, as was declar'd by *Phillip*, so they call'd an *Indian* they brought over, in Honour to King *Phillip*. It produces Cotton, a certain Sign of its being Temperate; and Cinnamon; by them call'd *Cabea*. The Air is very serene, and the Stars appear bright, so that they are plainly to be observ'd, lay'd down, and describ'd. *Sarmiento* says it is useful in those Parts to observe the *Crozier*, which is 30 Degrees above the *Antarick* Pole, and that he made use of it, for taking of Latitudes, as we do in our Hemisphere of the *North Star*, tho' with another Sort of Computation. And in Regard that the *Crozier* does not serve all the Year, he sought out another *Polar Star*, nearer to the Pole, of a shorter Computation, but general and perpetual; and he us'd such Industry, that he discover'd, and ascertain'd it by Observations, and Experiments of several clear Nights. He settled the Stars in the *Crozier*, and two other *Croziers*, and two other *Polar Stars*, which take a very small Compass; this he did for the common Benefit of curious Sailors. Notwithstanding all these Tokens, and the Incouragement of humane Curiosity, no Man has ever gone to those Towns, which had such promising Signs of Civility; tho' those rude Giants did not seem to confirm those Appearances of a well-settled Country. *Sarmiento* ran along the Streight, never ceasing to sound, and lay it down till he came to a Cape, he call'd *Of the Holy Ghost*, from which to that of the *Virgin Mary*, there are 110 Leagues from the South to the North Sea. Here they began to order their Course with due Difference. They saw Whales, and on the Shores, Thickets of several unknown Plants. They ran thro' Storms and Dangers, surprizing even to such experienced Sailors as they were. They all vow'd Offerings to Churches, Alms, and Pilgrimages to Places of Devotion in *Spain*, with other solemn Engagements, on which fearful Mortals in Danger; devoutly ground and encourage their Hopes. The Tempest ceas'd, and on the 25th of *March*, about Midnight, *Sarmiento* saw a low white Rainbow, opposite to the Moon, which was moving against it; and it was occasion'd by Repercussion of her Rays, which fell by Refraction on the opposite Clouds. He says, That neither he nor any other Person, ever saw, heard, or read of the like; but by his good Leave, in *Albericus Vesputius's* Epitome of Voyages, we read that the same happen'd in the Year 1501, in that same Place, where both of them taking the Sun's Altitude, they found him in 23 Degrees large, which is as good as 15 Leaguer. This Day they were within the Tropick of *Capricorn*. Proceeding forward, they lost their Reckoning, and the Hopes of recovering it, for Want of Mathematical Instruments; but on the first of *April*,

South  
Coast.Observations  
for  
Sailors.Sarmiento  
comes into  
the North  
Sea.

Anchors at  
the Island  
Ascension.

Ravenous  
Birds.

Fight with  
the  
French

1580, at Night, they discover'd, and observ'd the *Polar-Star* of the Triangle in 21 Degrees; and on the 10th of the same Month, they saw the Island of the *Ascension*, at eight Leagues Distance. They anchor'd there, found Water, and saw several Crosses, erected by some *Portugueses*, who in their Way to *India*, were cast away there by a Storm, and the Living, out of Devotion, set them up on the Graves of those that dy'd. On one of them they found a Board nail'd, with this Inscription, Don John de Castel-Rodrigo, *Commodore*, arriv'd here with five *India Ships*, on the 13th of May, 1576. Near to it, *Sarmiento* set up another, as a Memorial, that the first Ship coming from *Peru*, touch'd there, having pass'd thro' the Streight from the South to the North-Sea, on the King's Account, with the Occasion of his Voyage. This Island abounds in Sharks, which are Sea-Monsters, Fish, and a Sort of such greedy and troublesome Fowl, that they make at whatsoever they see. They took the *Ensigns Hat* off his Head, to snatch away a Letter he had stuck in it. He sav'd his Hat, by clapping up his Hand immediately, but lost the Letter, which they pull'd away by Force; and afterwards they saw a *Hay* in the Air, the others endeavouring to take it from that *Harpy*, which first snatch'd it away. This Island lies in 7 Degrees and a half of South Latitude, and it is very observable, that tho' the *Spaniards* were very attentive to their Com-pass, and took so many Precautions for their Security, yet such was the Force of the several Currents, that when they thought they were 60 Leagues from *Pernambuco* East and West, at the River of *Virtues*, on the Coast of *Brazil*, they found themselves 400 Leagues to the Eastward; so that the Currents deceiv'd, and drove them 340 Leagues from the Point they had settled by the Degree of Latitude. *Sarmiento* discours'd largely upon this Effect, charging the Sea-Charts with Falshood, and being ignorantly laid down. Dreadful Tempests ensu'd, till on the 28th of April, on the Coast of *Guinea* he discover'd *Sierra Lione*, abounding in Gold, and Blacks. Then the Islands they call of *Mols*, and beyond them those of *Visagaos*, inhabited by stout Black Archers, who shoot poison'd Arrows, wherewith, such as are wounded, presently dye saving. On the 8th of May they all fell sick on the Coast of *Guinea*, of Fevers, Lameness, Swellings, and Impositions in their Gums, which in that Country prove Mortal, by Reason of the Excessive Heat, and then for Want of Water; but Heaven reliev'd them with seasonable Rain. When they labour'd to make the Islands of *Cabo Verde* for some Refreshment, the Winds drove them off. They bore up without finding Land, or any Ship, till on the 21d of May, being in 15 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude, they descri'd two Sail. *Sarmiento* believ'd they had been *Portugueses*, and was desirous to make up to hale them; but upon better Observation perceiv'd, the one was a Tall Ship, the other a Sloop, both of them *French*, who pursu'd and endeavour'd to get to Windward of him. The Sloop came foremost to view our Ship, which made good its Advantage. When they were come in Sight of the Island of *Santiago*, the *French* held up a Naked Sword, and then fir'd some Shot. The *Spaniards* answer'd with their Muskets, which was then done by both Sides, and several *French* Men fell, tho' on our Side never a Man was kill'd, but some wounded, and then they fled more swiftly than they had pursu'd. Those on the Island beheld the

the Engagement, and thinking it had been Counterfeit; and both the Ships *French*, they stirr'd not out to Succour either. When the Pirate was quite dead; a *Caravel* of *Algarve* arriv'd coming from *Portugal*, which discover'd the Pirate's Name, and Strength; declaring he had 85 Men in the Ship, and 25 in the Sloop, and among them a *Portuguese* Pilot. That he had plunder'd four other Ships, and the said *Caravel*, at *Cape Blanco*, on the Coast of *Africk*; and at the Island of *May*, not far from *Santiago*, had sunk another *Caravel*, belonging to the Royal Navy, which was sailing for *Brazil*, in order to People *Paraguay*; where the *English* had of late Years built Towns, intermarrying with, and being attracted by the Love, and Children they had by the *Tapeyer* Indian Women.

*Sarmiento* Land'd at *Cabo Verde*, the Custom-House of which City yearly is worth to the King 10000 Ducats. There are always in it 20000 Blacks, because of the settled Trade for them. Before he Anchor'd, there came Boats from the Shore, to view his Ship, and he telling them, he came from *Fern*, through the Straights of *Magellan*, they were amaz'd. They return'd to give an Account to their Governor *Caspar de Andrade*, and told him, That those that came in the Ship, were Men of several Shapes, Deform'd, and Ill-look'd, and others with long tangled Hair and Locks. These were some *Indians* of *Fern* and *Chile*. As for the Rest *Sarmiento* has these Words, As to our being Ill-look'd, they did not wrong us; for besides that we had no offensive Countenances, the Powder and Sweat of our Volleys of small Shot, a little before, had not set us off to any Advantage; and, in short, we had more mind to some Water than to look like *Bacau*. However, neither he nor his Men went Ashore, till they had satisfy'd a *Prattick* Master that some of them were infected with the *Plague*. The next Day they Landed bare-Foot, in Procession, with Crosses, and Images, repairing to the Church of our Lady of the *Rosary*, where they gave Thanks, Alms, and other effects of their Vows, with extraordinary Joy; for every Storm is so much Honour, when recounted in sa'e Harbour. They Confess'd, and receiv'd the Blessed Sacrament at a Mass they had Vow'd to cause to be said. The Governor, *Don Bartholomew Leytao*, Entertain'd, and made much of them; tho' at first he would not believe they had pass'd the Strait. The Sick were Cur'd, and the Ship and Boat which were much shatter'd, re-fitted. The main Design of this Voyage; which was to Fight *Draks*, and provide the proper Defence against the Designs of the Enemy; had not been compass'd; and therefore *Sarmiento*, having fought the *French* Ship, and Sloop, which appear'd again, alarming that Coast, and both of them flying back with all speed, after being shatter'd and Beaten, to the Island *Mayo*, or of *May*, the common Shelter of Robbers; He redoubled his Watchfulness, and went on to get Intelligence of the *English*, as well those that pass'd the Strait with *Draks*, as of those new Planters in *Brazil*, or *Paraguay*; as also of the Inclination of the Subjects of the Crown of *Portugal*, to submit to King *Philip*, or *Don Antony*. A Pilot of *Algarve* inform'd him, That the Year before, betwixt *Ayamonte* and *Tavira*, two *English* Merchants, speaking of the *Indies*, assur'd him, that *Draks* was gone thro' into the South Sea; and by the Time, the *Nets* agreed with what the *Indians* of the Strait had signify'd to him by Signs; and that he arriv'd safe in *England*, with two Ships fraught with Gold and Silver of that notable Robbery,

*Sarmiento*  
at *Cabo*  
*Verde*.

*Intelli-*  
*gence* *he*  
*receives*.

which he presented to the Queen. She fitted out five other Ships, with three Years Provision, to return to the Straights of Magellan, to seek out those that had been lost there; and Drake eight more. That the first five were already gone in Decemb. last. That the Merchants had entrusted him with that Secret, taking him for a Portuguese, and who, as such, would not discover it to the Spaniards. By the French he was informed, That as soon as they had brought off some Ships with Blacks from *Castro Pedre*, they would go over to the Island *Margarita*, and thence to the North-ward, from the Island of *Santo Domingo* to *Yaguana*, whence they came not above four Months since, Loaded with Hides, and Sugar. That they had kill'd Captain *Barbudo*, in the Island *Margarita*, in Revenge for the English he had slain. That having taken the Governor of *Brazil*, they again set him at Liberty. That all their Pilots are Portuguese. He was also told by others who came from thence, and by Captains of Reputation, who were returning thither, that in the Bay of *Paraguay*, near *Rio de Janeiro*, which is in 22 Degrees, 12 Minutes South Latitude, there had been for eight Years last past, Colonies of English among the *Tupijers*; with whom for the three last Years, the Portuguese were at War, and had kill'd most of them.

English in  
Paraguay.

That it is suppos'd the Natives, who are Man-Eaters, had devour'd most of those that fled up the Country. He pick'd up other Intelligence from *England*, concerning their Navies, their Colonies in those Parts, and Design of Usurping the *Molucca* Islands with all their Strength, and to render themselves Invincible Masters of the Spice. They dispatch'd a Boat, with these Advices to the Viceroy of *Peru*; for *Sarmiento* could not return himself by the way of *Brazil* and *Paraguay*, because the force of the Currents had drove him away into the Main Sea, East-ward. Before his Departure, he caus'd his Ensign to be Strangled, as a Traytor to his King, to the Dishonour of his Post, and an Obstructor of the Discovery. Two other Soldiers he Bannish'd, one of them from the *Ladies*, and shew'd Severity to some of the Company, on Account of the same Crime, which, it was believ'd, had not been so fully prov'd upon them, as is requisite for inflicting the usual Punishment.

Sarmiento  
Strangles  
his Ensign,  
and Punishes  
others.

Advice-  
Boat sent  
the Vice-  
roy of Peru

From this Port he sail'd to the Westward, till he came to the Channel between the Island *Fuego* and that of *Santiago*, where one of the Ships that came out with him stay'd. Steering Nor-west, one Point over or under, for that is the Course to the Island *S. Anton*, he thence dispatch'd the Advice Boat for the Viceroy of *Peru*, with eight Men, commanded by *Ferdinand Alonso*. In thirteen Days more he pass'd betwixt the Island *Graciosa*, one of the *Azores*, small, but fruitful, and populous, and that of *S. George*, in which he saw prodigious high Fires. Those he afterwards found verified by the Bishop, at *Agra*, where he resides. That on the first of *June* that same Year, there were dreadful Earthquakes in the Island of *S. George*, Voices of Devils were heard, and among other wonderful Effects, the Earth open'd in three Places, whence Streams of Fire ran as far as the Sea. Those continu'd, and seven more broke out, casting forth as many Rivulets of Liquid Fire; one of which ran round an Hermitage, and nine Men running to save some Bee-Hives from being burnt, another Mouth open'd, which swallow'd seven of them, and sing'd the other two. So much Ashes fell like Rain upon the Earth, that it was cover'd a Span deep, and in short, all the

Confagration  
in the  
Island of  
S. George.

the Island was on Fire *Sarmiento* held on his Course, and on the 18th of June, arriv'd at the City *Angra*, on the Island *Tercera*, the Chief of the *Azores*, where also came in a Ship from the Town of *Bernambuco*, and another from *Bayá de todos os Santos*, in *Brazil*. These being ask'd, What they knew of the *English*, assur'd him, That in *November* last past there came five White Men, with fifteen *Indians*, who were going to *Ileos*, and the *Portuguese* Towns by Land; and going along the Shore, they on a sudden, at *Rio de las Cuentas*, lighted upon an *English* Sloop. Seven of the Men were ashore drying their Sails, and as soon as they saw the Travellers they fled. The *Portuguese* persisted pursuing them; but the *English* letting fly some Arrows, held on their Flight, two of them up the Mountain, and the other five along the Coast, till they got into the Sloop. They cut their Cables, and left behind them two large Carriages for Guns.

Some English in Brazil.

The Travellers desir'd them to come ashore, and offer'd them Meat, and all other Necessaries, assuring them they meant no Harm. They answer'd, they would not come, and show'd Muskets, Cross-bows and Pikes, pointing a small Gun, to fire at them. It was then Ebb; and they departed six Leagues from thence, to sail near the River *de las Cuentas*. That at the Island *Cape*, over-against *Camamu*, another *Portuguese* Ship, that knew nothing of this Sloop, lighted on it, when there were only three *English* Men left in her, the rest being kill'd ashore, with Arrows by the Natives. In short, the Sloop was cast away, five Men of it being taken, who declar'd, that it came with a Squadron of ten Ships, in which a certain great *Englishman* pass'd the Straights of *Magellan*. That they return'd thence Coasting along, to plant a Colony in the most convenient Place for their Purpose, the Admiral having 500 Men aboard for that End. Four Hundred of them were Soldiers, the rest Seamen, and other Mechanicks. That all this Squadron Anchor'd in an Island of *Cainbals*, or Man-Eaters, and a Storm rising, nine of them sail'd away, but the Admiral not being able to get from her Anchors time enough, was Cast away, none being sav'd but those that came in the Sloop, and they escap'd by being then gone to Water. One of these five was 35 Years of Age, and an able Mathematician. He affirm'd, That those who escap'd the Storm, would soon return to the Coast of *Brazil*; with a numerous Fleet. Among other Particulars, he told them, that they found an Inscription with the King of *Spain's* Arms, in that part of the Island *Canauca*, where they were, which their Commander in chief took away, and set up in the Place of it another, with those of *England*. Besides all this, three of those Ships that escap'd the Storm, coming before the *Portuguese* Town of *Rio de Janeiro*, to make the *Cape*; and find out the other six, the Governor of that Place, sent out four *Canoes* to take Cognizance of them, which on a sudden fell in with another Long-Boat belonging to the *English*, who, as soon as they spy'd the *Canoes*, made away, but could not do it so fast as to save all. They took Three, and the Governor sent them to *Bahia*; but the Ships made away with all their Sails. The Prisoners own'd, That in case they met with their Ships at the *Cape*, they were resolv'd to go to *Purayba*, or *Pernambuco*. In other Respects they agreed with the Account given by those in the Sloop. The *English* arriv'd at *Brazil* about *November*, 1579, at the same Time that *Sarmiento* was seeing

An English Squadron.

The Admiral cast away.

English at Brazil.

king



king for the Streight; and this agrees with the confuse Signs the Brutish Indians of those Parts made to him, as he Touch'd on their Coasts. His chief Care being to enquire into these Matters, he was inform'd by the *Corregidor*, that is the Governor in Civil Affairs of *Angra*, that on the second of *November*, that same Year, another *English Ship* was Cast-away at *Gualva*, a Town two Leagues distant from that City, with six Men in it, two whereof, and a Black were sav'd. It appear'd there had been 300 Men in the Ship, and much Wealth, which was thrown into the Sea, during the Storm. That they were going to plant Colonies in *India*, and most of the Men dy'd on the Coast of *Guinea*; and perhaps this might be one of the nine Ships aforesaid. The People of *Gualva* drew out of the Sea fifteen heavy pieces of cast Iron Cannon, but could not get out several others: The fifteen are of an extraordinary Magnitude, as it were for some settled Fort. To conclude, he was inform'd, and Time has since verified it, that they were preparing in those Northern Parts to rob us of the Treasure of Metals, and Spice there is in those Countries, and in exchange to introduce their Sects. The final Success of both the *Spanish* and the *English* Admirals, was that they arriv'd safe in their respective Countries, forsaken by the Vice-Admirals. *Drake* return'd to *London*, with an immense Treasure, which the Queen seiz'd, alledging, That *Don Bernardino de Menoza*, then the *Spanish* Ambassador at that Court, demanded Restitution, as belonging to his K. and the rest of it taken from his Subjects; but the adjudg'd it to her own Cofers, in Recompence for the Dammage sustain'd, when the *Spaniards* supported her Rebels in *Ireland*. *Drake* was not enrich'd by his Robberies, nor did he gain any Reputation by his Actions; but on the contrary he was slighted in *England*, either because they knew what he did was not Honourable, or that generally a Man's own Country is ungrateful to him. *Sarmiento* departing from *Angra* with a fair Wind; discover'd the Coast of *Spain* on the 7th of *August*, and arriv'd at Cape *& Vincent*, full of Intelligence and News from so great a Part of the World, and of the Designs of several Nations, and the Crown of *Portugal*. His Arrival, and Account produc'd the fitting out of other Fleets, and fresh Preparations in *Spain*, and in the *Indies*, which extended to the Relief of the remotest Parts. One of them was the Reducing of *Ternate*, and the sending over one hundred *Spanish* Families, arm'd, provided and examin'd, as to Quality and Virtue, to be the first Inhabitant of those Deserts upon the Streight. They carry'd Tools, Arms, Instructions, and all Necessaries to fortifie the narrow Passes of it. *Sarmiento* went as Chief, and Governour of those Dominions. This Project prov'd unsuccessful, and in the general Opinion of all Men, it was through the Fault of the General *Sancho Flores*. Afterwards *Sarmiento* was taken, and set at Liberty in *England* where he had Conferences with the Queen and *Drake* upon this Subject, whence he drew Information for the Execution of greater Designs.

This Year King *Henry* Dy'd in *Portugal*, when he had Reign'd but thirteen Months. Five Governours had the Administration during the Interregnum, and were disturb'd by the Arming of *Don Antonio*, within the Kingdom, and by King *Philip's* Forces already advancing into the Frontiers. So that neither Government could do any more than consult about the present Exigencies; which at that Time were neither perfect Peace nor open War, there being Hopes that they would lay down their Arms, and joyn with

Ship of  
theirs cast-  
away.

Drake's  
Treasure  
Seiz'd.

Sarmiento  
in Spain.

King Hen-  
ry of Por-  
tugal dyes.

with their true Prince, whom the *Portuguese* is wont to Love, as a Father, rather than as a King. However there were some Troubles, and Commotions. Private Discord is an inseparable incident to all Governments, and that draws the Thoughts of Men after it, and is often the Original of general Calamities, tho' it be moderated, or justify'd by a sincere Zeal.

King *Philip* enter'd *Lisbon* supporting his Right by his Power, and whilst the other Provinces, which compose that Monarchy in *Spain*, *Africk*, *Alfa*, and the *East-Indies* submitted to him, he bestow'd Favours, gave Laws, confirm'd the Old, ratified Priviledges, and gain'd Affections by his Presence, and a General Pardon, which he extended to those who had offended him. On the 25th of *November* 1582, he swore to observe those Laws establish'd by his Predecessors, and particularly by King *Emanuel*, as then next Heir to the Crown of *Spain*, for himself and his Son, Prince *Michael*, whom God took to a better Kingdom in his Infancy. These Laws were afterwards sworn to by King *Sebastian*, and all of them imported, that all Honours, Employments, Benefices, and the Management of the Revenue of the Crown, with all other Commands by Sea and Land, in *Portugal*, *Africk*, *India*, the Islands, and all other Parts already conquered, or to be conquer'd by that Crown, shall be in the Hands of Natural born *Portuguese*. And by the 24th Chapter of these Laws, it was establish'd, that in fitting out Fleets for *India*, or otherwise for Defence of the Kingdom, or suppressing of Pyrates, the King should take the necessary Measures with the Kingdom of *Portugal*, though he should use the Assistance of his Majesties other Dominions. They were sensible that this favourable Law, without infringing the Ancient Laws, made way for employing the Forces of the Crown of *Castile*, in the Recovery, or Preservation of the Kingdoms of the Eastern Archipelago, where at that Time the Christians suffer'd Martyrdom, without any Opposition. And the King for the Recovery of *Ternate*, especially consider'd the Conveniency of the *Philippine* Islands, which lie more opportune than *India*; the Justness of which Reflection has been confirm'd by the Event.

*India* at this Time was govern'd by the Viceroy *Fernan Tellez*, to whom King *Philip* the second Writ, representing how favourable an Opportunity he had to do God good Service, to secure the Tranquility of Christendom, and settle Peace, which inestimable Advantages would be owing to his Fidelity and Care, if through them those Provinces should be united to the Monarchy, without any Trouble, by continuing Loyal, and providing that the Tributary Kings should do the same. He put him in Mind that Services become the more valuable by the surmounting of the greatest Difficulties, and gave him good Hopes of a Reward, which would have been fulfill'd, had he come home to see the Effects of them and his Services. But *Fernan Tellez* had no need of any such Promises, or of the Perswasions which are as good as Commands, contain'd in Letters from Ministers of State, and sent with the King's Letter. These being sent over Land, came to his Hands in six Months, and he either preserving, or gaining their Affections had so much Forecast as to confirm the King, Princes, and *Sau-giacks*, who, in those remote Parts, pay subjection to the Crown of *Portugal*; before he knew any thing of the Orders sent him, or of the additional Estate the King was pleas'd to confer on him. By his Authority he disappointed

King Philip the II. at Lisbon.

He Swears to maintain the Laws.

India submits to him.

Tellez the Viceroy Loyal.

disappointed some Projects of Confederacies, set a foot for the recovering of their Former Liberty, hoping by the Example of the King of *Ternate*, that the Revolutions in *Europe* might turn to their Advantage: But in despite of these Contradictions and Changes, *Fernan Tellez* so far prevail'd, as that the Religious Mendicants, and the *Jesuits*, continu'd the preaching of the Gospel, with such Fervour, that they defy'd even Tyranny it self. The Conversions of Idolater Princes are truly and elegantly related in the Writings and Books of the Missions of the Society, and other Ecclesiastical Histories; so that they excite, and inflame Devotion in the Breasts of such as read them. There may be seen, how the Truth was embrac'd, with all possible Affection; how hastily, and eagerly they learn'd the Catechism; what Rejoycings the Catechumens made on the Day they were baptiz'd; Queens, and Princesses worshipping the Images of Saints; and sweeping the new Churches, and Chappels with their own Hands; with what Attention, and Exactness they honour'd the Ceremonies of the Church; and lastly, how they frequented the Sacraments, and improv'd in Christianity.

King of  
Bachian  
kill'd.

Molucco  
way of  
Fighting.

Battle of  
Tydores  
and Ternates.

All this was Persecuted, and Extirpated by the King of *Ternate*; who was now so far from enduring any neighbouring Empire, that he struck a Dread into the remotest; insomuch, that tho' they were all sensible they ought in all good Policy to support the Kingdoms of *Tydores* and *Bachian*, yet they became lookers on, as it were on a Stage, to behold the Assaults given, and the Cruelties acted at the Sieges. And in the latter of them, whilst throughout *India* the Standards were display'd in submission to *Spain*, the King of *Ternate* enter'd *Bachian*, and press'd on so vigorously, that he took the Forts by main Force, and made the principal *Sanglackr* Prisoners. At the Taking of the City of *Bachian*, the King of the Island was slain in Fight, with all the *Portugueses* that assist'd him; and the Prince, his Son, taken, who was then a Christian, but soon after, having taken an Oath of Fealty to the Conquerer, and Apostatiz'd from the True Religion, he was miserably Restor'd to his Kingdom, exchanging the Hopes of his Souls Salvation, for the Pernicious Fables of the *Alcoran*, to which he has adher'd till this time; tho' in Temporals he now owns the sovereign Dominion of our King. The War with the *Tydores* lasted longer, the two Navies fighting with indifferent Success, and Victory changing sides, according to various Accidents. These Princes method of making War depends on Ambushes, and Stratagems, where Subtilty supplies the place of Strength. It is rare that either side is much weaken'd; because as soon as sensible of the others Advantage, the Weaker flies, and reserves himself for better Fortune; nor do they look upon it as Dishonourable to fly, for in those Parts they have but rude Notions of the Laws of Honour. The last Action, after they had sustain'd the Siege with extraordinary Magnanimity, was a Sally made by the *Portuguese* and *Tydores* from the Fort, with much Order and Conduct, Attacking the Enemies Camp with such Bravery, that tho' they were much superior in number, they could not stand the Fury of the King of *Tydores*. The *Ternates* being put to Flight, embark'd after a great Slaughter of their Men, and never stopp'd till they came to *Talau-game*, so they call the Harbour of *Ternate* on that side. The *Tydores* pursu'd, and being flush'd with Victory despis'd the Succours the *Ternates* had ready

ready in that Place, which Addition made them renew the Fight with fresh Vigour, and wrest the Victory which then inclin'd to the *Tydores*. These without breaking their Order, retir'd and imbark'd; and hasting back in their *Carcoas* came to *Tydore*, where they fortify'd themselves against what might happen. The King of *Ternate* return'd to this City in Triumphant Manner, making a Show of some Prisoners.

The News of the Union of *Portugal* to *Castile*, was now known throughout all those Eastern Parts, and so well receiv'd, that instead of offering at any Opposition, they all joyfully submitted, hoping they should be protected by a more powerful Arm, than they had been before. Now were they deceiv'd in their Expectation, for, pursuant to what the King had sworn at *Lisbon*, concerning the Fleets, for suppressing of Pyrates, and Garrisoning the Coasts of *Africk*, he granted his Royal Order, for all the Governours of the *Philippine* Islands to take Care to relieve the *Moluccos*, and all other the Dominions in *India*, belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*, making use of *New Spain*, and all other Kingdoms subject to the Crown of *Castile*, there being more conveniency for supplying them from thence, than even from *India*.

The King of *Ternate*, being sensible of the Change of Times, and how much greater Forces threatned him than before; and that he should not be suffer'd to reign, without submitting to a Superior, he grew better advis'd, and sent an Ambassador to *Lisbon*. The Ambassador was *Cachil Nayque*, well known for the Antiquity of his Family, and brave Actions. *Nayque* signifies a *Tribune*, or Commander. He imbark'd with much Wealth of those Parts, as Porcelane, *Chinese* Silks, Calico's and Mullins, Spice, Fruit, Aromatick Woods and Barks, and Preserves of the same; and passing between the Islands of *Pangiaz* and *Manado*, near to that of *Celebes*, keeping off from the Equinoctial, coasted it and cross'd the Line again, till he came to *Borneo*. There he visited the King, who was at *Tay-  
nopura*, and deliver'd him Letters from his Master, attempting by Word of Mouth, to unite him to the *Molucco* Nation against the Crown of *Spain*. Contenting himself with the first Hopes, he pass'd on betwixt *Cremato* and *Syrato*, and cross'd the Islands *Pulo* and *Linga*, in sight of the greater *Java*, thence thro' the Streight of *Malaca*, by the great Ones of *Banca* and *Bintam*, in the Port whereof were then the 20 Ships, which are sent from *Sumatra* every Year, loaded with Pepper. He barter'd away much of what he had in his own Ship, and propos'd a general Revolt to all Nations. There are two Streights there; the one of *Sincapura*, so call'd from that City built on the Coast of *Malaca*; and the other of *Sabao*, from an Island of that Name, and this leads to *Sumatra*. *Nayque* steer'd this Course, and soon put into the Harbour which lies going out of the Channel.

This great Island, opposite to *Malaca*, and divided from it by a Bay full of Ridges, of Rocks and Shoals, and above a thousand smaller *Islands*, was formerly a *Peninsula*, and contiguous to *Malaca*, as *Sicily* is said to have been to *Italy*. Ancient Geographers call'd it *Trapobana*, the Modern *Sumatra*. The Ancients also call'd it, the *Golden Chersonesus*, and the most curious Searchers into Antiquity, *Ophir*, whence *Solomon* gather'd that vast Mass of Treasure. According to the *Portuguese* it is 80

*Nayque*  
*Embassa-*  
*dor for*  
*Spain.*

*His Voyage.*

*Streights*  
*of Sincapura*  
*and Sabao.*

*Sumatra*  
*describ'd.*

Leagues

Leagues in Length, and 20 in Breadth. (Here seems to be some Mistake in the Author, for the Island is well known to be above 80 Leagues in Length.) *Italian* Writers say it is 2100 in Circumference. The *Dutch*, who have traded and made War there, do not contradict it, and all agree it is the largest in all the East, and the most fruitful we know of. It lies thwarting from North to South, in the *Torrid Zone*, and the Equinoctial Line cuts it in the Middle; so that one Part falls to the Northern Hemisphere, and takes up five Degrees, and the other to the Southern, extending seven Degrees. This Island is, according to some, divided into four Kingdoms; others say ten, and some 29; but we know of eight, which are, *Paitir*, *Pacem*, *Achem*, *Camper*, *Menacabo*, wealthy in Gold Mines, and *Zauds*; and up the Inland the other two of *Andragide*, and *Auru*, the Natives whereof are Idolaters and Man-Eaters. They devour, not only Strangers, but their own Brothers, and Fathers. In short, among these barbarous People, Hunger produces the same Effects as Passion. The King of *Achem* is the most Powerful of them, and they all pay Homage to the Crown of *Portugal*. *Nayque* enter'd the Court of *Achem*, attended by his own Men, and follow'd by the Multitude of *Chinese*, *Japones*, *Malay*, *Persian*, and *Turkish* Merchants; all of them flattering themselves with the Expectation of new Connections. He first worshipp'd the King in a Temple, where there were monstrous Idols, notwithstanding that the People are *Mahometans*. He had afterwards private Conferences with him at Court, and in a few Days brought him over to his Party, with his Wealth, as if he had been a poor Man. After delivering his Master's Letters, he told him, that before he went over into *Europe*, whether he was sent to discover the Power of *Spain* in its Origin, or Source, at a Time when it was distracted by such Revolutions, it was convenient that most wealthy Part of *Asia* should be restor'd to its former Condition, a Matter of no Difficulty, if they were firmly united among themselves. That none were so able to overthrow the Neighbouring Monarchy, which from *Malaca* had, as it were, fetter'd so many Provinces, as the Kings of *Sumatra*, if they, considering of what Moment it was to them, would stand by one another. That since he had successfully besieg'd that hateful City, assaulted its Walls, and Forts, and valu'd himself on being an Enemy to the *Portuguese*, he ought not to let slip so favourable an Opportunity, which offer'd him compleat Victory. That he should remember the several Expeditions of the Viceroy's against *Sumatra*, and that they always breed up *Adelantados*, or Lords-Lieutenants, with their Soldiers in Pay against those Kingdoms. And that since, till then they had not been able to make him uneasy, it was too much Forbearance to suffer a perpetual Threat of Thralldom to subsist so near him. The King of *Achem*, listen'd to him with Satisfaction, as one, who, with all his Nation, hates the Haughtiness of the *Portuguese* Behaviour; yet he neither promis'd, nor perform'd any more than obstructing the Trade of *Malaca*, till he had reduc'd it to Want. Nor did he keep the Secret, for they had soon an Account at *Malaca* and *Goa* of these Contrivances. He farther promis'd, That whensoever the King of *Ternate* should make a greater Invasion, or go about to extend, or enlarge himself, as far as he pretended he had a Right, he would continue to give the Diversion, as far as stood with his

Nayque  
sirs up  
Princes to  
revolt.

The King  
of Achem  
complies.

Conve-

Conveniency, and that he should have the Liberty of his Ports, and all Supplies for his Ships in his Kingdom. *Nayque* return'd Thanks, and extended his Negotiation, endeavouring to bring in the other Tyrants of *Sumatra*, as for the Publick Good. Then sailing away through the Streight of *Sunda*, so call'd from the Name of a City in the furthest Part of the Province, beyond the Line; he proceeded to the greater *Java*, no less Fertile than the other in the same Medicinal, and Odoriferous Growth, at the Time when *Thomas Candish*, an *English* Commander was arriv'd there, coming from the North-Sea, by the Way of *New Spain*.

*Nayque* went up the Country to visit, and found him in a populous City, where he was loading Pepper, which is excellent in *Java*, with that King's Leave, he being a Friend to the *English*, who had already settled a Factory. He found him on the Banks of a River of such a Nature, that it presently converts any Wood whatsoever cast into it into Stone, as solid and hard as our Pebbles. He bore the *Englishman* Company to the Port of *Sunda Calapa*, view'd his Ship, and made as much of him as he could. Among other Things he presented him a Pavillion, artificially wove all with sweet scented Cloves, and not black, which was not only fit to keep out the excessive Cold of *England*, but even to dry up over moist Bodies that slept under it. There is daily Experience of its attractive Virtue at *Ternate*, by placing great Vessels full of Water in the middle of the Rooms where the Cloves are kept, and in the Morning they find the Heaps of Cloves damp, and the Vessels empty and dry. The same Essential Heat is in the Skeins of *China* Silk, which therefore those who deal in it keep at a small Distance from the Water, yet they suck it, without touching, and by this Fraud they weigh the heavier. Captain *John Lopez de Ribera* carry'd such a Pavillion of Cloves, as is above mention'd, and presented it to the Earl of *Coruna*, who was then Viceroy. *Nayque*, like a Flash of Lightning which burns all that stands in its way, endeavour'd to stir up those who before were kept peaceable by the Valour of *Fernan Tellez*, and to encourage the Turbulent, but without staying to see the effect of his Negotiation, he made directly towards the Cape of *Good-Hope*, yet it is more likely, and even positive, that he went first to *Malaca*, and thence in the *India* Ships to *Spain*.

Whilst *Nayque* was at Sea, the Marques *de Santa Cruz* had in the Ocean fought the Fleet Commanded by *Philip Strazzi*, in which was *Antony the Bastard*, Pretender to the Crown of *Portugal*, and destroy'd it, Chastizing the *French*, who with real, or counterfeit Commissions from their King, had oppos'd King *Philip's* just Possession. He arriv'd victorious at the Island of *S. Michael*, cut off the Heads of the *French* Gentlemen, and condemn'd the Rest to the Gallies. *Strazzi* dy'd of his Wounds, and *Don Antonio* escap'd in a Boat, and return'd to *Zealand*, to sollicite fresh Succours in *England* and *France*. In the mean while, the King of *Achem* perform'd his Promise. His Kingdom lies next the first Promontory of the Island, in four Degrees and a half of North Latitude, and consequently his Ships easily made themselves Masters of all the Streight between *Sumatra* and *Achem*, which they so entirely possess'd, that they suffer'd none of the Ships so pass to *Malaca*, which brought Merchandize and Provisions from *China*, *Japan*, *Cambosa*, nor even from the *Moluccas*, obliging them to

*Candish in Java presented by Nayque.*

*Clove attracts Water, as does China Silk*

*Antony the Bastard Defeated.*

*Kingdom of Achem*

Coast about several Islands, to the great Loss of the Merchants. But the Portuguese Dealers in the City of *Pedir*, eight Leagues from *Achem*, sustain'd much greater Damage. Most of them fled to *Malaca*, and tho' *Fernan Tellez* was then upon his Departure, he gave the necessary Orders at *Goa* for their Relief. He sunk some of the Enemies Ships, and took one loaded with Daggers, they call *Crizes*, made at *Menacabo*, and a numerous Artillery, a Thing well known, and cast in *Sumatra*, many Years before the Europeans brought them into those Parts. This appears by the Victory the Portuguese obtain'd over that Nation, during the Blockade of *Malaca*.

The King of *Achem* sending a Daughter to be Married to the King of *Zor*, not far from *Malaca*, in the Country of *Siam*, among other rich Gifts, by way of Portion, presented him a Brass Cannon of such a bigness, that the like had never been seen in *Europe*. This prodigious Gun, and the Princess that was to be Queen of *Zor*, fell into the Hands of the Portuguese. The taking of this Prize, and some others, clear'd the Sea of that Fleet; and that extraordinary piece of Cannon, which serv'd to Ballast a Ship, was brought as a Present to the King of *Spain*; for its Monstrous Size, but a Storm oblig'd them to leave it in the Island *Tercera*, where it is now seen and admir'd. The City *Zor* was also Taken by the Portuguese, and in it they found 1500 pieces of Cannon, Artificially Cast, with curious Figures and Flowers of Rais'd-Work on them. The *Molucco* Embassador being come to *Lisbon*, obtain'd Audience of the King; who, tho' he was fully inform'd of the Embassadors Falshood; and the Practices of his Nation, yet gave him a favourable Hearing, after he had shew'd his Credentials to the Ministers of State. He in a long Speech recounted, from its Original, the constant Fidelity of the *Molucco* Kings; and how particularly Remarkable it had been in *Sultan Aerio*, and that the wicked Commander in Chief in putting him to Death, had equally wrong'd the Crown of *Portugal*. That since the Murderer was not punish'd, to satisfy the dead Man's Children and Kingdoms, it might well be conoluded, that so Cruel and Undeserv'd an Execution had been by the Direction of some higher Power than the Governor *Mesquita*, and that even in case the Crime had been Notorious it had been more Prudence to charge it upon some private Person. That King *Cacbil Babu* intreated his Majesty to punish the Offender in such manner as might give Satisfaction, and be an Example and Security to all the *Asiatick* Kings, that own the Dominion of *Spain*. In Return for that Favour, and Justice, he promised to Restore the Fort of *Ternate*, and his other Kingdoms, which were Alienated, and that they would return to their former Subjection, as they had promis'd to the Governor *Pereyra de la Cerda*; so remarkably correct their Behaviour, that there should be visible Effects of a Royal, and Humble Gratitude, both in respect to his Majesties service, and the security of the Garrisons, and to the Advantage of the neighbouring Provinces, belonging to other Kings, who were his Subjects, about *Malaca*, the *Philippins* Islands, and Parts Adjacent. He also engag'd to Restore the Churches, and Christian Religion, and much more than had been agreed upon with *Pereyra*. The King having heard his Request, as if he were ignorant that the *Ternates* did not deserve the satisfaction they requir'd, since they had taken it themselves so fully, that it exceeded

Monstrous  
Piece of  
Cannon.

Molucco  
Embassador  
at Lisbon.

His Speech.

exceeded even the bounds and examples of Revenge, he Answer'd, That all the Accessories to that Fact should be found out, it being prov'd that the Principal was already Dead, and none of them should escape unpunish'd, as would have been done by King *Sebastian*, had he Liv'd. That *Cachil Babu* must prepare to Restore all Things into the same Posture they were in before, if he intended to partake of the general Amnesty, which blotted out all past Offences throughout the Dominions of that Crown. *Nayque* had some private Audiences, and some Ministers of State had Conferences with him, with a Design to find out how the People of *India* were dispos'd.

At this same Time *Don Gonzalo Ronquillo*, pursuant to the Orders he had receiv'd from *Spain*, sent the Ensign, *Francis de Duenas*, from the *Philippine* Islands, where he was Governor, to the *Moluccos*, to pry into the Inclinations of the Kings, and People, Governors, and other *Portugueses* at *Ternate*, *Tydore*, and *Bachian*, as to submitting to the King of *Spain*. He set out in the Habit of a *Chinese*, and was much assist'd by his Knowledge of those Countries, and their Languages, and much more by his bold Spirit, sufficiently try'd in those Wars. He artfully Learnt what Hopes there might be of the Recovery of *Ternate*, and how firm the People of *Tydore* stood.

He first inquired what Leagues were carrying on in the *Archipelago*, what Intelligence they had with, and expected from the Northern Fleets, with whom they had now familiar Correspondence. He Travell'd about the Islands, like a *Sangley*, or *Chinese*, in the *Fanguas*, or Trading Vessels of the *Malay*, and *Philippine* Merchants, and had the Opportunity of viewing them all, so far as to take the Dimensions of strong Places, compute what Stores and Ammunition the Barbarians had, and discover the Humours and Inclinations of the *Portugueses* who Traded, or Govern'd there; and returning to the *Philippine* Islands, his Account, and Relation, first Encourag'd and gave Hopes that more Advantageous Enterprizes might be undertaken in those Parts, than about *Malaca*, tho' it were but only Supporting the *Portugueses* and *Tydores*, then hard pres'd by the King of *Ternate*. King *Philip* receiv'd this Intelligence at *Lisbon*, whence the *Molucco* Embassador was then gone, ill satisfy'd with the Answer he had; but *Sultan Babu*, on whom the Word of so great a Monarch, and the Authority of his Promise might perhaps have had great Effect, dy'd long before the said Embassador could come to his Presence.

The small Remains of Christianity still left in his Kingdom, took a little Heart, and had our Arms but appear'd upon the Revolution caus'd by his Death, the only Noife of them might have gain'd the Victory. It is Reported that furious King *Babu* dy'd by the excess of his Love, or rather of his inordinate Lust, in the Arms of one of his Mistresses. Some say she kill'd him with Charms, or Poison, which is the Tyrant-Slayer among those Nations, impatient of one Mans long Rule. He was Succeeded by his Brother, who was Illegitimate, as we are told by *Cerebil Tulo*, in the Letter, which, as we shall see hereafter, he writ to the Governor of the *Philippine* Islands. The new King took the Name of *Cachil Sultan Nait Dini Baraca Xa*, before whom *Cachil Madraca* ought to have been prefer'd, as being Son to the principal Queen. As soon as Enthron'd he offer'd Peace to his Neighbours; on this Security, and that of a clear Conscience, *Cachil Gava*, King of *Tydore*, paid him a visit. He was receiv'd with publick Rejoy-

cing.

The King's Answer.

Ensign Duenas from Philippines to the Moluccos.

The Intelligence got.

Sultan Babu Dies.

Sultan Nait succeeds.



*Murders  
the King  
of Tydore.*

cings in one of the greatest Squares of *Ternate*, and attended to a mighty lofty Arbour, provided to offer Sacrifice in, a (Chappel suitable to the Priesthood) and there to decide Controversies, and give Audience to his Subjects. When the first Complements were over, and the King of *Tydore* least suspected any thing, the *Ternate* Guards, hearing the Signal given by their K. drew their *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, and without allowing the Guest time to cry out, fell upon, and cut him in Pieces; tho' he was the Man thro' whose Means the K. of *Ternate* had the Crown given him, contrary to the Opinion, and Designs of his Unkles. But whensoever great Returns are due to a Favour receiv'd, Ungrateful Souls convert the Obligation into Hatred, and nothing can occur to them more odious than the Sight of the Benefactor. Next he turn'd his Fury against that murder'd Princes Family, and such of his Servants as could not make their Escape to *Tydore*, were either Kill'd, or remain'd Prisoners at *Ternate*, or absconded wheresoever Fortune, and their own Confusion lead them. This cruel Fact, which some assign'd to his Father, *Cachil Babu*, Reconcil'd the Murderer and his Unkles. But he immediatly acquainted them, how he expected to be Invaded on two Sides; that it was of the utmost Consequence, that Subjects should own their Sovereign, and fortify his Islands, especially all the upper Parts; and that since he had such Powerful Unkles, it was Reasonable, and Convenient, the People should be acquainted how firmly they were United to their Nephew. Then extolling their Valour, he with the sweetness of their Commendations so blinded and amused them, that they could not perceive the profound Jealousie he shrouded under them. Thus he divided them, that they might attend the Fortifications in distant Places; whilst he in Person carry'd on the War against the *Tydores*. They presently set up a Brother of their late King in his Stead; who, tho' he govern'd with Bravery, and stuck close to the *Portugueses*, yet had some strong Places taken from him by the King of *Ternate*, which were afterwards restor'd, in our Kings Name, by *Don Pedro de Acuna* to the King now reigning. This Prince lived but a short Time, yet so long that *Cachil Mole*, who was a Child when the King his Father was murder'd, grew up, and in him the Revenge of the Injury receiv'd. He never thought, or talk'd of any other Thing, till he brought it to Execution.

*New King  
of Tydore.*

In the mean while the new King of *Tydore*, assisted by the *Spaniards* he had in his Forts, provided to oppose, and attack his Enemy. They all expected Succours from *India*, where it was certain they must think it necessary to support *Tydore*, in order to recover *Ternate*. Their Behaviour was so brave, as to defend themselves, tho' ill furnish'd with Arms and Provisions against those who attack'd them with Plenty of all Things. *Heñor Brito* was come with a Galleon from *India* to their Assistance, and it being known at *Tydore* that a Storm had oblig'd him to stay on the farther Coast of *Borneo*, the King fitted out four *Carcoas*, and went to meet him, but was forced back to his Island by contrary Winds. He of *Ternate* watch'd to improve all Opportunities against his Enemy, and therefore would not let this Slip, nor trust to any other; but Man'd out nine *Carcoas*, and going in Person fell upon him. The *Tydores* wanted not Courage to defend themselves, and the Fight began with that Fury, which always arms those two Nations against one another; but tho' the *Tydore* fought desperately

*Heistaken  
by him of  
Ternate.*

Desperately, he was taken, and his Men either kill'd, or dangerously woun-  
 ded. This Mis'fortune griev'd the *Portugueses* no less than the *Indians*,  
 because they all lov'd him. For this reason they gather'd the Remains of  
 that Disaster, and all the other Forces they could make, offering their Ser-  
 vice to *Cachil Alcazen*, Brother to the Captive King, a very hopeful Youth. *Fidelity of*  
 He thank'd them, and was so dexterous in gaining the Affections, and con- *the Tydo-*  
 firming the Fidelity of the Subjects, that through his Care, no Man was *res.*  
 wanting to his Duty. This Industry was of good Use, for the Conqueror  
 did not return immediately to *Ternate*; but went about to his Enemies  
 Islands, perswading the People in each of them to take an Oath of Allegi-  
 ance to him, showing them their Captive King, whose Life was at his dis-  
 posal; but the *Tydore* Towns, being furnish'd with all Necessaries, and be-  
 lieving they might with Safety practice that Hatred and Rage Nature has  
 fill'd them with, would not give Ear to his Proposals, though they were  
 mix'd with Intreaties, and Threats, and on the contrary dismiss'd him  
 with their usual Fierceness. He perceiving that the Ostentation of his  
 Victory, and the Sight of the Captive King availed him but little, Sail'd  
 away for *Ternate*. At his Arrival, he was received with Trumpets, Kettle-  
 Drums, and Bassons they beat on, and with Songs they make for such like *Cruelties*  
 Occasions. The Heads and Limbs of the *Tydore*s slain in Battel, were fix'd *of Terna-*  
 and other high Places of them, and particularly the Kings. This is their *tes.*  
 way of erecting Trophies. Of the Skulls they make Cups to drink out  
 of; like the *Sithians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, practise the same;  
 or like the  *Germans*, as *Tacitus* tells us, of the Heads of the *Uri* they  
 flew, and that was a Token of Nobility. He would not trust the keep-  
 ing of the King in any of his Forts; but turn'd a strong House into a  
 Goal, and appointed him a Guard of *Gilolo* Islanders, well arm'd. Some-  
 times he show'd Severity, and otherwhiles Tenderness; but all Men  
 knowing his Disposition, expected the End of the Captive King; tho' at  
 the same time they believ'd, he would mitigate his Revenge out of Respect  
 to his Sister, the Princess of *Tydore*. *Hector Brito*, Commander of a *Galeon*,  
 came now to *Tydore*; but his Arrival did not much mend the Posture of  
 Affairs, tho' those in the Fort were Encourag'd to hold out, and at least  
 he added some Reputation to the Cause, and inclin'd the *Ternates* to listen  
 to some Overtures. However what could not be compass'd by force of Arms  
 nor Treaty, was effected by the Resolution of an Amorous Soul.

The Princess *Quisayra*, Sister to King *Gapabaguna*, that was the Pri-  
 soner's Name, had so great an Opinion of herself, as to hope that her  
 Beauty would prevail to bring about that good End, which was then of  
 Consequence to all Parties, on several Accounts. She knew she was be-  
 lov'd by the King of *Bachian*, by him of *Stan*, a brave Youth, by him of  
*Ternate* her Enemy, and by other prime *Sangiacks* of his Kingdom, and his  
 Kinsmen, who all publickly vy'd in doing her Honour. She was dif-  
 creet enough dexterously to feed them all with such Hopes, as lay no Ob-  
 ligation on the Party that gives them, and yet encourage those who  
 value them. She gave out that she would marry none but the Man that  
 should set her Brother at Liberty, and deliver him to her alive, or dead.  
 This Part of the Declaration, tended to the Promoting of her Design.  
 The

*Hector*  
*Brito at*  
*Tydore.*

*Remarka-*  
*ble Story*  
*of the*  
*Captiva*  
*King's Li-*  
*berty.*

*Contri-*  
*vance of*  
*Quisayra,*  
*Princess of*  
*Tydore.*

She is in  
Love with  
the Portu-  
guese Com-  
mander.

The Promise work'd upon all her Admirers; tho' it was most certain, that her naming herself as a Reward of the Enterprize, proceeded from the Affection she bore *Ruy Diaz d' Acunha*, a Portuguese Gentleman, and Commander in Chief of the Fort of *Tydore*. She thought he would attempt the Rescuing of the King, and that such Success would entitle her to marry him, tho' many suspected there was already a mutual Obligation, as well as Desire, and that they were reciprocally in Love. It was known, that they had discours'd together several Times in the House of *Quinchana*, a great Lady, Aunt to *Quisayra*, whether *Ruy Diaz* was wont to go frequently; and that with her Interposition the Matter had been so far concerted, that the Princess promis'd she would embrace Christianity to marry him. This made not his Rivals dismay, and the King of *Ternate*, upon these profer'd Hopes, offer'd to give her Brother his Liberty. However he was not regarded, because *Quisayra* was as averse to be beholding to him, as she was desirous to be oblig'd by *Ruy Diaz*. This powerful Passion informs barbarous Minds. Her Disdain caus'd the King of *Tydore* to be more close confin'd, and his Body to be loaded with heavy Chains, being more narrowly observ'd than before.

Cachil Sa-  
lama a Lo-  
ver of *Qui-  
sagra*, his  
Brother.

*Cachil Salama*, a Subject and near Kinsman of his, well known for his Valour in the Wars, was more deep in Love with *Quisayra* than all the Rest, and listen'd to all the Reports of their endeavouring to comply with her Expectation. He entirely keeping his own Council, a Thing rare in Lovers, to be secret without Affectation, that no Notice might be taken of him, one Night fitted out a *Baroto*, so they call a Sort of small Boat, putting into it five *Tydore* Soldiers, he could confide in. Thus he cross'd over the Channel to the Leeward, and landed on *Ternate*; where he left the Boat ready, but hid on the Shore. Then *Cachil Salama*, conceal'd among the Croud of trading People in the City, went to the chief Part they call *Limathas*, and set Fire to a House in that Ward he thought stood most convenient for his Purpose. The Flame, which had taken hold of the Roof gathering Strength, threaten'd a greater Conflagration. Having done this Mischief, whilst the People flock'd together, and endeavour'd to put a Stop to it with Water, and other means, *Cachil* return'd to his Boat, on the Inside the Ridge of Rocks there is about the Island, and went away to the other Side of the Fort, where he began to beat an Alarm, to cause the greater Confusion. This done he went ashore again, with only his *Campilan*, or Cimeter, ordering three of his Men to follow him at some small Distance. He found the King's Prison almost abandon'd, the Guards being gone to help at the House that was a Fire. He went in boldly, breaking open Doors, and Bolts, till he came to the Prisoners Chamber, who scarce believing what he saw, ask'd him, with much Amazement, how he came thither, and whether the Fort of *Tydore* was lost? *Cachil* answer'd, he must be quick, and go along with him, and should afterwards be satisfy'd as to his Questions; for if he refus'd he would strike off his Head. Then laying hold of the end of the Chain, and the other three *Tydore*s being now come up to them, they forc'd their Passage out of the House, making way with their Swords and killing such as offer'd to oppose them. The same Valour and good Fortune carry'd them through the Streets, to the Fort, and leaping into their little Boat, put all their Hands to the

He rescues  
the King of  
*Tydore*.

Oars.

Oars. In those Islands it is usual for Kings to row, without being compell'd to it by Necessity; for as in *Spain* the Nobility learn to ride, so the Island Princes in all those Eastern Parts value themselves upon handling the Oars, and Sails. They cross'd over the Streight, and being pursu'd too late, by the light Vessels of *Ternate*, arriv'd unexpected at *Iydore*. The Fame of his arrival was soon spread abroad, and when certainly known, the Cannon was fir'd, the flat Drums in the Temples were beaten, and the Bells rung, the Sound whereof uses to draw the People of the *Moluccos* together, and in short there was a general Rejoycing, without quitting their Arms. All Men cry'd up *Cachil Salama* to the Skies, calling him the Deliverer of *Iydore*, and *Neza Maluco*, *Neza* signifies a Spear, and *Maluco* a Kingdom, and both together the Spear, that is, the Defence of the Kingdom.

Only *Quisayra* was troubled at this Event, because the general Promise she had made of marrying, whosoever perform'd it, was only design'd for *Ruy Diaz de Acunba*. She was not able to conceal this Truth; especially when *Cachil Salama* boldly press'd the Performance of the Promise, the King himself seconding him. She delay'd him, alledging some specious Pretences to gain Time. She would willingly have made her Complaint to *Ruy Diaz* himself, either to shame, or provoke him to Passion. She easily compals'd to meet him at her Aunts, where, as soon as she began to Discourse, there was nothing but Tears, Complaints, Excuses, and Contrivances to murder *Salama*, to conclude a Reconciliation. *Roque Pinheyro* the Commander's Nephew, and a Soldier of reputed Valour, was present at this Discourse. *Quisayra* trusting him with her secret Thoughts, he boldly, and with Art, gave her to understand that his Uncle was as slack as before; and since he had been so in the other Affair, what could be expected from him in what he now promis'd. He said, if she could prevail upon her self to be sensible of the Ingratitude of *Ruy Diaz*, and to substitute him in his Place, he would not only murder *Cachil*, but his own Uncle too. That out of the Respect due to her high Qualities, he had not till then presum'd to let her know how deeply he was in Love with her Beauty; but that he now thought himself absolv'd from all human Tyes, and wholly confin'd by that. *Pinheyro* had a full hearing, an Advantage not far remote from being admitted; and tho' he was not commanded to murder his Uncle, yet he perceiv'd he had not left him so well in the Princess Esteem as he was before.

In the mean while, *Cachil Salama* was not idle, pressing the Business hastily, and having got some Inkling, or suspecting the Cause of the Delay, like a true Lover who is seldom deceiv'd in this Sort of Jealousy, he found out the Truth. By the Contrivance of one of *Quisayra's* Women, he durst presume to hide himself in her Bedchamber; and in the dead of the Night, he suddenly appear'd before her, his Fierceness being overcome by a Superior Power. The Princess was surpriz'd, but dissembled it, and prepar'd to defend herself in Case Violence were offer'd. She threatned to cry out; utter'd Complaints with Tears, and bewail'd the loss of her Reputation, saying, how could they think her Innocent, who saw him either come in, or go out. *Salama* all the while in humble Posture, and on his Knees, assur'd her he had no other Design, than to put her in Mind of the Obligation she lay under, and that since it was known he was to be her Husband,

*Quisayra*  
convinces  
to murder  
*Cachil Sa-*  
*lama.*

*Pinheyro*  
undertakes  
to murder  
him and his  
own Uncle.

*Salama*  
conveys  
into *Qui-*  
*sayra's*  
Bed Cham-  
ber.

his being seen was of no Consequence. That her Reputation suffer'd more, by the delaying of the marriage; and that to convince her of his Affection, he would be gone as obediently as he had always done. He went out immediately, comforted with Thanks, and Hopes; and deliver'd her from the Fear she had conceiv'd of him. She was so taken with this Courteous Action, that revolving it in her Mind, it wrought so much, as to settle her Affection on *Salama*; so that she would have marry'd him, tho' he had not oblig'd her before.

He gains her Affection.

Pinheyro murders his Uncle, and is kill'd by *Salama*.

At this time *Pinheyro*, who was already engaged in her-Love, either to obtain its Reward, or because his-Uncle did not Favour him as he expected, or for both Reasons, contriv'd his-Death. As he was going one Day to the Palace, to acquaint *Quisayra* that the Murder was already committed; *Cachil* happened then to come from a Fort to see his Mistress. He seeing *Pinheyra* coming out of her Apartment, drew his *Campilan*, or Cyniter, and tho' the Youth fought Manfully, and like a Lover, yet *Cachil*, who had the same Qualifications, and was Jealous over and above, at the first onset clove his Head, so furiously, that he dropt down dead of the Wound.

He marries *Quisayra*.

Then proceeding as he had begun, he went in where *Quisayra* was, whom he easily perswaded to be gon with him; and leaving the Palace full of Confusion, they Imbark'd in the *Baroto*, or small Boar that brought him. They Marry'd with the good liking of the King and Kingdom; and the Loss of those two Gentlemen's Lives. And since among the *Portuguese* Nation, as much Account is made of Honour gain'd, or lost in Love Affairs, as was formerly of Victories obtain'd in *Greece*, at the *Olympick Games*, the Vindication of these Lovers shall be left to the Management of those who are well skil'd in that Matter, to whom we refer our selves.

A Portuguese bang'd.

The *Portuguese* were much griev'd at this Disaster, as being Publick, and the King was so incens'd, that one of them having accidentally kill'd a Horse he had a great Value for, he caus'd him to be Hang'd, without hearkning to any thing that could be said for him. This gain'd *Cachil Mole* so generally the Affections of all Men, that tho' *Cachil Cota* was Elder, and Son to the principal Queen, by them call'd *Patriz*, under colour that the latter was a Friend to the King of *Ternate*, and about to contract Affinity with him, the other gain'd the greater Party; which advanc'd him to Succeed in the Throne of *Tydore*, as we shall soon see.

Nayque returns to Ternate.

The *Portuguese* Galeons arrived at *Malaca*, and in them *Cachil Nayque* returning from *Spain*, and having stay'd there some Months for the *Monsons*, he had a good Voyage, and arriv'd safe at *Ternate*, when he had by the way sollicit'd the *Javanese*, and the People of *Achem* and *Borneo*, not to admit of the *Spanish* Domination. He brought no acceptable Answer from King *Philip*; and found the King who had employ'd him Dead, and in his Place another, so different from the Former, that he entertain'd no Thoughts of restoring the Ports to the *Portuguese*, but on the contrary, aim'd at casting off all Obedience, and obliterating their Name. To this effect he Confederated with the *English*, who, with other Northern

English at Ternate.

Nations, Lorded it in the Island: Five Leagues from it lay at Anchor an *English* Ship, waiting for two others that came out with her. They Anchor'd in the Port, and went ashore, as if they had been in *London*, being well receiv'd by the *Sultan*, with whose Leave they settled a *Factory* in the

the City, where they left Officers, who under the name of Trade, were more absolute Masters of it than the Natives. They dispers'd to gather in the Clove for the Goods they brought to Barter; and on the 21st. of August dispatch'd their Ships, loaded with that Spice, and with those Nuts they call of *Molucco*, and excellent Preserves of them both. In these Ships went Embassadors to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to the Prince of *Orange*, carrying Presents suitable to those Persons, of the most valuable Things in *India*. They were order'd to offer the Queen his Kingdome in Vassalage, and his Friendship to the Prince of *Orange*. The Advantage of these Embassies afterwards appear'd; yet he did not on that Account give any hopes of Restoring Christianity; for besides that the Persecution grew more violent, he had at that time brought over into his Kingdome, a great number of Arabian and Persian false Prophets, all of them *Mahomet's* Priests and Ministers, to strengthen that Sect. Besides, being inform'd by his Spies, That it was given out in the *Philippine* Islands, That they would make War on him that way, and that in *Spain* the King promis'd the Union of the two Crowns should produce the Conjunction of their Power and Arms, for the punishing of disobedient Tyrants, he slighted no Alliance, nor contemn'd the Weakest Enemy. For this Reason, he gave Entertainment, and allow'd the planting of Colonies to *Europeans*, and Leagu'd with *Idolaters* and *Mahometans*, who hate *Spain*, as their common Enemy. The *English* Ships now frequented *India*; facilitating the Passage, and shewing an Example to the *French* and *Dutch*, which encourag'd them all to venture out far from their Countries, and seek for Treasure in strange ones.

Mahometan Preachers at Ternate.

*Sultan Capabaguna* did not long enjoy his Liberty at *Tydore*. He was taken ill at an Entertainment. Some believe he had a slow Poison given him; because he was very moderate in Eating, and those motions of his Arms, the gnashing of his Teeth, and losing of his Senses, which attend the Falling-Sickness, and are Symptoms of Apoplexies, could not naturally proceed from his Temperate way of Living; but are always caused by much Excess, which Occasions this violent Distemper. He came to himself after that first Fit, but his Vigour wast'd, and he linger'd on to the end of his Life. *Cachil Cotta* should have Succeeded him, but they were suspicious of his Correspondence with the *Ternates*; and they all so openly favour'd his Brother *Cachil Mole*, that there was not the least Difficulty made about the Succession. He often remember'd his Fathers unfortunate Death, and in Regard that this raging Desire of Revenge, might prove instrumental for the Recovery of *Ternate*; as soon as his Uncle Dy'd, which was on the 24th of April 1599, the Portuguese Commander in Chief, *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeira* repair'd to his Palace, and by Means of the Portuguese Power and Arms, caused *Cachil Mole* to be sworn King, as being a most faithful Friend to his Nation, and no less an Enemy to the *Ternates*. He immediately dispatch'd Captain *Palma* with this News to *Mamla*, and with it an Account of the *Molucco* Islands, of their Neighbours, and of their Preparations; because they were then providing in the *Philippine* Islands for this War, to extirpate this Receptacle of Sects, where all sorts of Apostasies are admitted, and particularly the vile Doctrines of *Mahomet*. Ever since the Year 1555, when the *Dutch* enter'd those Seas, they have

Cachil Mole King of Tydore.

not, till this Time, ceas'd bringing in Sectaries, and Captains of Pyrates: These Men carry away the Wealth of *Asia*, and in Lieu of it leave behind them that false Doctrine, which renders the Conversion of so many Souls Fruitless.

Moluccos  
sighted at  
Coa.

The Forgetfulness, or Contempt the Governours of *India* shew'd for the *Molucco* Islands, seem'd fatal; since they refus'd, or with-held the usual Succours, abandoning the Commanders, and Forts, for so many Years, as if they had not been in the World. This was not remedy'd by the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; on the contrary, the great Success of the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Legaspe*, in the Islands *Luzones*, which he call'd *Philippines*, being known in *Spain*, King *Philip* the II<sup>d</sup>. thought fit as we shall soon see, that the *Molucco* Islands, and Parts adjacent, whither he was Zealous to send Evangelical Preachers, should be sensible of the Advantage of his Neighbouring Empire. This was speedily order'd, and tho' the Effects were not sutable, by Reason of the many Accidents great Undertakings are liable to, yet Time has shown how convenient it was to fix that Resolution. For the better understanding of the Reasons on which it was grounded; since one of them proceeded from the various Disposition, Qualities, and Interests of the Nations throughout those Seas and Lands; it will be absolutely necessary in this Place to make them known, before we come to Particulars.

Relief order'd from the Philippines, and why.

Description of China.

The Country of the *Sina*, whom we call *Chineses*, is the uttermost of the Continent of *Asia*. On the East and South it is encompass'd by the Ocean, which the Ancients call'd *Sericus*. On the West, it reaches to the Borders of the farther *India*; and on the North to those of the *Massagezes* and *Scythians*. Their Ancient Annals, Writings and Traditions informs us, that the *Chineses* extended their Empire much further. This is verify'd by the Remains of sumptuous Structures; and not only in Ruins, wherein their former Magnificence is still apparent, but even in Cities, which Time has preserv'd, tho' not inhabited, and yet to be seen in the Provinces they have excluded their Limits. There are many which take there Denomination, and own their Original from *China*. For that immense Empire finding it self labouring under its own Power, and overburden'd with its Magnitude, like a judicious Patient, to prevent more Harm, it breath'd the Veins, and brought down the Redundancy of the Body. The same we read the *Carthaginians* did, when in the like Condition, and for the same Reasons. It confin'd it self to a narrower Compass, proportionable to the Extent of humane Providence, that so their Prince's Light might reach to shine over, and be communicated to them; which cannot be, when the Circumference is too great for the Darting of the Beams. They publish'd indispensable Decrees against such as go out of *China*, without leave from the Magistrates. They abandon'd vast Provinces, which being left expos'd to Tyranny, and Infidelity, after tedious Wars, submitted to the most Potent. Hence the Kings of *India* took their Original, being oblig'd never to lay down their Arms, nor keep any Faith, so to support themselves one against another, till a greater Power subdues them.

Chineses contract their Empire.

15 Kingdoms in China.

In *China* they reckon 15 maritime Kingdoms, or Provinces of an extraordinary Extent, with each its Metropolis, or Capital; the rest are up the Inland.

In-and. The most Part of it lies within temperate Climates, and receives into its pure and open Bosome the Sun's vital Rays, having a healthful, and serene pleasant Air. This favourable Disposition renders it so fruitful, *Fertility,* that it yearly yields two or three Crops. The great Industry of the Tillers, *Art, Popu-* is a considerable Addition to its Fertility. The Number of them is infinite, being a People that daily multiply exceedingly, because they are forbid going into Foreign Countries. Neither is any among such a numerous Multitude of Men allow'd to live idle Idleness is not only exposed to private Contempt, and the Scoffs of Neighbours, but punish'd by *Idleness-* publick Custome and Law. Thus the Peasants leave not the least Spot of *punish'd.* Ground untill'd. The Hills and deep Bottoms produce Vines and Pine-Trees; the Plains, Rice, Barley, Wheat, and other common Grain. Tho' they do not press the Grapes for the Wine, as we do, yet they keep them *Product,* wheat; and of the Herb call'd *Chia,* they make a wholesome hot Liquor. *Tea.* This they drink, as do the *Japoneses,* and it preserves them from Colds, Head-Aches, Rheums in the Eyes, and makes them live long and healthy. Some Parts of the Country want Olive-Trees, but they are not destitute of other Plants, which yield a Liquor to anoint them. There is a perpetual Abundance of Pasture, Fruits, Flowers, and all the Products of Gardens. There are many Navigable Rivers, carrying Ships of great Burden, and full of excellent Fish; the Banks cover'd with perpetual Greens, *Rivers,* spacious Harbours, and a Trade in them of all Things necessary for humane *Ports, &c.* Life. The Fowl are of various colour'd Feathers, and pleasant and nourishing to eat; great Numbers of large Deer; vast Lakes, Woods and Mountains, and Mines of Gold, Silver, Iron, and other Metals; besides Pearls and precious Stones. Its Purcelane, or Earthen Ware, is not to be imitated in the World; and it affords rich Furs against the Cold, Silks, Wooll, Cotton, and Flax; nor is there any End of its Sugar, Honey, Amber, Vermilion, and Lake. Musk, whereof no mention is found among *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, is more plentiful in *China* than in other Parts.

The People are most passionately addicted to Delight, and Lasciviousness. They alone always sell all Things; they buy nothing that Nature *The People.* or Art affords, either for Sustenance, or Cloathing, except some Perfumes for their Cloaths, and Pepper out of *India*; nor would there be any Place for Foreign Trade, did not an insatiable Avarice of Gold and Silver predominate among the *Chineses.* What they draw out of the Bowels of the Mines, they conceal as carefully as if it were still in them; and even that they bring from remote Provinces, they heap up, and bury. Their publick and private Structures would make up a Narration of extraordinary Length. We are told of 200 Cities of an extraordinary Magnitude, and many more of inferior Degree, besides Towns, Castles, *Cities.* and Villages, containing above 3000 Families each, built of Bricks made of the same Clay as our Purcelane, or *China* Ware, and these encompass'd with continu'd Woods, Springs and Rivers. In all these there are Towers with stately Pinnacles, Pleasure-Houses, and Temples, tho' hideously painted, yet costly, with Variety of deform'd Images, through which the Devils give their Answers. But these are not in all Parts, for many of them know no God, nor Religion. Life, they say, was from Eternity common.



common to, and alike in all living Creatures. That as first Men did  
*Barbarous* Intemperate Blood, and eat raw Meats. That afterwards the Use of Fire  
*Opinions:* provided for Necessity, and Pleasure; inventing the Ways of dressing  
 seasoning Meat at the Fire, in Vessels and other Utensils. The same  
 say, happen'd in Regard to Man's Nakedness. So that Man is indebted  
 himself alone for what he enjoys, and therefore whosoever lay'd on  
 the Burden of Religion, and the owning of a Cause Superior to Nature  
 by assur'd at the dejecting him, and exercising a Tyranny over his Liberty.  
 With these impious Notions, and destructive Atheism, they oppose  
 Eternal Salvation, which our Arms, and our Preachers invite this  
 They only regard Generation; but not without Distinction. Lawful  
*Chastity.* matrimony entitles Women to be Mistresses of their Families. The Men  
 value themselves upon being highly Chast. Concubines are kept in  
 apart. They do not want for Plays, and such Representations; and  
 delight in seeing their Traditions, whether true or fabulous, acted  
 the Stage. They use Entertainments, and have Tables and Chairs of  
 Ivory, and other precious Materials; as also Shipping, Shows, Carts, &  
 Litters, and the Exercise of Arms, and Riding.

*Customs,* It were no difficult Matter to give an Account here of their  
*and Man-* Customs and Manners, were they to our Purpose. Something has  
*ners.* said of the Publick and Political, for the better Understanding of  
 Things that happen'd in the *Philippine* Islands, from whence the Rec  
 of the *Moluccos*, in our Times, had its Beginning. They call their  
 Men *Loyties*, from among whom the King chooses his Judges and  
*Government.* Sellers. There is almost an infinite Number of inferior Magistrates,  
 exercise the Regal Power and Authority, even in the most inconsiderable  
 Cases. In every Town there are five, that have the greatest Power  
 these are Strangers in the Place, that they may be free from Part  
 Tutan a The Head of them all, is call'd *Tutan*, being the same as a Vice  
*Viceroy.* *Europe*. The next in Dignity is the *Poncasio*, who has Charge of the  
 Taxes, and Royal Treasure, with a great Number of Clerks, and  
*Poncasio.* Officers; and he pays all Salaries and Pensions. Next follows the  
*Ancaasio.* who is chief Justice, in Criminal Cases of Consequence. The  
*Aitan.* the Inspection of all Martial Affairs, he musters the Armies, built  
 Ships, and his principal Duty is to observe the Guards, that no  
 may pass into the Inland Country. The *Luitisio* is next to the  
*Luitisio.* Dignity, and is to be expert in War, in which he is employ'd by  
*Aitan*. I know there are other Magistrates, and their Names and  
 ties, which I must pass over in Silence. All of them except the  
 keep great State. There are ten chosen Persons of the Council, of  
 equal in Authority. Five of them sit on the Right, the others  
 Left. The King often thrusts in among the Judges and Parties in  
 prize, to pry into the Causes, and their Decisions, and be certain  
 form'd of both. When he thinks fit, he sometimes makes himself  
 and the Moment he discovers himself, they all stand Mute, full a  
 spect and Astonishment, listening to what he shall command. He  
 commends or reproves either Party, and rewards, or punishes both  
*Manda-* departs the Court. His *Mandarins*, and Private Ministers are so  
*ners.* respected, that no Man dares look them in the Face, and they alway

so Stern, that it would be thought a great Disorder to lose the least of their Gravity, tho' it were but with a modest Smile. This they observe, when they pass thro' the Streets, in Sight of the People. The greatest Honour among them is to wear a Cymiter with a gold Pointal, and a yellow Hat.

When the President of the Council Dies, the eldest Judge succeeds him. These go Circuits thro' the Provinces, and reform Abuses, and all of them wear the King's Badge on their Shoulders, and Breasts, being a Golden Dragon wove in the Cloth. When they go these Progresses, they save, or lessen the Charge by circumscribing the State. When first elected, at their taking Possession of their Posts, they generally go out attended by Troops of Horse and Foot, with all Sorts of Music, and Splendour. Their Pomp appears in the Hanging, and other Ornaments of the Streets and Houses. All the expence of Law Suits, Courts, and other Perquisites is allow'd out of the King's Exchequer. The *Mandarines* are Governours, and Viceroyes. In *China* there are no Dukés, Marqueesses, or Earls, nor do they own any Dignity, but what is deriv'd from the King's Authority. Though in the Parts next to *Sybia*, or *Tartary*, some People are *Mahometans*; yet in all others they are either Idolaters, or look upon the Notion of a God as a meer Jest. They believe the Life and Death of Men and Beasts are alike. There is nothing they are more attentive to, than the obstructing of any foreign Religion, and this under the politick Pretence, that they are jealous of Innovation. But above all they oppose the true Religion, hating that they know nothing of; and are as much afraid of it, as if its Ministers went arm'd to preach it, and with the Noise of Drums, and Trumpets, and regular Armies. They are frighted at a few bare-foot, and almost naked Men who profess Poverty, and preach up Morality, and supernatural Virtues, grounded on Humility and Peace. They have such an Aversion for them, that were it proper to our Subject, or were there not printed Relations thereof already, we would recount several Instances, to show their unreasonable Hatred. Hence may be infer'd; how much more Need of the special Grace of Heaven these Nations stand in, with those in the Neighbourhood, which are expos'd to the Infection and Danger of their Obstinacy. The Reader ought also to consider, that tho sometimes, the Avarice, and other Crimes of our Commanders, and Soldiers interfere with the Preaching of the Gospel, yet their Offences do not lessen the Justice of the Cause. He is also to reflect, that, allowing his Majesty, for weighty Reasons of State should, as we have said was propos'd, resolve to abandon those Parts of *Asia*, as the *Chineses* did, and circumscribe the Compass of his Monarchy; yet the Cause of Religion would not permit it. Our Kings are its Ministers, and Sons of the Catholick Church, and any War made for the Propagation of the Gospel, is of the greatest Consequence, and highly gainful, tho' it be to acquire, or recover desert Provinces. Besides that the *Philippine Islands* have shown us how tractable their Natives are, and how much they improve with the Example, and Society of the *Spaniards*, and how affectionately they have imbrac'd the Faith, and assist the Religious Men, who dilate, and carry it over into *China*, *Japan*, *Camboxa*, *Mindanao*, the *Moluccos*, and other Islands, where still Idolatry continues, or the Friendship with the Devils left them by their antient Masters, when they excluded them.

them their Dominions, or else the *Mahometan* Fictions, which they have since imbrac'd.

*Rumours  
of Chinese  
Invasions.*

This is the Principal End of keeping those Provinces; and the Revenues and Wealth which is consum'd upon them, and several others, are laid out upon the Forces, and Preparations *Spain* makes for the Preaching and Security of the Ministers of the Church. Besides, that as Times have alter'd, so they have often in *China* chang'd their Opinion, and shov'd they repented their having diminish'd their Empire. No Year passes over without Threats of *Chinese* Armies; of their Lifting Men; of building Ships; of their solemn consecrating, or dedicating them to their carv'd Gods, or to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which are ador'd in some Parts, begging Success in their vain Prayers against the *Spaniards*, who are possess'd of those Countries they abandon'd, thro' their own Indiscretion. This short Account of the *Chinese*, or *Sangleys*, is here inserted, for the better understanding of those Actions we shall soon treat of. They not only oppose the Truth; but tho' they are wholly addic'ted to their Interest, and Slave's Gain, and tho' it be so absolutely requisite for the attaining of those Ends through their Industry and Trade, to maintain Amity with their Neighbours, yet there is nothing less to be rely'd on than their Faith, or to give it a more proper Name, their Dissimulation. Happy those People, if when *China* withdrew its Dominion, it had also with drawn the Errors of its Worship.

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*The End of the Fourth Book.*

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**DISCOVERY and CONQUEST**  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.*

BOOK. V.

**T**HE Islands *Luzones*, or *Manilas*, which are both of them anti-ent Names, having been discover'd by *Magellan*; after his Death, and various Accidents befallen his Companions, *Sebastian Cano* return'd to *Spain* in that renowned Ship, call'd the *Victory*, as it were to express her Voyage, which is not so likely as true. *Sebastian Cano* was born in the Town of *Guetaria*, on the *Pyrenean Mountains*, as we are told by *Maffaus*, in his *Latin History*, where he extols *Cano's* mighty Resolution, and skill in the Art of Navigation. He tells us with what Respect and Admiration all Men look'd on him, as the first that went round this Globe, which is the Habitation of Mortals. And in Truth what value shall we henceforward put upon the Fabulous *Argonauts*, *Tiphys*, *Jason*, and all other Sailers, so much celebrated by the *Greek Eloquence*, or Vanity, if compar'd with our *Cano*? He was the first Witness of the Communication of the two Seas, to whom Nature disclos'd what she had all then reserv'd for his Discovery, suffering herself to be entirely lay'd open, as a Beginning of such Bold Enterprizes of that Law which serves, and renders us Immortal.

*Magellan* being dead, the Islands *Luzones*, which ought to have inherited his Name for being his Place of Burial, as the *Streight* did for his discovering and passing it, in the year 1565, chang'd theirs for that of *Philippines*, tho' those of that Eastern Archipelago bear the same. The *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Michael de Legaspe*, sent from *New-Spain*, by the Viceroy *Don Lewis de Velasco*, with a *Spanish Fleet* arriv'd at these Islands. He first conquer'd that of *Zebu*, and its Neighbours, where he spent six Years. These Islands, as there are several Names given to divers of those Parts, are call'd *Pintados*, because then the *Indians* went naked, and their Bodies wrought and painted of several Colours. He left a Garrison there,

*Sebastian Cano the first that sail'd round the World.*

*Islands Luzones call'd Philippines.*

*Legaspe the first Conqueror*

*Luzon* and went over to possess himself of *Luzon*, 150 Leagues from *Zebu*. He fought the Barbarians, who after the first Surprize, caus'd by our Arms, Ships, and Countenances, differing from theirs, was over, were encourag'd by that very Novelty. *Legasse* ran into a Bay, four Leagues over at the Mouth, where is an Island now call'd *Mariveles*. The Bay runs thirty Leagues up to the City *Manila*, and is eight Leagues over, lying North-West, and South-East. The Inhabitants of this City oppos'd him with more Bravery than the *Pinarados*; because they had Cannon, and a Fort, but as soon as they saw that taken by the Spaniards, they submitted. This was done so expeditiously that the Country had not time to come in; and thus he enter'd *Manila*, a Place strong by Nature. At a Point of it, which is shut in by the Waters of the Bay, a considerable River empties it self, which rises in the Great Lake call'd *Vay*, five Leagues Distant. This Point which at first is narrow and sharp, presently widens, because the Sea-coast runs away to the South-South-East, and the River West, leaving a most spacious Spot for the City, which is all encompass'd with Water, except that part which lyes to the South-West. *Legasse* then built it of Wood, whereof there is great plenty in those parts. The Roofs he cover'd, or Thatch'd with the Leaves of *Nipa*, which is like our Sedge, or Sword-Grass, and a sufficient Fence against the Raids; but a Combustible Matter, and the occasion of Great Conflagrations, which have often happen'd.

*Manila*  
City.

*Luzon*  
Island de-  
scrib'd.

*Luzon* is more Populous than any of the other Islands, which in Honour of King *Philip* the Second, were call'd *Philippines*, and which some affirm are in Number 11000. The Compass of *Luzon* is 350 Leagues. It runs without the Bay 100 Leagues to the Northward, as far as *San Segovia*; and from where this Province commences, which is at Cape *Bojador*, and 70 Leagues from it, turns to the Eastward, to the Promontory *del Enganno*; from thence along the Coast to the South, 80 Leagues; then turning again to that they call *Embocadero*, or the Mouth, being the Streight against the Island *Tandaya*, 40 Leagues, and this is 80 from the Bay. So that it bears the shape of a Square, and in it several Bays, and few good Harbours. It lyes in 160 Degrees Longitude, reckoned from the *Canaries*, the Southermost Part in 14 Degrees of North Latitude, and the Northermost in 19. On that Side of it lyes *China*, separated from it by the Sea 60 Leagues over; and the Islands of *Japan*, 250 Leagues distant. On the East is the Vast Ocean; on the South is the greatest of all the *Archipelagos*, divided imo five, and those again rent into so many Islands, Kingdoms, and Provinces, as if Nature had resolv'd that Man should never determine their Number. The most known are the two *Javes*, our *Moluccos*, *Borneo*, and *New Guinea*. On the West of *Luzon*, at 300 Leagues, and greater Distances, lye *Malaca*, *Siam*, *Putan*, *Camboja*, *Cochin-china*, and several other Provinces on the Continent of *Asia*. The *Chineses* forsok their Habitations in our *Philippine* Islands, but not the Trade. Neither did the Worship they had introduc'd cease, nor their Fertility. They produce plenty of Corn, and other necessary Grain; Deer, Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, and Wild Boars; Fruit, and Sweets; and if any be wanting the *Chitcheo Chineses* bring it, as they do Porcelane, and Silks. The Wine they use, and always drank, is drawn from the Palm, or rather *Coco* Trees, cutting off the Clusters of the Fruit they produce, when Green,

Produit,  
and Trade.

and

and taking off the Nipples of them, they gather the Water that runs from them, and Boil it in Jars, till it becomes so strong, that it makes Men drunk, in the same manner as the strongest *Spanish Wine*. Of its Natural Growth, the Island has Oranges, Lemmons, and most delicious Citrons; of *Spanish Fruit*, Figs, and Pears. There are Numerous Breeds of Sparrow-Hawks, Birds like small Herons, and Eagles, besides sundry Sorts of Parrots, and other large and small Fowl. In the Rivers and Lakes there are many Monstrous Crocodils, or Alligators. These easily kill the *Indians*, and especially Boys, who happen unadvisedly to come where they are, and the Cattle that goes into the Water to drink. It often happens, they lay hold of their Snouts, or Noses, and draw them under Water, where they are drown'd, without being able to defend themselves; then they drag the Carcass to the Shore, and devour it. An Alligator being kill'd a whole Buffaloes Head has been found some times in the Belly, and yet in that Country they are as big as the largest Ox in *Spain*. The Alligators lay Eggs as the Tortoises do, about the bigness of Goose-Eggs, and so hard that they will scarce break, tho' struck against a Stone with main Force. They are Hatch'd by burying in the Sand, near the edge of the Water; the moisture whereof, with the Heat of the Sun forms the young Ones. There are some *Indians* so brave, that as fierce as these Creatures are, they kill them with their Hands. They arm the left up to the Arm with a Glove of Buffalo's Hide. They hold in it a Stick, or small Stake, somewhat above a Foot long, and as thick as a Man's Wrist, and sharpened at both Ends, with which they go into the Water up to the Waste: The Crocodile makes up to the *Indian*, gaping to swallow him, and he holding out his Arm that is arm'd, and the Hand with the Stake in it, for the Monster to bite at, claps it across his Mouth, so that he cannot shut it, or make use of his Teeth to hurt him. The Alligator feeling the hurt of the sharp pointed Stick, is so dismayed that he neither makes resistance, nor offends, nor dares so much as move, because the least struggling gauls him. Then the *Indian* holding fast the Stake, with a Ponyard he has in his other Hand, Wounds the Creature so often about the Gills, till it bleeds to Death. Then he drags it ashore with Ropes and Noozes, many *Indians* joining to draw, and there is need of many, considering the Bulk of those Crocodiles. They are snap'd like Lizards, but arm'd with such strong Shells, that a Musket-shot makes little Impression on them, and they are scarce to be hurt, but only about the Gills, and under their short Legs, where Nature has plac'd a sort of sweet Odour, which the *Indians* make their Advantage of. These Islands, besides the Cattel, produce all that is found in *Africk*, as Tygers, Lions, Bears, Foxes, Monkeys, Apes, Squirrels, and some of them Abundance of Civet-Cats, which are much Hunted, in order to be sent into several Countries, with other Commodities of *China*; Callicoes, Silks, Porcelane, Iron, Copper, Steel, Quicksilver, and many more Yearly Transported from those Countries. The Religion and Government is now the same as in *Spain*; but in those which are not yet subdu'd, they follow an Extravagant Idolatry; believing the Soul Immortal, but wandering from one Body to another, according to that ridiculous Transmigration invented or publish'd by *Pythagoras*. They are much addicted to Trade, and forwarded in it by the Commerce

Birds.

Alligators

How the  
Indians  
fight the  
Alligators.

Beasts.

Commodities.

with *China*. The *Philippine* People are braver than their Neighbours ; the *Spaniards* and their Breed do not degenerate from their Original.

Ronquillo's Preparations for the Moluccos.

An Army was now forming of all these Sorts of People, by Order of the King, to attempt recovering the Forts of the *Moluccos*. *Don Ronquillo de Pennalosa* was then Governour there ; and tho' he had receiv'd some Intelligence brought him thence by Spies and Traders, yet not satisfy'd with it, he sent thither another Soldier. He disguised himself, and being like the Natives in Countenance, and speaking their Language to Perfection, got to *Tydore*. He found our People very earnest to forward that Enterprize, and that King ready to support it with all his Power. Thence he pass'd over to *Ternate*, among Merchants, where he view'd the Forts, the Shoals of the Harbours ; observ'd their Correspondence with the *English*, and took notice how they Landed, and Traded in all Safety, or rather with Authority. Nor was he unacquainted with the Numbers of conceal'd Christians, who would take up Arms when a seasonable Opportunity was offer'd, or any other Particular, which belong'd to a Judicious Spy to enquire in-

The Forces sent under Sarmiento.

to. Hereupon *Ronquillo* gather'd about 300 *Spaniards*, and above 1500 Natives of the *Philippines*, with Ammunition, Provisions, and Seamen, and at the proper Season sent them for the *Moluccos* in three Great Ships, and a considerable Number of Small Ones. *Peter Sarmiento*, a brave and experienc'd Officer, still living in those Islands, when this was writ, went as General. He had Courage, and Force to destroy any of the Enemies that th n frequented those Seas. His Majesty had some time before bestow'd

Paul de Lima rich in the Moluccos.

the Government of *Ternate*, if it were Conquer'd, on *Paul de Lima* ; and allow'd his Brother *Francis de Lima* to make two Voyages to the *Moluccos*, in Consideration of their Services, and those of *Henry* their Father. *Paul* was Marry'd to a Christian, and devout Lady, tho' a Kinswoman to the King of *Ternate*, who was not so. For this Reason, and because he had been possess'd in *Ternate*, of the ancient Inheritance of the Villages of *Guita*, *Mofaquia*, *Mofaguia*, *Pavate*, *Pelveri*, *Sansuma*, *Takano*, *Mayloa*, and *Soma* ; and in the Island of *Machian* of *Sabele*, *Talapao*, *Talatoa*, *Mofabonana*, *Tabaloga*, *Tagono*, *Bobaba*, and *Molapa* ; and in Regard the King of *Ternate*, had expell'd him most of them, as also of *Bitua* in *Tydore*, and several other Places, he went over to *Manila*, as a Banish'd Man, where he confer'd with the Governour, about the means of facilitating the Conquest, just before it was put in Execution. His Advice was of use, and he gave it, as one so nearly concern'd ; for besides the Inheritance the King of *Ternate* wrongfully with-held from him, he hop'd to recover the Island of *Moutil*, which belong'd to his Forefathers. The Enterprize was farther Authoriz'd by the Presence of *Don John Ronquillo*, the Governour's Nephew, who had equal Power with *Sarmiento*, both by Sea and Land. If any thing was wanting, they thought the Defect would easily be supply'd by the Valour of the Soldiers, the Celerity of the Passage, and the Enemies Surprize ; but the divided Command was an Obstacle to their Hopes.

Don John Ronquillo join'd with Sarmiento.

Spaniards arrive at and take Moutil.

The Weather prov'd not very cross, yet neither was it so favourable, as that they could come directly to anchor at *Ternate*, as would have been most convenient to deceive the Watchfulness of the Enemy. They arriv'd at *Moutil*, and fought a Parcel of *Janguas* in Sight of Land ; which

were

were taken, and the Christians in them set at Liberty. *Paul de Lima* being well acquainted with the Bays, and there being no sufficient Force in the Island to withstand a Fleet, it easily submitted, when attack'd in several Parts. The Natives came out with Palm, Citron, and Clove-Tree Branches, in Token of Peace, and to beg Pardon. Both were granted, and *Paul de Lima* appointed their Lord, tho' his New Dominion turn'd to little Account, for within a few Days, all the People slipp'd away, either because they thought themselves safer at *Ternate*, or to meet the Enemy, who of Necessity must carry the War over into that Island, as it happen'd. Here *Sarmiento* refitted the Ships, and being over-joy'd with this Success, obtain'd without the Loss of one Man, arriv'd at *Talangame*, passing amidst the Enemies *Carcoar*, which they had fitted out in a Hurry. The King expected him long before in the Fort, well furnish'd with our Cannon, particularly the Bastion they had enlarg'd, and call'd *Cacbil Tulo*, from the King's Uncle, who made it, and these Preparations seem'd to threaten any Disaster. Our Men landed on that Side, and were oppos'd by the *Ternates*; but Night put an End to the Fight, and both Parties retiring to their Fastnesses, our Cannon was landed, and planted in the Place, and after such Manner as *Paul de Lima* directed, and ever since he commanded it in the Fort of *Tydore*. The King of this Island was willing to joyn our Camp, as had appear'd by some of his Actions, and his Promises to the *Ensign Duennar*; but he mistrusted the Fortune of the *Spaniards*, as if he had not had sufficient Experience of it. The Opportunity and Fidelity now invited him, and yet he forbore; his Doubtfulness is thought to have been prejudicial to the Success. *Sarmiento* having planted his Cannon, intrench'd himself, and taking some Prisoners, of whom he learn'd what Provisions and Amunition the Besieged had, began to press on, and batter them furiously; yet they were not discourag'd, but answer'd boldly. It was found convenient to possess the upper Grounds, which over-looking the Place, tho' they have been since levell'd, our Men much incommoded the Enemy, and had they continu'd it, that would have put an End to the War. However there was so much Sickness in the Camp, that no Remedy was found against it, but going off so to save themselves for a more favourable Season. The Succours which came as Duties from *Tydore*, were very inconsiderable; the Allies were cold, and all Things weak; what other Causes there were Heaven knows. It is likely there were some more Moment, for in short the Army broke up, and reëmbark'd for *Manila*, without doing any thing but adding to the Enemies Resolution.

At that Time, only the *English* Nation disturb'd the *Spanish* Sovereignty in those Eastern Parts; for this Reason, King *Philip* was desirous, not only for the present to curb them by Force of Arms, but to make them an Example to all other Nations, that they might not spread themselves abroad to attempt such Invasions, as we are Eye-Witnesses to. This Work was undertaken in the Year 1588, but first happen'd what we are now to relate. Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, after a tedious Imprisonment, beheaded *Mary Stuart*, Queen of *Scotland*, for some Politick Reasons, or Fictions. The then King of *Scotland*, and since of *England* also, Son to the Martyr, arm'd his People, strengthen'd his Garrisons, and invaded the Dominions of the Enemy, who had caus'd him to be Motherless; and

*Sarmiento*  
in *Ternate*.

King of  
*Tydore*  
dubious.

Fort of  
*Ternate*  
batter'd.

The Siege  
rais'd.

State of  
Affairs in  
Europe.

more



Queen Elizabeth's Practices.

more particularly the Marches about the River *Tweed*, and those of *Anandale*, water'd by the River *Solway*. The Queen call'd Home the Earl of *Leicester*, who was in *Holland*, appointed him General, and War broke out in all those Northern Provinces, with apprehensions of greater to ensue. After many Events, which do not belong to this Place, Queen *Elizabeth* strengthened her Alliance with the *Dutch*, encouraging those Provinces to persist in their Disobedience to the Church, and to King *Philip*, and advising them, since the King had forbid them trading in all the Rest of his Dominions, to go over into *India*, there to raise Commotions, and rob him of the Spice. The more safely to compass her Designs, she supported the *Flemings* Obstinacy, flattering herself with the Hopes of a new Monarchy, for the acquiring whereof, she propos'd to make use of the Wealth yearly brought from the North and South Seas, for *Spain*, the Robbing of which had already made an Addition to her Power; as also of the Factories erected for Trade in the *Moluccos*, *Banda*, *Sumatra*, *Ceylon*, and the two *Javas*; where she kept Garrisons, in order to convert the Friendship into Sovereignty.

King Philip's mighty Fleet.

King *Philip*, whose great Soul ever entertain'd both Forbearance, and Counsel, resolv'd to cut off the Heads of this *Hydra* at the Neck they all sprung from. He gather'd, for the Conquest of *England*, the mightiest Fleet that has been seen on the Ocean in our Days. Twenty Thousand fighting Men were put aboard tall Ships, besides 9000 Sailors, with 1730 Pieces of Cannon, Abundance of Ammunition, and Pikes and Fire-Arms for the Catholics, who it was hop'd, as soon as they saw the *Spanish* Colours, would joyn our Army. *Don Alonso Perez de Guzman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia* commanded in Chief, and was to joyn the Prince of *Parma*, then Governour of *Flanders*, who had Commission to raise another Army of 30000 Horse and Foot, with the Necessary Provisions and Ammunition, which he was to transport at a fit Season to that Point of *England*, where the *Thames* falls into the Sea, to march thence to *London*, and there Arm the Catholics. But it was first requisite to beat the *English* at Sea, where they were then powerful, and well acquainted with the proper Times to sail and keep at Home. At the least they were to be terrify'd, that they might not dare to obstruct the Passage of the Troops, the Prince of *Parma* had in readiness at *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, or hinder their embarking, when the *Spanish* Fleet should come thither to wait them over. this Fleet sail'd from *Lisbon* on the 29th of *May*, 1588, and as soon as out suffer'd much by the Weather, so that three Gallies were cast away, on the Coast of *Bayonne*. Abundance of the Powder blew up; and the General was oblig'd to return to *Corunna*, to refit; whence he could not get out till the 2d of *July*.

They suffer by Storms.

Arrive at the Lizard.

Spanish Shipraker.

Being come into 48 Degrees of Latitude, he sent away *Don Lewis de Guzman* to give Advice to the Prince of *Parma*, and on the last of the same Month arriv'd himself at the *Lizard*, in *Cornwall*, where he lay by, and was certainly inform'd, that all the Enemy's Ships, being fifty in number, lay in *Plymouth*. The *English* Admiral at Break of Day discover'd ours, and tho' he wanted neither Strength, nor Experience in Sea Affairs, he resolv'd to draw off and avoid engaging, but his Ships being lighter incumbered us in the Rear. In the Catholick Fleet, a great Ship of *Guipuscoa*

blew up, and another of *Andaluzia* spent her Main-Mast, in which Distress, two *English* Ships attacking her, and those afterwards seconded by others, in one of which Sir *Francis Drake* was, they took her. There *Don Pedro de Valdes*, a *Spanish* Commander of known Valour, and then Lieutenant General, was made Prisoner, with whom they sent to *Plymouth*, a great Quantity of Crown Pieces, and fifty Great Guns. About 400 *Spaniards* were kill'd, and taken. On the 2d and 4th of *August*, the Lord *Howard*, and *Drake*, joynd their Squadrons, some write they had an hundred Sail, all well Mann'd, and light, with which they infested ours, which were heavy, and encumber'd, particularly the *Portuguese* Galleon, call'd the *S. John*, being the greatest in the Fleet, and in it were *John Martinez de Recalde*, the Count *de Paredes*, the Marques *de la Favara*, and other Commanders of Note. However they got to the Isle of *Wight*, whence the Duke sent away two Messengers to the Prince of *Parma*, who was then at *Brussels*, desiring he would furnish him with Powder and Ball, for the Defence of the Fleet, and imbarck what Troops he had ready. But he, either prevented by invincible Obstacles, or for other Reasons, which have left that Princes Reputation expos'd to Censures, mov'd so slowly, that what had been so maturely concerted took no Effect. The Enemy boasting, that the Sea and Winds had fought against us, in Vindication, as they said of their Cause, made publick Rejoycings, firing their Cannon; and soon after the Queen put forth a Proclamation to the same Effect, against which a certain *English* Religious Man writ learnedly, by the Name of *Andrew Philopator*.

*Disap-  
pointment  
of the Fleet*

The *Dutch* who were in Confederacy with Queen *Elizabeth*, seeing this Success, were encourag'd to aspire to greater Matters, renouncing their Allegion, and their Sovereign, attempting to usurp the Treasures of the East, Mines, Spice, Drugs, and Silks, as appears by their bold Voyages, wherein they have endeavour'd to follow the fresh Examples of the *English*, and the ancient set them by *Columbus*, *Albuquerque*, *Magellan*, *Gama*, and *Cortes*, as we shall see hereafter. But, both they and the *English*, if they try the Justice of their Cause by the Success of that Fleet, must be oblig'd to prefer the Cause of the Gentiles, when God for his Secret Judgments permitted his own chosen People to be over-thrown. Destruction is more glorious than Prosperity; and a religious Soul will rather chuse to be cast down than Victorious, if an angry God is to give it the Victory.

*The Dutch  
aspire.*

After this *Santiago de Vera* govern'd the *Philippine* Islands, and by special Order, arm'd against *Ternate*; where the *English* from that Time traded with all possible Security. All Nations had settled Factories except the *Jorneses* and *Lascarines*. Above 2500 *Mahometans* from *Mecca* preach'd their Abominations. They fear'd nothing from *Portugal*, all their Apprehension was from the *Spaniards*, who were newly ingag'd to seek Revenge. The King of *Ternate* well knew that *Sarmiento* and *Ronquillo* would have taken it, had not Diseases prevented them. When the News of fresh Preparations came to *Tydore*, it was carry'd over by Spies to *Ternate*. That King presently call'd together his Subjects, especially the Islanders of *Machian* and *Hömer*, who came in 40 *Carcoas*, because their Islands were very populous. The Number had been greater, but that the King would not suffer more to be fitted out than he demanded, for he could not conceal his Fear that they would rebel, those Parts being full of *Christians*.

*Anotber  
Expedi-  
tion from  
the Phi-  
lippines.*

*King of  
Ternate  
prepares.*

rians,

stians, and the Taxes he laid on the People intolerable. *Santiago de Vera* appointed *John Morones* General, who wanted not for Conduct, nor his Men for Valour, nor the Fleet for Cannon and Ammunition. But whether Natural Ambition, or any other Accident was the Occasion of it, there were such Divisions among them, that they had sufficient Grounds to mistrust the Event, before they left *Manila*. They set sail with fair Weather, and pass'd the greatest Dangers of the Sea, and when they thought themselves safest, all the Elements seem'd to conspire against the Fleet. They lost the Light, and their Reckning, the Vessels were shatter'd, and the greatest of them sunk, and all the Men lost. This was the Galleon *S. Helen*, which carry'd the Guns to batter the Fort, and many other Necessaries and Stores. For all this, they insisted upon proceeding, and the King of *Bachian* assisted them with what Forces he had rais'd, under Colour of clearing the Sea of some Enemies; and being a Christian baptiz'd, lamented his departing from our holy Faith, on Account of Persecution, and promis'd the Restitution of his Soul.

Spanish  
Fleet loses  
a great  
Galleon.

Spanish  
General  
refuses the  
best Advice

Besieges  
the Fort of  
Ternate.

Sends some  
Men to the  
new Fort.

The Weather growing calm, when they were in Sight of *Ternate*, the *Carcoas* durst not stand them, but fled at the first Discharges, which they can do without receiving any Damage. Therefore the two Kings, and *Paul de Lima*, advis'd to fall on in several Places. *Ferdinand Boto Machado*, Captain of a Galleon, was of the same Opinion; but the General suspecting the former, on Account of his Affinity, and the latter for the Friendship he had lately contracted with the King of *Tydore*, whom he was not well satisfy'd with, would not follow their Advice; alledging, That it was not convenient, by dividing the Forces, to weaken them more than the Storm had done. He laid Siege to the Fort, but the Besieged being acquainted with the Condition of our Troops, oppos'd all their Assaults courageously, and scoff'd and laugh'd at the insignificant Batteries. However our Men, whom the Storms had depriv'd of Necessaries for that Work, vented their Spleen upon the *Javanese*. These valu'd themselves upon sallying out to Skirmish, being distinguishable by their Arms, and manner of drawing up. The *Spaniards* handled them so roughly, that they did little more during the War. Some Months were spent in Fruitless Attempts, and if they had attack'd the Country, but a Culverine-Shot short of the Fort, at the Bay of *Limathio*, and march'd thence to attack the Fort behind, as the most understanding desir'd, it had been of good Consequence. But the General *Morones*, putting all upon Experience without Forecast, was satisfy'd with fronting next the Sea, doing much Harm, which was caus'd by that first, and obstinate manner of attacking; and that gave Way for Succours to go into the Natives, at other landing Places, tho' thirty Men at a small Distance might have prevented it. This both the Kings maintain'd, whose Valour, which ought to be commended even in Enemies, if our General had pleas'd, might have given Success to this Undertaking. Besides that experience has shown that fifty *Spaniards* have done as much upon Occasion, as whole *Roman* Legions well arm'd and disciplin'd.

*Morones* now perceiving that neither his Arms, nor his Proposals had any effect upon the Rebels, he resolv'd to pass over some of his Men against the other Fort, which, tho' seated on a Ground of difficult Access, seem'd to be pregnable, because built in Haste, a League from the former on a steep Hill.

Hill. On the Land Side of it is the Mountain, and on the Back a Lake, and is of no use, because it does not defend the City, which is open, and is only regarded for being near the old Fort. Our Men went on cheerfully, and the Defendants receiv'd them as well firing their Cannon, which gave a Check to the Spanish Fury. Those in the other Fort, tho' they made little use of Fire-Arms, being compell'd by Necessity, ventur'd to fall out to the Shore. To draw them to this Resolution, some of our Men on a sudden set Fire to the *Junks*, in which a great Number of *Javanese* *Indians* had come thither. The Vessels, which were old blaz'd up, without any Obstruction from those who guarded them, but they refus'd the Remedy to their Weapons. They were in all about 3000 fighting Men, 1000 of them had Muskets, whereof 200 were expert at them; the rest neither Pikes, nor Lances, nor any other long sort of Arms, but only those they call *Toranas*, about a Fathom in Length, like Darts, and some like Arrows, which they cast by main Strength, with Canes and Strings, wherewith they unexpectedly wound unarm'd Men in Fight; because they fly not out of a Bow, but are thrown strait forward, or over their Heads. Others had only their *Campisars*, or Cymiters, and Shields. Many of them fought the more obstinately, confiding in their Coats of Mail, and Head-Pieces, bought of the *Portugueses*; but as soon as they clos'd with our Men, they broke their Order, and lost Courage. This Accident prov'd a very great Obstacle, because it diverted our Men from their double Design of pressing both Forts at the same Time, so that the very Commanders were forc'd to engage. *Morones* knew how to behave himself upon all Occasions, and the *Spaniards* made such a Slaughter, that almost all the *Javanese* lay upon the Spot. Those in the Forts had not the Courage to fall in upon the Rear, tho' they pour'd a Volley upon the Forces of *Tydors* and *Bachlan*, but with little Harm. This Victory was not gain'd without Effusion of Blood, yet ards they took Heart to hope for one more compleat, at the Arrival of the Galeon from *India*, and believ'd that Addition of Strength would make amends for what they lost in the Storm.

The Galeon arriv'd at *Tydors*, better provided to carry on the Trade, than the War. For this Reason, and because many of our Men were Sick, or Wounded, *Morones* was oblig'd to raise the Siege, and dismiss those Kings, to whom he afterwards sent Presents of Spanish Commodities, some Horses and Silks. It was since known that tho' the *Ternates* will endure much Hardship, they were then so near press'd, that Hunger must have subdu'd them, could our Men have stay'd a little longer. They embark'd in Sight of the Enemy, who presently appear'd in the Field rejoicing, with Musick, and other Tokens of Victory. The *Asiatick* Traders resorted to their Ports, and others from *Europe*, but particularly their new Friends the *English*, with whom they communicated the Joy of their Success.

They never made a good use of Peace and Quietness at *Ternate*, as soon as that was now restor'd, the King was again at Variance with his Uncles, which Fortune so improv'd as to furnish an Opportunity that might have been advantageous to our Designs, had not she thwarted it. *Cacbil Mandragas* was the noblest of Sultan *Aerio's* Sons, as born of the Queen they call *Putriz*, which is the Chief. His Father would have had him succeed in the Throne, but was disgust'd at a Boldness which does not use to be mis-

lik'd among Politicians. *Cachil Mandraxa* was desperately in love with *Piolo*, his Niece, Daughter to the King his Brother; and that Prince did not refuse her Uncle's Courtship. The Father one Day found them talking together, in the Apartment reserv'd only for himself; and tho' he was satisfied their Conversation was within the Bounds of Decency, took such an Aversion, that he depriv'd him of the Succession. The illegitimate Ne-

*Subtily of  
the King of  
Ternate.*

phew Reign'd, against the Will of all the Uncles, who were near conspiring to kill him; but the subtle King knew how to disappoint their Design, and secure himself without discovering the Contrivance. He call'd *Cachil Mandraxa* to him, and repeating all past Distractions, told him, how desirous he was to remove all manner of Jealousies by a perfect Reconciliation, which he thought might be done by means of the Princess *Piolo*, and since there was such a good Correspondence between them, all the Rest would be easie. However before he gave her to him to Wife, he must reflect that she was promis'd to the King of *Tylore*, to whom he was not willing to administer fresh Causes of War, or to be the Occasion of interrupting that short Tranquillity they enjoy'd. That since all they discovr'd these would remain in their Breasts, he would have him to take his Advice. *Mandraxa* was beside himself, with that unexpected Satisfaction, and yet had he been truly Master of himself, he might easly have seen thro' the Fraud of that pleasing Change in his Condition, wherein he found the King so much his Friend, who but just before had been his Enemy. He thank'd him for the Favour, and putting his whole Dependance on the Words of his Mouth, desir'd he would give him the Advice he spoke of. The King answer'd, *I have contriv'd a Way, which will satisfy you, and the King of Tylore will have no Cause to complain. For the attaining of both these Ends, I will keep Council, as is requisite, and do you any Night steal away the Princess, the Way you shall best like, so as to wit: Regard to my Reputation, and in all Respects giving such outward Tokens, that all Men may believe it was open Violence, and no Contrivance, or as is known to me. I, on my Side, will pretend to be very Angry, and will complain of the Injury as loudly as is requisite to satisfy the World of my Innocence. For why should I, Uncle, wish for the Felicities of this World, but to make them common to our Family? I will retain the Care of the Crown, and do you enjoy the Satisfaction the Kingdom affords.* *Mandraxa* could not forbear Weeping for Joy, he fell down at his Nephew's Feet and kiss'd them, without disguising any thing of his Passion, yet suppressing the Joy of his new Hopes, the best he could, he found Means to acquaint the Princess, and to appoint the Hour, Place, and Confidants for exposing herself to be stolen away.

*His crafty  
Words.*

*Cachil  
Mandraxa  
steals the  
Princess  
Piolo.*

To this Purpose they pitch'd upon a Garden, which looks out upon the Sea, adorn'd with its Natural Trees, whence the Ships are seen, and among them, on the Day prefix'd they spy'd a *Cárcoa*, with all the Men that Row'd earnestly dress'd and they and the Soldiers wearing Garlands, plainly show'd the Design of their Voyage, tho' they row'd without the Musick they us'd to have at other Times. *Mandraxa* and a small but brave Number of his Friends landed as silently, and they after the manner of *Taloso*, and the ancient *Romans*, when they forc'd away the *Sabine Women*, laid Hold of *Piolo* and the Rest, and run them aboard with all possible Speed, conveying them to a strong Place in the Island, where having fortify'd himself, like

like a Soldier, *Mandrasa* devotes himself to Love. Fama the utter Enemy to Secrecy divulg'd the Fact, and convey'd it over to the King of *Tydore's* Ears; with the King of *Ternate's* Complaints. He magnify'd the Affront, and every Man spoke of it, according to his own Notion. The King who had contriv'd it, and by whose Breath all the Machines of that Tragedy were mov'd assembled the prime Men of his Kingdom, most of them Enemies to the deluded *Mandrasa*, and ask'd their Assistance and Advice in so notorious a Violence, and pretending extraordinary Concern. They all Voted to a Man; that it was absolutely necessary to make such an Example as might deter others from the like. When the Consultation was over, the King dispatch'd Messengers to his Uncle, intreating him to repair to Court to stop all Mouths by fair Means, and appease the Neighbouring Princes. *Cachil Mandrasa* made no difficulty to obey, as well knowing that none of his Actions had been contrary to the King's Ojders. Only the Princess advis'd the Contrary; for that young, as little above 20 years of Age, she was better acquainted with her Brother, and well knew he never kept his Faith, particularly with his own Family; and that he could not have any Kindness for them as being jealous of the Crown. *Mandrasa* made no Account of all that, but went to Court, and enter'd the Palace attended by his Family, and relying on the King's Promise, but more especially on the secret Mystery of that Affair, known only to them two, Uncle and Nephew. When he came to kiss the King's Hand, he looking as stern as if he had not observ'd the Usualing of the Princess, said he knew not what Course to take upon so notorious an Affront offer'd to his Crown and Palace, but to cut off his Head. *Mandrasa* thinking at first that had been all Counterfeit; and according to what had been agreed between them; when he perceiv'd it was heartily dissimul'd, would have spoke bold in Defence of his Innocence; but was not permitted, and the King making a Sign to a Sturdy Black he had prepar'd for that Action, he drew his Cymiter, and hew'd him down barbarously. The poor Prince fell, without being reliev'd by any Man, for at that Time his Brothers *Cachil Tulo*, and *Cachil Sufur* were not at *Ternate*, the former being Governor, the latter Admiral. Not did they come to *Ternate* in a long Time after, tho' they took Care to protect the Widowed Princess, who was left with Child, and afterwards brought forth *Cachil Amba*, who dy'd Young.

*Base falsehood of the King.*

*He murders Mandrasa.*

The whole Truth of this Matter was soon known, with all its Particulars, and Circumstances; and the *Cachiles* conferring together, *Tulo* resolv'd to go over to the Service of King *Philip*, to which Purpose, when *Duarte Poveyra* was Commander in Chief at *Tydore*, he went thither to treat with him, and with *Antony de Maza*, who went first for the same End to *Sachian*; but sofar as what was concert'd among them, will better appear by the Letter *Cachil Tulo* sent from *Tydore* to the Governour *Santhago de Vera*, we will here insert it; translated from the *Malaya* Language, by the King's *Negotiator*, so they there call the Interpreters.

*The King's Uncle conspire against him.*

*Cachil Tulo's Letter*  
*Cachil Tulo*, my Brother, late King of *Ternate*, writ to the King of *Portugal*, to bestow de would do him Justice, upon a Man, who murder'd the Governour of *Sachian* and mine; upon receiving which Satisfaction, he would again deliver the King of *Ternate* to his Majesty, it being shew out of his Possession. the Philip-  
 His pines.

His present Majesty succeeding in the Throne of Portugal, answer'd my Brother's Letter, by Cachil Nauque, his Embassador; but when he return'd my Brother was dead, which was the Reason we did not then deliver up the Fort, because a Bastard Son had succeeded him, being proclaim'd King by the People of Ternate, with the Assistance of the King of Tydore, tho' he had no Right to it. He would not perform what his Father had promis'd; and he was oblig'd to; nor follow the Advice given him by me, and by my Brother Cachil Mandrana, the rightful Heir of the Crown; which was that he should deliver up the Fort, as his Father had promis'd, to the Portuguese; and this, not because he could not defend himself against them, and his Majesty; but expressly because his Father, and my Brother had order'd; for we did not suppose it could be taken from us by Force of Arms; but we knew it was his Will to serve his Majesty, by delivering up the Fort to him. He finding we persister'd in this Opinion, resolv'd to murder my Brother, and his own Uncle, the true Heir of the Crown, cutting him in Pieces, by the Hands of a Slave, when he came upon his Word, and had his Security and mine. Wherefore considering the Injustice of my Nephew upon this Occasion, and that he will not perform what his Father, my Brother and I promis'd to his Majesty, I am resolv'd from this Time forward, to become his Majesty's sincere Subject and Servant. And I do by these Presents, oblige myself, and swear by my Law, as I did swear; and do not depart from it, to the Father Vicar Antony Ferreyra, to give all my Help and Assistance, towards the taking of the Fort, with all my Kindred and Friends; till it shall be in the Possession of his Majesty's Commander, or whatsoever shall come with the Portuguese, or Spaniards that attend him, upon Condition, that the Commander, or Commanders, shall, in his Majesty's Name, perform what Duarte Pereyra, the Commander in chief promis'd me and sign'd for him, I having given him a Counterpart; which is, that I shall be proclaim'd King of Ternate, as soon as Possession is taken of the Fort for his Majesty; both in regard it belongs to me in Right of my Father, and of the Service I now do, and hereafter hope to do his Majesty. I therefore beg it as a Favour of your Lordship, and require you in his Majesty's Name, that you take Care to send the greatest Number of Men you possibly can, and with the greatest Expedition; to the End that this my Intention, and Will to serve his Majesty herein may be effectual, which I hope will be without the Expence of Lives; notwithstanding the Fort is well fortify'd, as your Lordship may have been inform'd. The Commander in chief, will write to your Lordship, what Season and Order those Forces are to observe. Given at Tydore, to which Place I am come to this Intent, as will be testify'd by the Father Vicar Antony Ferreyra, and the Judge Antony de Matos, whom, as Persons of such Note, I desir'd to sign for me. May the 23d.

Nunno  
Pereyra's  
Perswasions  
to the same  
Governor.

At the Bottom of the Letter, the Vicar and Matos certify'd his Hand and Subscription. With this came another very long one, wherein Duarte Pereyra gives the Governour a more ample Account of what is here deliver'd briefly, representing to him the Opportunity offer'd in forcible Terms. He tells him that Mandrana a little before his Death, had propos'd the same thing to him, that his Brother Tulo now did; and that they were desirous, to fulfill what they promis'd Nunno Pereyra. That the  
Island

Island of *Machlan*, the most fruitful in Clove, Espous'd the Party that was against the King. That they could no longer endure their Oppression. He perswaded him to Arm 400 *Spaniards*, if they were come from *Mexico*, an to Ship them off for the Expedition upon *Ternate*, giving out, that they were going to clear those Seas from *Javanese*, whose Friendship the People of *Ternate* value more than they do ours. That besides the good Success he expected by the Help of those Forces, they would at least secure those Ports against the *English*, the People of *Ternate* having always a Fleet in Readiness. That the Enterprize might succeed with Fifteen Frigates, and one Galeon, provided they went to stay a Year at the *Moluccor*, and brought a Number of *Philippine* Pioneers. He says, the *Javane* Ships are less than the Frigats, and there are Forty Soldiers in each of them, who lye Aboard Eight Months, and live a Year upon 300 Bushels of Rice. That in Case the Frigates could not hold the Men, they should bring some Junks, which are necessary Vessels to Transport Provisions from the Islands of *Burro* and *Bachian*. He complains of the King of *Tydore's* ill Behaviour, and his Avarice; of *Sancho de Vasconcelos*, and *James de Azambuja*, who built the Fort of *Tydore* in an ill place. He commends the King of *Bachian*, and says he in private lives like a Christian. Among these Things he intermixes many more, all of them tending to perswade the Expedition of *Ternate*, to blot out the last Disgrace, without any Expence to the King, through *Cachil Tulo's* Contrivance.

The Governour receiv'd this Dispatch, and he would willingly have put it in Execution immediately; but as it went on slowly, and the Death of *Cachil Tulo* happened in the mean while, it was requisite to delay the Design, and attend to the Preservation of the *Philippine* Islands, against the Machinations of the *Chinese* and *Jyponese*, against whose Robberies and Burnings they are never secure. Each of these Attempts haras'd the Province with the Expence of Treasure, and Power, so that there was a necessity of breathing to recover both. It was thought the most proper Advice to joyn from the *Philippines* and *Malaca*, with equal Force, coming from both Parts to Arm in the *Moluccos*, which was the Boundary of both Provinces. This took Effect some Years after, Captain *Andrew Furtado* coming from *Malaca*, of whose Actions it will be proper to begin to speak to give a Reputation to his Person.

*The Project for executing the Design.*

*Andrew Furtado de Mendoza* might have Ennobled his Family, had it not been of antient Quality. He was the Terror of those Eastern Parts, where he serv'd the King ever since the Year 1576, subduing Barbarous Nations. In the Year 1587 he was Governour of the Fort of *Rachol*, till he came to have that of *Malaca*. Whilst he was in the first, some Villages of Gentiles rose up against the Ministers of the Church, disturbing Christianity with Warlike Disorders. *Furtado* pacify'd them with Severity, and his Authority. In 1591 *Furtado* was Commander of the *Portuguese* Soldiery in that *Archipelago*, and was very earnest to employ them in the Recovery of *Ternate*; but was hinder'd by other Wars, which he concluded Victoriously. In August that same Year, he was inform'd that Eighteen Galeons had put out of *Cunnal*, Commanded by *Cutumaza*, assisted by *Raju*, with a Design to Besiege the Fort of *Ceylon*. This *Cutumaza* had the Year before Burnt a Ship of ours, Sailing for *China*, and made

*Andrew Furtado's Actions.*

difinal



dismal Havock on the Coast of *Coromandel*. *Pustado* went out in Search of the Enemies Fleet, and by the way reliev'd the Fort of *Ceylon*; and on the Coast of *Malabar* he met three Ships Bound from *Meca* for *Oswal*; He fought them, and sunk two, the Sea running so high, that the Vessels which Row'd could not attack them. The other after a long Dispute yielded to him. This Victory was a sufficient Revenge for the Sinking of our Ships. Continual War is maintain'd in these Parts, which Neighbour upon *Malaca*; and that in *Ceylon* never ceases, contrary to the Advice of Persons that are well acquainted with *India*; because the best Product of that Island being the Cinnamon, a Commodity of less Dyrance than the Mace, Clove and Pepper, they look upon almost all the expence laid upon *Ceylon*, as good as thrown away. Besides that the greatest Commanders are employ'd in suppressing the continual Rebellicions of those most inconstant People, without stretching out, at least as far as the *Moluccas*, by their Absence encouraging their Tyranny; and giving Opportunity to Nations that are our Enemies to fix themselves in our Ports.

*Ceylon*  
*describ'd.*

*Ceylon* is one of the most Remarkable Islands in the World, and the most fruitful. It lies opposite to *Cape Comorin*, Nobly Inhabited, and cultivated. In it grow all Plants, known in all other Parts of the World; Nutmegs, Pepper, Cinnamon, and the most Excellent call'd *Maslyles* grows in this Island. Here is Wild and Garden Fruit, Spanish Figs, and Grapes, and the best Oranges in all *Asia*. There are whole Woods of mighty Palm-Trees. The Variety of Flowers, would take up much Time to describe it; as also of Grain known to us, Wheat, Rice, and Flax, of which and their Cotton, they make wonderful Webs. It has all sorts of Precious Stones, Gold, Silver, Steel, Tin, Iron, and Seed-Perl.

*Product.*

Several Christian Rivers, and Fountains moisten it, with delightful and Medicinal Waters, of Excellent Qualities. And among the rest there are Springs of Liquid Bitumen, thicker than our Oyl, and some of pure Balsam. There are Burning Mountains continually blazing, and casting out Clods of Brimstone among the Crags of the Hills; where there are Groves of Tall Trees, on whose Branches are to be seen all sorts of Birds this Day.

*Birds.*

in other Parts of the World, and among them our Turkeys, Wild Hens, and Pidgeons. It abounds in Deer, Wild-Boars, Tygers, Lions, and

*Beasts.*

Elephants of so Noble a Kind, that all others submit to them. Those that are bred in this Island have such an Extraordinary Natural Instinct, that it

*Elephants.*

verifies what *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, *Athenas*, *Ellen*, *Pliny*, and others, who have Writ Natural History testify, and is, that whether it proceeds from Knowledge, or Habit, they partake of the Wit, Sense, and even of the Prudence of Men. We are told they have so much Sense of Honour, that they will not go Aboard a Ship, if they imagine they are carry'd to serve Princes in strange Countries, and that they obey, if their Owners swear they will bring them back to their own. That they are concern'd at abusive Words given them. That they pay a sort of Religious Respect to the Sun and Moon. That they remember such Things as they conceive; and *Gellius* perswades us we may believe, that at Night they bewail their Servitude with doleful Complaints; and if any Man happens to come near in the Height of their Lamentation, they with shame suppress their Sighs; and

and in short, they seem sensible of the Iniquity of their Fate. In this Country it is their Part to load and unload Ships, the Weight of Commerce, whether Arms, Metals, Provisions, or other Commodities whatsoever hanging on their Teeth, or lying on their Neck. They are more willing to carry Arm'd Men on their Backs, in great Castles built to that purpose. They serve the *Chingalas*, not as they did in Rome at publick Shows, but in Battel, as they did the *Carthaginians*, and afterwards the *Romans*. The People of *Ceylon* believe their Country is the Terrestrial Paradise. They call the Top of a certain Mountain *Adam's Point*, and on it, they say, is to be seen the Print of his Foot, and that there he did Penitance. Upon this Belief, the *Jogues*, who are penitent Pilgrims, visit that Point, where they affirm there grows a thick Tree, of an indifferent Height, with small rough Leaves, of a dusty Colour, the Bark Ash-colour'd, which in the Night shines, and dispells Darknes. Under Colour of this Superstition, all the Gangs of strowling Players or Actors, come out of this Island, and travel throughout all *India*, representing their Fables, with odd Gestures, and Dancing to little Flat Tabors, Bag-pipes, and Rattles of small Bells. Abundance of Pearls are found about it. The Gold and other Metals are kept untouch'd in the Mines, by publick Law, and yet notwithstanding this Precaution, they are not free from War and Oppression. The Natives are call'd *Chingalas*, and resemble the *Malabars* in Customs and Countenances. They have broad Noses, but are not so black, and go naked, but not so immodestly. Formerly they had but one King, who was dispossest'd by Force, and Treachery, and the Kingdom divided among many. Division having thus weaken'd them; a Barbarian, call'd *Raju*, tyrannically expell'd the King's self; one of whom was by the Magnificence of the Kings of *Portugal* bred at *Goa*.

Opinion  
that Para-  
dise is in  
Ceylon.

Players.

Kings ex-  
pell'd.

Furtado  
relieves  
Columbo.

Beats the  
Indian  
Fleet.

*Raju* was a subtle Soldier, and jealous even of those that supported him. He had some Years before, besieg'd the Fort of *Columbo*, with a great Body of Foot, Elephants and Horse. *Andrew Furtado* being in search of the Enemies Fleet, in Prosecution of his Revenge for the Ships lost, to relieve the Fort of *Columbo*, doubled *Cape Comorin*, thro' the Swoight of *Ceylon*, at the Time when it is usually most difficult and dangerous for Tall Ships, much more for such Vessels as use Oars. He came to the Fort so opportunely, that had he stay'd never so little longer it had been lost, for most of the Garrison had mutiny'd against their Commander in Chief *Simon de Brito* who was wounded by them with two Musket Balls. *Raju* was marching with all Expedition by Land to *Columbo* for fear of slipping the Opportunity offer'd him of taking Possession of it. *Cunnu-ma* lay with all his Fleet in the River *Cordiva*, distant from the Fort ready to attack it by Sea, when *Raju* fell on by Land. *Furtado* was before-hand with him, and getting in, dispos'd all Things for its Defence. He quell'd the Mutiny, punish'd the Ring-leaders, satisfy'd such as had just Cause of Complaint or had been wrong'd, and with all possible Speed went out to find *Cunale's* Fleet. Nor was he disappointed, for the Enemy did not offer to fight, but met him, with his Ships drawn up in good Order, and after Cannonading, they laid one another aboard, where there was an obstinate Fight on both Sides, till *Cunale's* Navy was defeated. *Furtado* took 14 Galeons, with all their Artillery, and Men, besides Abundance kill'd. The Admi-

ral fled with only four Ships of 18 he had, and made to *Rajus* Country. This Victory was sufficient Satisfaction for the Damage receiv'd by that rebellious Fleet, the ill Success whereof discourag'd *Raju* from coming to besiege *Columbo*, so that he retir'd and dismiss'd his Army.

Not long after, *Furtado* was inform'd by his Spyes, that the King of *Jasanapatan* had concluded a League with *Raju*, pressing him to return to the Siege of *Columbo*, whilst he did the same to *Mans*. That his Presumption might not want such Punishment, as became the Honour of the Crown of *Portugal*, and the Reputation of its Grandeur, which is more prevalent in those Parts than Force, *Furtado* gathering what Power he could, with all possible Celerity attack'd that King. He was not unprovided, but drawing up without the Walls of that City, offer'd him Battel, his Men, Elephants and Horses covering spacious Fields. *Furtado* playing both Parts of a Commander, and a Soldier, drew up his Forces, encourag'd them in few Words; and both Sides coming to the Charge exercis'd their Force and Fury; but at Length the King's Troops were routed, and he slain entering the City, in which abundance of Brass Cannon was found, besides the Plunder, which was considerable: He took Possession of it, and seizing the Forts and Garrisons, carry'd on the War there in such Manner, that the whole Kingdom seeing such severe Execution, and feeling it so heavily within its Bowels, submitted to the King of *Spain*. By his Authority, when the Sword was put up, he appointed a Kinsman of the late King, to whom of Right it belonged, to reign in *Jasanapatan*, he having been taken in the last Battel. He caus'd him to swear and plight his Faith, that he would be a perpetual Vassal to his Majesty; imposing on him the Payment of a yearly Tribute, which still subsists. The Writings containing this Settlement were sent by him into *Spain*, where and at *Goa*, all that had been done was approv'd of by the Viceroy, and the Conqueror, who had concluded it so happily, highly applauded.

*Ternate* He next Strengthened the Fort of *Columbo*, with Four Ships of his Fleet, *the Cause* and 100 Soldiers; and Supply'd *Cosme de la Peta* with Eighty Men, under *of Rebelli-* Two Captains, to prosecute the Affair of *Candia*, which was committed to him, and sorted good effect. No Rebellion broke out in those Parts, but what was either supported by *Ternate*, or proceeded from its Example, and great Celerity was requisite in the Commanders for suppressing of it.

*Coast of* At this same Time all the Coast of the Pearl Fishery rebell'd, and among *Pearl Fi-* other sudden Destruction usually made by Seditious Men in Arms, the Sub- *bery Re-* jects of *Virapanaique* burnt Twenty five Christian Churches. *Furtado* *bells, and* made all possible Speed to chastize them before the Rebellion grew to a *a reduc'd.* Head. The Mutineers not being well Strengthened, sent Embassadors to him, begging Peace, and colouring their Guilt with Excuses, which *Furtado* admitted of because it was convenient for his Majesties Service; upon Condition they should make good all the Damages occasion'd by their Revolt. He commanded them to rebuild the Churches they had destroy'd, and to grant the Society of the *Jesuits*, who had then the Charge of the Christians in that Country, all the Liberties and Immunities demanded by those then residing there; taking sufficient Hostages for the Performance.

These

These and other no less notable Actions, he perform'd in the space of four Months; but as Envy seldom fails to oppose Valour, when he came to *Cochin*, and was there ready to set out for the Conquest of the *Moluccos*, and particularly of *Ternate*, he received Letters from the Viceroy, *Matthias de Albuquerque* commanding him to deliver up the Fleet to *Nunno Vello Pereyra*. He obey'd, and when he came to *Goa*, was Imprisoned, and put to Trouble. As soon as it was in his Power, he resolv'd to depart *India*, and remove himself from the ill-will of those he thought were not his Friends; but the City of *Goa* conjur'd him not to forsake it, and in vain endeavour'd to procure a Reconciliation betwixt those Commanders. This happened in the Year 1592, when, and some Years after, *Ternate* might have been recover'd, as *Furtado* desir'd, had not the Animosities reigning obstructed it. However they were so far from employing him, that, tho' *Furtado* several times Offer'd himself, with his own Ships, and at his proper Cost, where there was such Necessity of suppressing *Cunnale*, yet he was as often Rejected, and that Victory envy'd him, which afterwards he had granted by Heaven, as we shall see in its Place.

At this Time *Santiago de Vera* was discharged of his Command of the *Philippine* Islands. He had signified his Intentions to *Andrew Furtado*, and received his Answer, That he would comply with his Desires; but Fortune disappointed these good Beginnings, embroiling *Furtado* with those who did not love him, and removing *Santiago* from his Government. His Successor was *Gomez Perez de las Marinhas*, Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, or *St. James* the Apostle, a Person of high Reputation, born at *Bezanos*, in the Kingdom of *Galicia*. He arriv'd at the *Philippines* in the Year 1590, and brought with him his Son *Don Lewis*, Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*. The new Governour found *Manila* open, without any Form of a City, and without Wealth to Improve it. Above 20000 Pieces of Eight were wanting for this Purpose; yet he compass'd the Work by Projects, and Contrivance without any Dammage to the Publick, or to private Persons. He Monopoliz'd the Cards; he laid Penalties on excessive Gaming, and punish'd such as Forestal'd the Markets, and on Victuallers, and other Retailers of that Sort that were guilty of Frauds; with these Fines he built the Walls of *Manila*, which are 12849 Geometrical Foot in Compass, each Foot being the third part of a Yard. He apply'd himself diligently to this Work, and the Inhabitants attended it, being willing to forward it on Account of the Intreaties and Example of their Chief. The City had but one Fort, and that ill built, wherefore he Erected another at the Mouth of the River, calling it *Santiago*, and enclosed the old one. He finish'd the Cathedral, and built from the Ground the Church of *St. Potenciana*, Patroness of the Island, for Women that have retir'd from the World. Then he apply'd himself to casting, and brought able Artists, who furnish'd the Place with heavy and small Cannon; buik Gallies to Cruize and Trade, whereon depends the Welfare of those Countries; and pursuant to what he had promis'd in *Spain*, bent his Thoughts towards *Ternate*, and all the *Moluccos*; reflected on the Disreputation of the unfortunate Expeditions of his Predecessors, who attempted the Conquest of that flourishing Kingdom, and how he might punish those who Tyranniz'd in it.

He imparted his Thoughts by Word of Mouth, and by Letters to Zealous Persons,

S

Gomez  
Perez Go-  
vernour of  
the Philip-  
pines.

He Walls  
Manila;  
Builds  
Ports, &c.

his Subjects declare before hand, and perhaps at the Instigation of their King, That they will have no Spaniards in these Parts; which makes us look about, where they will raise Moors to Destroy us. Therefore all Delays, in this Affair, will be very dangerous; because we are Inferior to the Moors, and must of Necessity Fight them, since it is for Religion, and Honour, on both which Accounts they are become our mortal Enemies. By this your Lordship will understand what need we are in of your Succour and Relief; and may compute how many are to draw their Swords against you, since they are all our Enemies in general, and have Conspir'd against us. However, it will be Discretion first to Dissemble with the Tydores, that they may not joyn the Ternates, and by that means render the War more tedious and difficult. I do not speak to all the rest in particular, according to my Notion, because I refer it to Jerome de Azevedo, who will give a very good Account. But let this be Establish'd as a Maxim, That your Lordship has a mighty Enterprize in Hand; and I trust in God he will give you Wisdom, and Strength to go through it with Ease; since you come to Revenge the Injuries formerly, and now offer'd by these Barbarians, to God and his Irreverent-Saints. For we know that the Ternates still drink out of the consecrated Chalices, and make use of the Patens to Offer, or Receive any thing, as on profane Salvagers; and of the Vestments, and Ornaments of Altars, they make Cloaths, and Hangings for their Houses. The People of Banda, most of them, wear Ornaments of the Blood of above 3000 Christians, they Treacherously Murder'd, at several times, in their Ports, as they went thither to Trade with them; and in that Island, and part of the Sea, there are Streams of Spanish and Portuguese Blood running. Your Lordship came to spread the Catholick Faith, and that you may the better conceive what Jerome de Azevedo will say to you touching this Affair, I send you by him a Draught of all this Archipelago, as well of the Moluccos, as of Amboyna, and Banda. In it your Lordship will see what a large Kingdom we loose, when it might be recover'd with little Cost. It only remains, That your Lordship come, with all possible Expedition, because the greatest Danger is in Delay; and when you are here you will find brave Commanders, who will assist you with their Good Officers and Soldiers. Among them is Sanhco de Vasconcelos, who was Commander at Amboyna, has often fought with these Infidels, and obtain'd signal Victories over them. Here is also Thomas de Sousa, Commander of Molucco, and of most Southern Parts, a Man expert in Martial Affairs. In Tydore and Amboyna, you will also find brave Soldiers, and there will not want to Pay them, for the Riches of the Country will be sufficient for that, and to satisfy them with Gold, precious Stones, and other Booty; besides you will find many sorts of Arms. We Religious Men daily offer up our Prayers, and will so continue to do with Fervour; and tho' the Unworthiness of the Ministers might be a Hinderance, yet we hope they will prove Advantageous.

The Governour receiv'd this Letter; which, with the Discourse he had more at large with Jerome de Azevedo, made him put the last Hand to a Work of so much Importance to the Service of the Christian Commonwealth, which had been neglected in those Parts. Gaspar Gomez had conferr'd with him long before, and by his Means, and the Accounts of other knowing Persons, the Governour was so well acquainted with the Kingdoms, and Seas, the Seasons and Dangers of the Undertaking, that he had no great need of E. Marta's

sa's Map. He dispatch'd *Gaspar Gomez*, a Man of Secrecy and Activity, trusting him with the Design, because he was recommended by several grave Fathers of that Order. He gave him particular Instructions, with which, *Gaspar Gomez* and his own Experience, he wander'd about the *Archipelago*, and learnt as much as was convenient. He visited *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Mindanao*, both the *Javas*, and scarce omitted any Place, as far as the Point of *Malsca*, but what he took a View of.

In the Year 1593, King *Philip* the 2d bestow'd the Government of *Cartagena*, in *America*, upon *Don Pedro Bravo de Acunna*. To take this Employ, he quitted that he had in the *Spanish* Gallies; he was Captain of the Admiral Galley, and Vice-Admiral of them all, under the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant of *Castile*, his Kinsman. He had serv'd his Majesty many Years by Sea and Land, in the *Mediterranean*. No Action of Note was perform'd without him, since the Expedition of *Navarino* against the *Turks*, and the others that ensu'd in those Parts, in *Naples*, in *Portugal*, and all those that occur'd before, till his Majesty was put in Possession of that Crown. Lastly, When he commanded the *Spanish* Gallies he fought those of the *Moor* and *Turks*, with the *Galiots*, and *Brigantines* of the *Levant*, and *English* Ships, and took and sunk several of both Sorts. He took a great Number of Slaves in *Barbary*; particularly at *Zangazon*, *Benegicar*, and *Alcazar*. He defended *Cadix* from the Invasion, and Rapine of *Drake*, the *English* Admiral, who attempted it with a mighty Fleet. This was done by only four Gallies, but two of which were clean, yet the Bravery of the Commander made amends for all. How great an Action this was, and what Reputation *Don Pedro* gain'd by it, appear'd afterwards, when the *English* again possess'd themselves of *Cadix*, at the Time that all the Gallies in *Spain* were in the Bay, and the Fleet then preparing to sail to the *Indies*. In each of these Actions, most whereof were victorious, there are many remarkable Particulars, and they all deserve large Encomiums; but since they do not belong to the Subject of this History, it would be blameable to insert them here.

The King for these Reasons constituted *Don Pedro de Acunna*, his Captain General, in the Province of *Cartagena* and *Tierra Firma*, and Commander of the Gallies on that Coast; which Commissions had never before been united in that Government. He gave him a Galley, and Orders to receive the Royal Fifths of the Pearl-Fishery, at the Island *Margarita*. He set out from the Port of *Santucar*, on the 27th of *September*, in a *Pink*, with 12 Soldiers, some Religious Men, and his Servants, the Galley, and another Ship following. The Winds soon rose, and the Sea swell'd, and the Vessels were dispers'd. In one of them there were 20 Soldiers, and 40 Slaves at the Oar, this was so far drove away, that they saw it no more, till five Days after they came to *Cartagena*. The Storm ceas'd, and *Don Pedro* arriv'd at *Gran Canaria*, but would not go into the City. He took in two hundred Cask of Water. The Governour *Don Lewis de la Cueva* was not in the Island; but it being known in his Family that *Don Pedro* was come, they sent to welcome him. The Visit was follow'd by some Horses loaded with Abundance of Fowl, Game, Sheep, Wine, Pears, and most stately Quinces, besides Abundance of other Provisions. He sail'd thence with a favourable Wind, which soon turn'd against him, and tho' he was ar enough off, Croyc back the Ships in Sight of *Teneriffe*. After being tofs'd about for

D. [*Pedro de Acuna* Governor of *Cartagena*.

His brave Actions.

His Voyage

some

some Days, there happened such a tedious Calm between two Islands, as made Amends for the Violence of the Storms, and yet he had others afterwards as violent as those before. Many Days after, when they had lost their reckning, they arriv'd at the Island *Metalinon*, inhabited by unconquered *Indians*, where they took in Water without Opposition, for the Rest of the Voyage. Thence he had fair Weather to the Island *Margarita*. As soon as he landed in the Harbour, *Don John Sarmiento de Villandrando*, the Governour of the Island came to meet him, having hourly expected him, since he knew he was to come. The rejoycing, and Entertainmeit was such as became Friends, and Friends of that Quality.

*An English Ship near the Island Margarita*

An *English Ship* of above four hundred Tun Burthen, with thirty Pieces of Cannon of five thousand Weight each, and Abundance of Men, had been 30 days in a Harbour but two Leagues from the Island *Margarita*. *Don John Sarmiento* telling *Don Pedro*, what Insolences that Ship committed, and how much to his Disreputation she oppress'd the Islanders under his Government, desir'd he might attack her with his Galley. *Don Pedro* perswaded him to desist from that Enterprize, since it did not belong to him, and it was an unpardonable Fault to attack her, without an equal Force. *Don John* persisted so long, that he carry'd it against *Don Pedro's* Opinion. They made to the Place where the Ship lay, passing by dangerous Rocks, and being come in Sight of it, perceiv'd it was stronger, and better provided than they had been told. Our Men, in Order to fight, turn'd out all the Women, most of them Wives to those that came in the Gallies. Twenty Soldiers came from the Island *Margarita*, by their Governours Order, who being shipp'd they appear'd by Break of Day in Sight of the Enemy. The Wind then blowing fresh *Don Pedro* advising with the Natives of the Island *Margarita* and their Governour told them, it was requisite to expect a Calm, in Order to take the Ship, since the Galley could wait for it under Shelter, without any Danger. The Islanders being provok'd by the Damage they had receiv'd, and to flatter *Don John Sarmiento*, answer'd, That they had two of the Prime Men of that Ship Prisoners in the City, by whose Account they were inform'd. of the Distress she was in, and that she must surrender, as soon as attack'd. This Opinion being bandy'd about with Obstinacy, came to be Positiveness in *Don John*. *Don Pedro* looking upon it as such, and concerned to see his Friend engag'd in such a Piece of Madnes, with those Hot, but unexperient'd Men, said to them, By my long Experience in several Seas, I know it is the worst of Conduct to attack a Ship, when she has the Wind; but let us fall on; that the People of the Island *Margarita* may not have it to say that I deserr'd engaging out of Fear, and not out of Discretion. This said, he order'd his Galley to weigh Anchor. He arm'd himself, and *Don John*, and just as the Sun appear'd they attack'd the Ship with Fury and Violence. The *English* were not backward; they speedily cut the Cables of three Anchors they had out, and leaving them in the Sea, set their Sails. The Wind was fair and soon fill'd them. The Men were brisk and ply'd their Cannon without ceasing. Our Galley did the same, and fir'd five Shot, before it receiv'd any Harm. Then she ran her Beak against the Poop of the Ship, but could not grapple, nor board. Some Men went down to the Boats which were tow'd by the Ship, and cut the Ropes. The Ship, and Galley fell a firing again, without Intermision.

*The Islanders oblige Don Pedro to Fight her.*

*The Engagement.*

*Don*

*Don Pedro* receiv'd a Musquet Shot on his Target, which glancing off broke in Pieces a Board of the Stern Lockers, and wounded those that were next it. A Cannon Ball took off the Head of one of our Slaves, and scatter'd his Brains in *Don Pedro's* Face; but another Ball touch'd him nearer, when it threw *Don John Sarmiento* into the Sea, who being sunk by the Weight of his Armour, was never seen again. Fourteen Soldiers of the Island *Margarita*, and nine Spaniards were kill'd, and many wounded, of all whom *Don Pedro* took Care, without neglecting the other Duties of a Commander. Some Persons of Note were also kill'd, as *Alonso de Anduxar*, a Youth about twenty Years of Age, of the Order of Christ, and *Antonio Sautiso*, who had been a Captain in *Floudera*. The Ship holding on her Course, made the best of the fair Wind; and was seen to fly, as if she had been victorious; tho' she threw many dead Bodies over Board, in Sight of our Men. *Don Pedro* return'd to the Island *Margarita*, lamenting the Death of his Friend, and his Wife's Widow-Hood, amidst the Tears of other Widows, and Fathers left Childless. He comforted the afflicted the best he could, received the King's Boxes of Peals, and went on much griev'd at the Event; and to see how little his Precaution had avail'd.

*Don Pedro* had a prosperous Passage thence, to the Island *Curazao*, to *Rio de la Hacha*; and soon in Sight of *Caracas*, being descri'd from the City of the Galleys went out to meet him, whose Musick and Guns, with those of the Fort made a Mixture of Harmony and Noise. He enter'd upon the Government and immediately took a View of the Galleys, Warlike Preparations being of the greatest Consequence in those Parts. He found them shatter'd, and almost gone to Ruin, refitted one, and furnish'd another with Slaves, and all other Necessaries. All things were before in such Disorder, and Confusion, that it was hard to distinguish betwixt the Galley Slaves and the Soldiers, the former going about as free, and gay as the latter. He blam'd this Liberty, and order'd the Heads and Beards of the Slaves to be shav'd, and that they should be chain'd. Next he took in hand the Divisions, Manners, and civil Government of the City, and there was soon a Reformation of Abuses, and publick Crimes, all this he perform'd by his Valour, and Example. He also review'd the Horse and Foot; repair'd the Fortifications; attended all Martial Affairs; had his Gates always open to decide Controversies, without Distinction of Persons; and tho' he had here considerable Opportunities offer'd him, and much Matter to discover his Capacity, and the Greatness of his Soul, yet he found in himself greater Hopes and Desires, above what was present, and exciting him to advance farther, and to make known to the World that generous Restlessness, which was afterwards serviceable to the Church, by restoring its former Honour, in the remotest Provinces.

*Don Pedro*  
at *Carta-*  
*gena*.

*The End of the Fifth Book.*



THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**DISCOVERY and CONQUER**  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c*

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**BOOK VI.**

*Gomez Perez builds four Gallies, and makes Slaves wrongfully Taes of Gold their Value.*

*Discontent in the Philippines.*

*The Governours excuses.*

**I**N the mean while *Gomez Perez*, still carrying on his Preconceal'd the Design, without sparing any charge for Shippvisions, or Men. Among other Necessaries, he built four Gallies, and for the manning of them, took a Method which was upon as severe. He Order'd, That as many *Indians* who were to other *Indians* of Quality, as would serve to Man the Gallies, be bought up, and Paid for by the *Spaniards*, who were Proprietors their own Money, setting the Price of each Slave at two *Taes* in *Gold* *Tae* being little above an Ounce, which was the Price Slaves had in Times been valu'd at among them. He promis'd, that the Price should afterwards be Refunded what they laid out, from the Kings Fund. Yet this did not seem to mollify the Rigour of the Order; because properly call'd those *Indians* Slaves, for their Lords use and love of Children, set them at their own Tables, and Marry them to their Daughters besides that, Slaves then were worth more Money. The Concern that were to be Sold, was attended by that of the Proprietors, who contribute out of their Estates, to defray Charges they look'd upon very Necessary, and to Disgust their Vassals, by taking them away, being never likely to recover the Money they laid down, which were well assur'd of. The Governour gave out, That those Gallies to secure the Country, and defend it from the Danger that threaten'd cause he knew the Emperor of *Japan* was coming to Invade it, with a numerous Fleet; and that it could not be Defended without Gallies therefore it was absolutely Necessary to Man them with Slaves, since he had no others to Row. That these were not to be Fetter'd in the manner nor Treated like Slaves, but so kindly used, that they themselves prefer their Entertainment, before that of their Lords, whom they look'd upon as Parents, or Fathers-in-Law.

These Allegations, and the absolute Necessity of defending themselves, silenc'd both Parties; but could not stop the Mouth of Fame, for it was already known, what Engagements he made before he came from Spain; to the King, the Ministers, the Kindred, and Fomenters of the Expedition of Ternate, so that whatsoever he conceal'd, was divulg'd by uncertain Authors. However some advis'd him not to rely on the *Chinese*, or *Singleyes* for the Defence of the *Philippines*; because no natural or civil Tye had ever gain'd, or attract'd their Affection towards them. That he ought to remember the fresh Instance of what they did, when his Predecessor employ'd them, and consequently should be watchful over them. That he sending a Supply of Men, Ammunitions and Provisions to the Fort and Town of *Cagayan*, which is on the Coast of that Island of *Luzon*, 80 Leagues from the City *Manila*, and there being then no Ship to send it in, Necessity pressing, he thought he might relieve that Want, by making use of one of the *Chinese* Ships that were then at Anchor in the Harbour, and clear'd in Order to return to *China*. He commanded the Supply to be put aboard her, and the *Chinese* to carry, and in the Way, to land it where he directed, since it was no let to their Voyage; promising to requite and gratify them for that Service. They undertook it with extraordinary Tokens of good Will; but their Artifice appear'd by the Event, and show'd how Men that are upon the Watch, improve Opportunities. The *Chinese* set sail, and the second Day after, when the *Spaniards* were asleep, as believing themselves safe among trusty Friends, they fell upon them so unexpectedly, that they had not Time to stand upon their Guard, but were all murder'd and cast into the Sea. They plunder'd all they carry'd, and dividing the Spoil, sail'd for their own Country. They only sav'd one unhappy *Spanish* Woman, that went with our Men, and took her along with them. They spar'd her Life, but after having insolently abus'd her, they set her ashore, in a Sea-Port Town of the first Part of *China* they made. She presently had Recourse to the Magistrates, whom she acquainted with the Villany those Men had committed, and the Wrongs they had done her; but tho' favourably heard by those Judges, she had no Satisfaction for her Wrongs, nor could she obtain Justice. However they appointed Officers to carry her up the Country, remitting her to other Supream Magistrates. In this Journey, which was many Leagues, she endur'd more than she had done before, till some of the Governours taking Compassion on her and her Tears, carry'd her to the City of *Macao*, where the *Portugueses* reside, and set her at Liberty. Thus the whole Matter came to be known, and it was at *Manila* in the Mouths of all Men, who now magnify'd it, upon Occasion of the New Enterprize.

In short, all the Slaves demanded by the Governour *Gomez Perez*, were rais'd with much Trouble and Oppression, and in the same Manner they were put into the Gallies, where they continu'd some Time before they departed, and many of them dy'd, as not being us'd to that sort of Life. All those Slaves were not sufficient to Man the Gallies, and the Admiral Galley remain'd without Rowers. This, and the Necessity of finishing the Work produc'd a more rigorous Practice than the former. The Governour order'd that 250 of the *Chinese*, who resort to the *Philippines* to Trade,

*The Design  
against the  
Moluccos  
takes Air.*

*Fallhood of  
the Chi-  
neses.*

*Spanish  
Woman a-  
bandon'd  
in China.*

*Chinese  
put into  
the Gallies.*

Trade, should be taken to Man the Admiral Galley, and each of them to be allow'd two Pieces of Eight a Month, our of the King's Revenue. He assur'd them, they should not be chain'd, but at Liberty, and with their Arms, to serve as Soldiers; and that they should only row in the Gallies when there was any Calm, and to weather some Capes. The *Chineses* being acquainted by their *Chinesse* Governour with this Resolution, positively refus'd it, as an intolerable Burden. But our Governour pressing to bring about his Design, the *Chinesse* assembled his People, to treat about the Affair, and contrive how 250 might be chosen out from among them all; threatening that he would take every Tenth Man out of their Houses. These Words provok'd them to such a Degree, that the next Day they shut up the very Windows of their Houses, and the Traders their Shops, and stopp'd the Provisions which run through their Hands. Our Governour seeing this Proceeding, and alledging that they mutiny'd, caus'd about 50 of those that came next to hand, to be seiz'd, and put to the Oar in the Galley. The others terrify'd by this Action, met, and drew from among them all, the 250, and because no Man would be of that Number, they divided 20000 Pieces of Eight among those that would comply, and gave every *Chinesse* that would go in the Galley 80 Pieces of Eight, besides the King's Pay. By Means of this good Encouragement, there was no Want of *Chineses* that list'd themselves to row, but the 20000 Pieces of Eight were consum'd among them, or rather among the Officers. These 250 *Chineses* were form'd into five Companies, under five *Chinesse* Christian Captains, who pass'd Musters and Reviews, with Pikes and *Catanes*, which differ little from Cymiters, and express'd Joy and Satisfaction.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, Brother *Gaspar Gomez* came to *Manila*, full of Intelligence, whereof he gave the Governour an Account, at several private Conferences. He said, the King of *Ternate's* Affairs were in no ill Posture; tho' somewhat weak'n'd, by not agreeing with the Prime Men of his Kingdom; and that many of them threatned, they would Rebel, on Account of his Tyranny, and because he rais'd intolerable Taxes. That then, neither the *Javaneses*, nor the *Lascarines*, nor the *Moors* of *Mecca* frequented *Ternate*, as they had done at the Time when Captain *Morones* arriv'd there, under the Government of *Santiago de Vera*. He gave very particular Information concerning the two Forts of *Talangame*. That the King of *Ternate* had then about 3000 common Soldiers, 1000 Musquetiers, and a great Number from his other Kingdoms. That they fought with Darts, *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, and Shields; and others had Coats of Mail, and Head-Pieces they got from the *Portugueses*, in exchange for Spice. That they had Abundance of Ammunition, all of their own making, of the Materials the *Javaneses* brought to barter for Clove. That the Principal Place was the City *Ternate*, where the King and all his Court reside, and therefore it is best secur'd, and from thence all others are supply'd, supported, and encourag'd. He advis'd that our Men should assault it before Break of Day; because all Attacks made upon those People in the Morning Watch had been successful. That, if our Fleet came unexpected, it would certainly succeed; but that the said King had his Spies spread abroad in almost all those Islands,

as far as those of *Canela*, *Sarrangan* and *Mindanao*. That a good Number of Brass Sakers, and other great Guns might be brought in the *Carrou*, from the Fort of *Ambogna*, and the Kings of *Siam*, and *Tydore*. That the People of *Ambogna* would send them upon Command, those of *Siam* and *Tydore*, upon very small Intreaty; because besides their owning the Crown of *Spain*, they are Enemies to *Ternate*. That the necessary Preparation for finishing the War, even in case the King of *Tydore* should fail, and it might be suspected he would not willingly see his Enemy utterly destroy'd, consisted in Artillery and Shipping, which was ready, and above 1200 Soldiers well arm'd, with their Coats of Mail and Head-Pieces, till they went over to the Island of *Banda*, to put in the necessary Garrison there. That there should be a Number of Light Vessels to take the Enemy flying; for by that Means the War would be quite concluded in a short Time, and without Bloodshed. That even the Malecontent *Ternates* declar'd, and publish'd as much, and own'd, that if a considerable Number of Fighting Men should come into their Country, they would all come in and submit without striking Stroke. Hence he infer'd, that there were conceal'd Christians in the *Molusco* Islands. That the Conquest of the whole Island of *Banda*, was very advantageous and profitable, and not hazardous, and that the Neighbourhood of *Ambogna*, which was ours, would be of great Consequence for maintaining it. He further affirm'd, That the *Portugueses* very much facilitated the Enterprize, and magnify'd the great Benefit it would be to his Majesty; and that *F. Antony Marta*, of whom the Governour had so great a Conceit, was of the same Opinion. Brother *Gaspar Gomez* added so many Circumstances to these particular Accounts, that he wholly inflam'd the Governour's Heart.

At this Time, *Landara*, King of *Camboxa*, sent the Governour an Embassy by two *Spanish* Commanders, attended by many of his Subjects, with such Splendor as the Occasion of it requir'd. That barbarous King thought fit his Embassadors should not be natural born Subjects, because of the Occasion his People had given him to suspect their Fidelity. He chose them of Different Conditions, to the End that such Variety, the Diversity of Inclinations, and Opposition, might produce the better Effect. The one of them was a *Portuguese*, his Name *James Veloso*, the other a *Spaniard*, *Blas Ruys de Fernan Gonzalez*. They brought *Gomez Perez* a Magnificent Present, a great Quantity of *Ivory*, *Benjamin*, *China Ware*, Pieces of *Silk* and *Cotton*, and an *Elephant* of a generous Temper, as afterwards appear'd by Experience. They deliver'd their Embassy, the Purport whereof was, to desire Succour against the King of *Siam*, who was marching against him of *Camboxa*, with a numerous Army; offering in Return for his Assistance to become subject to *Spain*, and embrace Christianity. That the King concluded, that so brave and gallant a Gentleman as *Gomez Perez*, would not on Account of any other Diversion refuse to perform an Action, which must redound so much to the Glory of God, and the Advantage of the Crown of *Spain*. The Governour receiv'd the Present, making a Return with another of some *European* Curiosities; and by way of Answer, thank'd that King for the Confidence he had seem'd to place in him; but that, for the Present, he could not possibly afford the Succours, nor divert those Forces, which he was getting ready, to punish the King

Light Vessels of good Use.

King of Camboxa sends Spaniards Embassadors to the Governour.

Their Present.

Subject of their Embassy.

The Answer.

of Ternate, and recover that Kingdom, and the rest of the *Moluccos*, which had Rebell'd, so much to the Dishonour of the *Spanish* Nation. That his Highness should place his Confidence in the Goodness of God, and persevere in the Design of serving him in his Holy and True Religion, and as soon as the Expedition of Ternate was over, he would convert his Forces to the Relief of *Camboja*. The Embassadors were dismiss'd with these Hopes, which the Governour's Son, *Don Lewis de las Marinas*; afterwards made good; and to give them entire Satisfaction, and justify the Delay, it was found necessary to make Publick the true Design of that Fleet, which till then had been kept secret.

Mighty  
Preparati-  
ons against  
Ternate.

The Governour, in fine, resolv'd to set forward, and endeavour'd to take along with him all the Men he could get. All were list'd that could be prevail'd upon either by Force or Intreaties. The Proprietors and Soldiers were extravagantly expensive, upon the Ships, Provisions, and Gallantry; and the *Philippines* being well furnish'd with all Things, they did more than had been imagin'd, or could be in the Governour's Power. He sent his Son *Don Lewis*, with all the Soldiers that were in Pay, to the Island of *Zebu*, where the Fleet was to rendezvous; and there he continued six Months, waiting for new Orders. *Gomez Perez* stay'd at *Manila*, ordering Matters of great Moment. Two Days before his Departure, being invited by, and supping in the House of *Peter de Rojas*, his Lieutenant, where diverting himself with Gaming, and much Pleasure, he grew so merry, contrary to his Custom, and the Harshness of his Temper, that many interpreted it as a good Omen of his Success. He said in Discourse, that *F. Vincent*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, had told him, the Enterprize could not succeed, because the Army was made up of Men that were carry'd away by Force, and particularly the marry'd Men were so. He departed *Manila* on the 17th of *October*, with six Royal Gallies, one Galleon, one small Vessel call'd a *Foiss*, one little Frigor, and several other Frigots, Carcoas, and Bireyes, which are another Sort of Vessels of the Natives; all which, being part the Kings, and part be-

Prediction  
of ill Suc-  
cess.

The Fleet  
sets out.

Its Force.

longing to Subjects, who offer'd to serve him with their Lives and Fortunes, amounted to an hundred. There were a Thousand *Spaniards* well arm'd; above four hundred *Musquetiers* of the Territory of *Mawila*; a thousand more of those they call *Visaiar*, Men arm'd with Lances, Shields, Bows and Arrows, and above four hundred *Chinese*, of those that dwell in the Island, besides a good Number of those that came to Trade taken into Pay; but many more Compell'd than Voluntiers. The Gallies carry'd Abundance of Provisions for the Army, over which he appointed his Son *Don Lewis Perez*, his Lieutenant, and sent him before, as has been said, with Orders to make for the Island of *Zebu*. He embark'd himself aboard the Admiral-Galley, which had twenty eight Benches for the Men to row, and was mann'd with the 250 *Chinese* for the Oar. Eighty *Spaniards* were put aboard it; they touch'd at *Cabite*, sail'd thence on the 19th, and with them some Vessels, in which there were private Persons, who follow'd at their own Expence, coasting the Island of *Manila* as far as *Balajan*. They parted, because the Vessels kept in Sight of Land, and the Governour put out to Sea. On the 25th he came alone to pass the Night, at the Point call'd *de Azufre*, or of *Brimstone*, in the Island of *Manila*,  
opposite

opposite to that of *Casa*, where the Current, and the Drift of the Water from the Land run strong, and the Breezes then blowing, the Galley could not weather it. He anchor'd under the Shelter of it, and yet dragg'd a little with the Force of the Current. They made the *Chineses* row excessive hard, to bring her up again under the Land. In short, they row'd very *Chineses* *at the Oars* *ill us'd.* *Sainly*, either because they were not us'd to that Labour, and forc'd to the *Oar*, or because they were then tir'd, and incens'd with the Command. Other contrary Winds started up, which again obstructed their Voyage, and to weather some Points of Land, it was necessary to ply the Oars, and to vex the Crew, with the usual Severity and Punishment commonly insisted aboard the Gallies. They thought this hard, and contrary to what the Governour had assur'd them, which was, that they should be kindly treated; but neither the Lash, nor the Threats, nor the stemming of the Currents, with the Vigour and Sweat of their Bodies, seem'd so intolerable, and injurious to them, as to hear the angry and stern Governour himself bid them row manfully, for if they did not, he would put them in Chains, and cut off their Hair. This to the *Chineses* is an Affront that deserves Death, for they place their Honour in their Hair, which they cherish and preserve very fair, and value themselves upon it, as the Ladies in *Europe* us'd to do, all their Delight and Reputation being in keeping it curiously comb'd. Hereupon they resolv'd to mutiny, to prevent such an Affront and Contempt. The next Night, which was the 25th of *October*, being appointed for the Execution, when the tir'd *Spaniards* laid themselves down upon the Benches, and other convenient Places in the Vessel, the *Chineses* did so too, but cunningly dividing themselves, every one lay down by a *Spaniard*, pretending to be asleep. In the dead of the last Watch, which they thought the properest and safest Time, seeing the *Spaniards* sound asleep, the *Chineses*, upon hearing of a shrill Whistle, which was the Signal agreed upon between them, started up all together, and every Man with wonderful Celerity put on a white Veil, or Shirt, that they might know one another in the Height of their Fury, and the Darkness of the Night, and so distinguish where to make the Slaughter, tho' for the more Security, they also lighted abundance of Wax-Candles, which they had conceal'd wrap'd up in those white Vests. Then they drew their *Catanas*, which are keener, and more crooked than our *Cyniters*, and began without any Noise every Man to hew his next *Spaniard*; so proceeding in their Fury, and killing all those that slept. Above 60 Persons had embark'd in the Admiral-Galley, some of them being the Governour's Servants, and other old Soldiers, who suffer'd Inconveniences to oblige and divert him. They had play'd all the Night, and being tir'd, and the Heat very violent, they lay naked, some on the Gang-Way in the middle of the Galley, others on the Benches, and the greatest Favourites, who had more Room allow'd them, in the Poop, and to that Purpose the Governour retired into the Cabin. The *Chineses* continu'd the Execution, on those who slept, without any Mistrust, which was done so expeditiously, that when some of those who slept in the Poop awak'd, the other *Spaniards* were all kill'd. The Watch heard nothing of it, tho' their could be no Excuse for that Neglect, because there had been Instances and Warnings enough before. Others awak'd, and feeling themselves

Many of  
them  
drown'd.  
Only 12  
escape.

The Govern-  
or kill'd.

Two sav'd  
alive.

The Chine-  
ses sail for  
China.

selves wounded, in the Confusion leap'd into the Sea, where most of them were drown'd; some few cast themselves into the Sea before they were hurt, and were also swallow'd up by it, tho' they were near Land, because the Current being strong, they could not stem it; twelve escap'd, and many Bodies were found along the Shores.

The *Chineses* now grown bold, drew out the Pikes they had hid under the Benches, and finish'd their Treacherous Work with Noise. The Governor, who was under Deck, Sleeping, with a Candle and Lanthorn by him, Awak'd; and that he might do so, they made the greater Noise; and the *Chineses* themselves cry'd out to him, desiring he would come up to pacify a Quarrel there was among the *Castillars*, so they call the *Spaniards*. He, for this Reason, or believing the Galley dragg'd, as it had done at other times, getting up in his Shirt, and opening the Scuttle, look'd out, lifting half his Body above it: At the same time the *Chineses* fell upon him with their Cymiters, and wounded him Mortally, cluting his Head, and running him through with their Pikes in more than barbarous manner. Seeing his Death near he drew back, and took up the Prayer Book of his Order, which he always carry'd about him, and an Image of our Blessed Lady, and ended his Life between those two Advocates, which were afterwards seen bathed in his Blood: Yet he dy'd not presently, for they afterwards found him in his Bed, embracing the Image, where he Bled to Death, and about him the Bodies of *Daniel Gomez de Leon*, his Valet de Chamber, *Pantaleon de Brito*, *Suero Diaz*, *John de Chavez*, *Peter Maseda*, *John de S. Juan*, *Carrion Ponce*, and *Francis Castillo*, all of them his Servants, and four brave Slaves, who had the same End. This was not known till it was Day; because none of the *Chineses* durst go down where the Governor was that Night, fearing lest some of the 80 *Spaniards* that were in the Galley, had retir'd thither; such was the Dread of their own Guilt. None were left alive in the Galley, but *F. Francis Montilla*, of the Barefoot Order of *S. Francis*, and *John de Cuellar*, the Governors Secretary, who lay under Deck, whether the fainthearted *Chineses* durst not go down in three Days, when their first Fury was over. Then they afterwards set Ashore, on the Coast of *Ilocos*, in the same Island of *Luzon*, that the Natives might suffer them to Water; and because the Frier and the Secretary had Capitulated, having their promise that they would do them no hurt, before they surrendered. The *Chineses* being satisfy'd that there were no more ancient Christians left, began to Shout and Roar for Joy that they had gone through with their Work, and had no Man more to stand in Awe of.

The *Spaniards*, who were in the other Vessels, near the Shore, tho' they saw the Lights, and heard a confus'd Noise aboard the Admiral, thought it might be on account of some Work belonging to the Galley, or the like. When, a long time after, they understood how matters went, from those who sav'd themselves by Swimming, they lay still, not being able to redress it. They were but few; had not Strength enough; and the Mischief was done. They stay'd till Morning, and when Day appear'd, perceiv'd that the Galley had set her Shoulder-of-Mutton-Sail, and was standing for *China*, but they could not follow her: The Wind favouring, she sail'd all along the Coast of the Island, till they got clear of it, the *Chineses* all the way Celebrating their Victory.

The

The Frier and the Secretary, who were among them, being fully persuaded they would soon kill them, and fearing it would be after some of their cruel Methods, holding up their Hands, begg'd they would allow them some Time to make their Peace with God; and in case they would put them to Death, that it might be by Beheading, and not any other Inhuman Way. One of the *Chineses* bid them not Fear, for they should not Dye. They all lay'd down their bloody Weapons, and prostrating themselves, return'd Thanks to Heaven in most humble manner, beating Drums, and ringing Bells they carry'd, according to their Custom. The two Christians being then bolted to a Bench in the Galley, during 15 Days their Captivity lasted, were fed with a small Proportion of Rice, boil'd in Water, without Salt, continually looking upon the Blood of their Companions that had been spilt, wherewith all the Deck was Stain'd. They shed Abundance of Tears on it, besides those they hourly let fall with the Apprehension of Death, those *Chineses*, like faithless false Men, designing to take away their Lives, in some strange manner. They weigh'd, and sailed between the Islands of *Mindanao* and *Luban*, towards *China*, and Coasting along *Manila* towards *Cagayan*, some contrary Winds happening to blow, and Calms succeeding, they were much concern'd, fearing, that if the News of their Treachery reach'd the *Philippines*, they would send after and overtake them. This Dread made them have recourse to their Gods, and call upon them, offering several sorts of Sacrifices, Perfumes, and Prayers, which the Devil often answer'd in formal Words, by the Mouths of such as were Possessed, whom he Enter'd to that Purpose, for there never wanted two or three such, all the time those Christians were in the Galley. What they saw was, that when least they thought of it, and on a sudden, the Person possessed began to quake, from Head to Foot. The others seeing him in that Condition, said, *Some God was coming to Speak to them*. Then coming up to him, with Tokens of Respect, they unty'd, and spread abroad his Hair; and stripping him quite naked set him on his Feet, and he presently fell a Dancing to the Noise of some Drum, or Bell, they beat or rung. They put a Cymiter, or Spear into his Hand, and as he danc'd he brandish'd it over all their Heads, with no small danger of hurting them, which they were not the least apprehensive of, alledging, that their God, tho' he did so, would never hurt them, without they were guilty of some Sin against him.

Before the Devil had possess'd any in the Galley, the *Chineses* were concerting to murder the Christians, believing they were the Occasion, why God did not give them a fair Wind for their Voyage; but that watchful sovereign Providence, without whose Direction the least Accident does not happen, making Use of the Devil himself as an Instrument, prevented it by Means of those very Persons who offended it. The Person possess'd ask'd for Ink and Paper, which being presently brought him, he made certain Characters and confus'd Scrawls, which being expounded by the others in the Galley, they found signify'd, that those two Men were harmless, therefore they should not kill them, which was no small Encouragement to the Prisoners. However this lasted not long, for some others who were possess'd after the first, tormented them cruelly, especially one of them, who was the maddest. He told the *Chineses*, that if he should happen to hurt those Men, as he brandish'd the Weapon he had in his Hand over them,

*The two Prisoners beg an easy Death, and are promis'd their Lives.*

*The Chineses invoke their Gods.*

*Some of them possess'd.*

*Christians preserv'd by Means of the Devil.*



*Horred  
practices  
upon the  
Prisoners.*

them, making Essays, as if he cut and slash'd, then they must kill them mediately; because it would be a certain Sign, that their Gods requir'd, and that their being in the Ship was the Occasion, why they gave them fair Gale. All the Men in the Galley assembled, to behold that Spectacle, and the Person possess'd having for a considerable Space walk'd the Gang-Way, with extravagant Gestures, went then to the Place the Religious Man and his Companion were; there growing hellish rag'd, he commanded all the rest to stand aside, and being left with the two Prisoners, began to make hideous Faces and Grimaces at them when getting upon the Table in the mid Part of the Galley, he threw his Cymiter at them, with such Fury, that it stuck in the Decree between their Feet. Seeing he had not hurt nor touch'd them, he ask'd it again to make a second and third Tryal, sticking it every Time so that the others could scarce draw it out from the Planks. This done, they give him a Partisan, with which he hack'd, hew'd, and thrust, in a frightful and dangerous Manner, that the *Chineses* themselves were frighten'd. He kept them above an hour in that Dread and Affliction, warring to stir, or beg for Mercy; believing it would not avail them, but on the contrary, whatsoever they could say might be prejudicial. Thus being plac'd all their Hopes, and Confidence on that sovereign Lord, when he delays does not fail to give Assistance, they call'd upon his Name themselves up to him in fervent Prayers; particularly the Religious Man, repeating some Psalms and Verses, which his former Devotion, and the present Danger, brought into his Mind, and were suitable to that Occasion, and such like Exigencies; by which, as he afterward receiv'd great Comfort, and Addition of Courage. This sort of miserable Life, and these Torments lasted all or most Days during their captivity.

*The Chinese land, 820 of them are kill'd.*

*They drown one of their own Men.*

At length, the *Chineses* perceiving they could not possibly perform their Voyage they desir'd, by Reason the Wind was contrary; they refus'd to land on the Island of *Ilocos*, not far from *Luzon*, at the Port they call'd *San Pedro*. They being there ashore to Water, the Natives knowing they had murder'd the Governour, laid an Ambush and kill'd twenty of them, and might have destroyed above eighty that had landed, if they had not wanted Courage because at the very Shout the Men gave, when falling on, they were daunted, that they all fled several Ways in Confusion, throwing down their Arms, endeavouring to save their Lives, by leaping into the Sea, and got off in the Boat. The *Chineses* meeting with this Disaster, and that one of their own Men had been the Occasion of it, because he had refused them to put into that Port, they resolv'd to seize and put him to Death. They did as had been resolv'd, and at Night, by unanimous Consent, threw him into the Sea, then weighing their Anchors, they went out of that Harbour, and put into another, three Leagues off, on the Coast of *San Pedro*. There the Devil entering into one of them, as he us'd to do, commanded them immediately to return to the Port, where they had suffer'd that Loss of their Friends and Companions, and that they should not depart thence, till they had sacrific'd a Man to him, without appointing any one who would have. They immediately obey'd the Command, one of the Chief *Chineses* making Choice of one of the Christian *Indians* of the Island.

pires they had Prisoners, to be Sacrific'd, and ty'd his Hands and Feet, stretching them on a Cross, which they rais'd up, and the Christian being bound against the fore-Mast, one of those possess'd by the Devil came up to him in Sight of them all, and playing the part of an Executioner, ripp'd up his Breast, with one of those Daggers they use, making a wound so large, that he thrust in his Hand with ease, and pluck'd out part of his Entrails, whereof, with horrid Fury, he bit a Mouthful, and casting the rest up into the Air, eat what he had in his Mouth, and lick'd his Hands, pleasing himself with the Blood that stuck to them.

An Indian  
cruelly Sa-  
crific'd.

Having committed the Murder, they took the Cross, and him that was on it, and cast it and the Martyr into the Sea, which receiv'd that Body, offer'd in Sacrifice to the Devil, then to be cloath'd in Glory, by him that has provided it for those who suffer for the Confession of the Faith. This dreadful Spectacle struck Horror, and rais'd Emulation in the two Christians, who beheld it with Zeal, and had expected as much before. The Inhuman Sacrifice being over, they put out of the Harbour, and having for some days Coasted the Island with Difficulty; one of them, by command of the Possess'd Person, who had order'd the Sacrifice, with the consent of them all, set at liberty the Religious Man, the Secretary, and all the Indians they had Prisoners, putting them ashore in the Boat, and then the *Chineses* stood out to Sea. They endeavour'd to make over to *Cbina*, but not being able, put into *Cochinchina*, where the King of *Tunquin* took all they had, and among the rest two heavy Pieces of Cannon, that had been put aboard for the Expedition of the *Moluccos*, the King's Standard, and all the Jewels, Goods, and Money. He suffer'd the Galley to perish on the Coast, and the *Chineses* dispers'd, flying into several Provinces. Others affirm, that King seiz'd and punish'd them.

They cast  
him into  
the Sea.

The Secre-  
tary and  
Priest set at  
Liberty.

The *Spaniards* that escap'd, went to carry the News to *Manila*, where some griev'd, and others, who hated the Governour for his Severity, rejoiced; but that ill Will soon vanish'd, and all generally lamented him; more especially when some of the Bodies were found and brought in. Among them were those of the Ensign, *John Diaz Guerrero*, an old Soldier, and Governour of *Cebu*; of the Ensign *Penalosa*, Proprietor of *Pila*; the great Soldier *Sabagun*, whose Wife ran roaring about the City; of Captain *Castano*, newly come over from *Spain*; of *Francis Rodriguez Parulero*; of Captain *Peter Neyla*; of *John de Sotomayor*; of *Simon Fernandez*; that of his Sergeant; of *Guzman*; of the Ensign and Sergeant of the Company brought by *Don Philip de Samano*, who being sick transferr'd it to Captain *John Xvarez Gallinato*; and those of *Sebastian Ruis* and *Lewis Velez*, these two Merchants, all the rest old Soldiers; whose Funerals renew'd the Sorrow for that dismal Accident.

Spaniards  
that escap'd  
came to  
Manila.  
Bodies  
found.

This News being brought to *Manila*, and no Papers of the Governour's appearing, wherein he nam'd, who was to succeed him, tho' it was known he had the King's Order so to do, believing it might be lost in the Galley, among much of the Kings, his own, and private Persons Goods, the City therefore chose the Licentiate *Rojas* for their Governour, and he was so forty Days. But the Secretary *John de Cuellar* returning to *Manila*, in a miserable Condition, with *P. Francis de Montilla*, gave Notice, that *Gomez Perez*, before his Departure had appointed his Son *Don Lewis* to succeed, and that this would be found at the Monastery of *S. Augustin*, in a Box,

Rojas chose  
Governour  
by the City.

**Don Lewis** among other Papers, in the Custody of *F. James Minnoz*. *Rojas* had al-  
*das Marin-* ready sent Orders to *Cebu*, for all the People employ'd in the Expedition,  
*nas Gover-* to return, as was accordingly done. So that *Don Lewis* coming, notwith-  
*nor.* standing some Protestations, he, by Virtue of his Father's Authority, suc-  
 ceeded him in the Government, till *Don Francis Tello* came.

**Character** Such was the End of that Gentleman, whose Actions were valuable in  
 of Gomez themselves, and the more for the Zeal he did them with. He wanted not  
 Perez. for political and martial Virtues, nor for Prudence in both Sorts; but he  
 would not regard Examples; and contrary to what those taught him, durst  
 promise himself to succeed, so that he became confident, if not rash. But  
 his Christian Piety makes Amends for all.

**The Fleet** *Don Lewis*, his Kindred and Friends, would fain have prosecuted the Ex-  
 dismiss'd. pedition to the *Moluccos*, and to this End *F. Antony Fernandez* came from  
*Tydore*; but he succeeded not. The Fleet was dismiss'd, and it was a singular  
 Providence for the Security of the *Philippine* Islands; for presently after, at  
 the Beginning of the Year 1594, there came thither a great Number of Ships  
 from *China*, loaded only with Men and Arms, and brining no Merchandize,  
 as they are wont to do. Those Ships brought seven *Mandarines*, being some  
 of the chief Viceroyes and Governours of the Provinces. It was believ'd, and

**Arm'd**  
**Chineses**  
 in the  
 Philip-  
 pines.

prov'd certainly true, that they knowing *Gomez Perez* went upon that Expe-  
 dition, to which he took with him all the *Spaniards*, concluded the Coun-  
 try was left defenceless, and therefore came with a Design to Conquer, or  
 plunder it, which would have been very easy, had they found it as they ex-  
 pected. They went out of their Ships but twice to visit *Don Lewis*, with  
 great State, and much Attendance. He receiv'd them affectionately, and pre-  
 sented every *Mandarine* with a gold Chain. They told him, they came by  
 their King's Order, to pick up the *Chineses*, who wander'd about those Islands  
 without his Leave; but this was look'd upon as a meer Pretence; because  
 there was no Need, for that Effect, of so many *Mandarines*, nor such a Num-  
 ber of Vessels arm'd and furnish'd for War. The *Chineses* who murder'd  
*Gomez Perez*, were of *Chincho*, and therefore *Don Lewis*, as knowing the  
 certain Criminals, sent his Kinsman *Don Ferdinand de Castro*, in a Ship,  
 to give the King of *China* an Account of that Treachery; but his Voyage  
 miscarry'd, and all was left in Suspence.

**Mandari-**  
**nes visit**  
**Don Lewis**

**King of**  
**Camboxa**  
**demand**  
**the pro-**  
**mis'd Suc-**  
**cour.**

At this Time *Langara*, King of *Camboxa* made Instance for the *Soc*  
*cours*, and requir'd *Don Lewis* to perform his Father's Promise made to him  
 not long before. He therefore, in Pursuance to it, and to the End that  
 those Forces, or some Part of them, might continue in the Church's Ser-  
 vice, since they were provided for that End, in the Design of *Ternate*, re-  
 solv'd to support that King with them.

**Camboxa**  
**described.**

*Camboxa* is one of the most fertile of the *Indian* Regions. It sends  
 Abundance of Provisions to other Parts, for which Reason it is frequented  
 by *Spaniards*, *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Armenians*. The King is a *Mahometan*;  
 but his Subjects the *Gusarats* and *Banians*, follow the Precepts of *Pythagoras*,  
 perhaps without any Knowledge of him. They are all sharp witted,  
 and reputed the cunningest Merchants in *India*. However they are of Opini-  
 on, that after Death, Men, Brute Beasts, and all Creatures, receive either  
 Punishment, or Reward; so confus'd a Notion have they of Immortality.  
 The City *Camboxa*, which gives its Name to all the Country, is also call'd

**Opinions**  
**of the Na-**  
**tives.**

*Champa,*

*Champa*, abounding in the Odoriferous *Calambuca* Wood, whole Tree call'd *Calamba*, grows in unknown Regions, and therefore has not been seen standing. The Floods upon those great Rivers bring down Trunks of it, and this is the precious *Lignum Aloes*. *Camboxa* produces Corn, Rice, Pease, Butter, and Oyl. There are made in it various Sorts of Cotton Webs, Muslins, Buckrams, Calicoes, white and painted, Dimities, and other various Pieces exceeding the finest in *Holland*. They also adorn their Rooms with Carpets; tho' they are not like those brought out of *Perſia* to *Ormus*. They weave others for the common Sort, which they call *Bancales*, not unlike the *Scotch* Plads. Nor do they want the Art of Silk-Weaving, for they both weave, and work with the Needle, rich Hangings, Coverings for the low Chairs us'd by the Women of Quality, and for the *Indian* Litters, or *Palanquins*, which are made of Ivory, and Tortoise-Shell, and of the same they make Chefs-Boards, and Tables to Play, Seal-Rings, and other portable Things. In the Mountains there is found a sort of Christal, extraordinary transparent, whereof they make Beads, little Idols, Bracelets, Necklaces, and other Toys. It abounds in Amethysts, Garnets, the Sort of Saphirs call'd Hyacinths, Spinets, Cornelians, Chrysolites, Cats Eyes, properly call'd *Ases*, all of them precious Stones; There are also those they call Milk, and Blood Stones, pleasant, and medicinal Fruits, Opium, Bangue, Sanders, Alom and Sugar. *Indigo* is incomparably prepar'd in *Camboxa*, and thence sent to several Provinces. The living Creatures are the same *Asia* affords in those Parts, Elephants, Lions, Horses, wild Boars, and other fierce Beasts. It is in Ten Degrees of North Latitude. The River *Mecon* waters all the Kingdom, and in it falls into the Sea; being look'd upon as the greatest in *India*, carrying so much water in Summer, that it floods, and covers the Fields, like the *Nile* in *Egypt*. It joins another of less Stock, at the Place call'd *Chordewuco*. This River, for six Months runs backward. The Reason of it is the Extent and Plainness of the Country it runs along. The Southern Breezes choak up the Bar with Sand. The Currents thus damm'd up, swell and rise together, after much Struggling one against the other. The Bar looks to the South-ward, both Waters at first Form a deep Bay, and finding no free Passage out, but being drove by the mighty Violence of the Winds, are forc'd to submit and bend their Course the wrong Way, till a more favourable Season restores them to their natural Course. We see some such like Effects in *Spain*, where the *Tagus* falls into the Sea of *Portugal*, and the *Guadalquivir* into that of *Andalusia*, oppos'd by the superior Force of the Sea Waves, and of the Winds.

About this Time, in the remotest Part of this Country, beyond impenetrable Woods, not far from the Kingdom of the *Laos*, was discover'd a City, of above six thousand Houses, now call'd *Angon*. The Structures, and Streets, all of massy Marble Stones, artificially wrought, and as entire, as if they had been modern Works. The Wall strong, with a Scarp, or Slope within, in such Manner, that they can go up to the Battlements every where. Those Battlements all differ one from another, representing sundry Creatures, one represents the Head of an Elephant, another of a Lion, a third of a Tiger, and so proceed in continual Variety. The Ditch, which is also of hew'd Stones, is capable of receiving Ships. Over it is a magnificent Bridge, the Arches of it being supported by stone

Lignum  
Aloes.Manufac-  
tures.

Product.

Beasts.

Mecon  
River.Angon  
City Disco-  
ver'd.Its Mag-  
nificence.

Starts of a prodigious Height. The Aqueducts, tho' dry, show no less Grandeur. There are Remains of Gardens, and delightful Places, where the Aqueducts terminate. On one Side of the Town is a Lake above thirty Leagues in Compass. There are Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Characters not understood. Many Buildings are more sumptuous than the rest, most of them of Alabaster, and Jasper Stone. In all this City, when first discovered by the Natives, they found no People, nor Beasts, nor any living Creatures, except such as Nature produces out of the Breaches of Ruins. I own I was unwilling to write this, and that I have look'd upon it as an imaginary City of *Plato's Atlantis*, and of that his Common-Wealth; but there is no wonderful Thing, or Accident, that is not subject to much Doubt. It is now Inhabited, and our Religious Men, of the Order of *St. Augustin* and *St. Dominick*, who have Preach'd in those Parts, do testify the Truth of it. A Person of Reputation for his Learning, conjectures it was the Work of the Emperor *Traian*; but tho' he extended the Empire more than his Predecessors, I have not ever Read that he reach'd as far as *Camboxa*. Were the Histories of the *Chineses* as well known as ours, they would inform us, why they abandon'd so great a Part of the World; they would explain the Inscriptions on the Buildings, and all the rest that is unknown to the Natives themselves. I know not what to say of so Beautiful a City's being buried in Oblivion, or not known. It is rather a Subject of Admiration than Reflection.

Three Spanish Ships sent to the Relief of Camboxa.

King of Camboxa routed by him of Siam.

Design to murder the Spaniards.

*Don Lewis* being zealous to bring those Nations into the Bosom of the Church, and their Wealth, and Kings under the Subjection of the Crown of Spain, fitted out three Ships, under the Command of *John Xarez Gallinato*, born at *Tenerife*, one of the *Canary* Islands, with 120 *Spaniards*, and some *Philippines*. They Sail'd from *Cebu*, but there rose a Storm immediately, which dispers'd the Ships. *Gallinato* drove on by the Fury of the Winds, arriv'd at *Malaca*, and the other two at *Camboxa*. Going up the River, they were Inform'd, That the King of *Siam* had defeated him of *Camboxa*, his Neighbour; who, with the wretched Remains of his Army, fled into the Kingdom of the *Laos*, a Neighbouring but Inhumane Nation; and that whilst he was begging Compassion among those obdurate Hearts, the King of *Siam* had set up *Frauncar*, Nick-nam'd, *Wry Moub the Traitor*, Brother to the vanquish'd Monarch, for King of *Camboxa*. This Accident did not obstruct the Succours which the *Spaniards* carry'd under Colour of an Embassy. They came to the City *Chordunnulo*, 80 Leagues distant from the Bar, and leaving 40 *Spaniards* in the Ships, 40 others went to the Country where the new King was. They made Application to visit him presently, but he would not be seen that Day, tho' he order'd they should have good Quarters, and be told, he would give them Audience three Days after. But *James Velloso* and *Blase Ruyz*, either that they were formerly acquainted with the Country, or some new Subtilty occurring, looking on that delay as suspicious, visiting a beautiful *Indian* Woman, of the King's Family, she told them in private, That being admitted into that Tyrants Secrets, he being fond of her, she knew he intended to Murder them all; and that during those three Days he had assign'd them, as it were to Rest, after their Journey, the Men and Means for Executing that Design were to be provided. The *Spaniards* return'd Thanks for the Intelligence, not without promise of Reward. They

They were not dismay'd at the Danger; but repeating their Thanks to the *Indian Woman*, for her Intelligence, came to this magnanimous, if it may not be term'd a rash Resolution. They agreed to attack the King's Palace that same Nighr, and to withstand the whole Army, if Need were. They prepar'd themselves for that Enterprize, which was above human Strength, set Fire to the House where the Powder lay, and the People running to help, or to see the Mischief, the *Spaniards*, during the Confusion, enter'd the Palace; and being acquainted with the royal Apartments, made through them, till they came to the King's Person, whom they run thro', and kill'd her cutting his Guards in Pieces. He defended himself, calling out for Help, but those who came to his Assistance found him bloodless. The Report of this Action alarm'd the other Guards, and then all the City, which contains above thirty thousand Inhabitants, who were all running to Arms; above 14000 Men took up such as Occasion offer'd, and came upon the *Spaniards* with many war-like Elephants. Our two Commanders drew up their little Body, and retir'd in great Order, always fighting and killing great numbers of their Enemies. The Fight lasted all the Night, with wonderful Bravery, the next Day they got to their Ships, and embark'd, leaving that Kingdom full of new Divisions.

*Desperate of Bravery of the Spaniards.*

*They kill the King of Camboxa.*

*Retire before 14000 Indians.*

The second Day after, *Gallinato* came in, with his Ship. He landed, having been before inform'd of what had happen'd, and thinking he did not perform his Duty, unless he succour'd the *Spaniards*, when he heard the Drums and Bells, and saw the Streets and Port full of trading People, now in Arms. He gave strict Orders to those that attended him, to behave themselves very modestly, so as to conceal their own Concern, and deceive the People of *Camboxa*, both by their Looks, and the Sedateness of their Words. The principal Men of *Camboxa* visited him, in peaceable Manner; whom he treated very courteously. He might have perform'd some great Exploit, not finding his Strength too small for such an Enterprize, and that now Affairs had taken another Turn, and were in a different Posture, he thought it to be gone. Most of those great Men oppos'd it, promising him the Crown, as being well affected to the *Spaniards*, and a foreign Government; Hence came the idle Report, that *Gallinato* was King of *Camboxa*, which was believ'd by many in *Spain*, and acted on the Stage with Applause, and good Liking. And it was the Opinion of Persons well acquainted with those Countries, that had *Gallinato* laid hold of the Opportunity offer'd him, he might then have possess'd himself of *Camboxa*, and united it to the Crown of *Castile*.

*Gallinato at Camboxa.*

*The great Men offer him the Crown.*

I have seen Letters of *Velloso*, and *Blase Ruiz*, to the Council at *Manila*, after this Action, wherein they speak to this Effect, and complain that *Gallinato* should blame what they did. But *Gallinato*, whose Judgment, and Valour, had been try'd in the greatest Dangers of those Eastern Parts, and many Years before in *Flanders*, would not suffer himself to be easily seduc'd away by popular Affection, and honourably rejecting that Opportunity, retir'd towards *Manila*. He took in some Refreshment in *Cochinchina*. *Blase Ruiz* and *James Velloso* had landed there before, and went alone by Land to the Kingdom of the *Laos*, which lies West of *Cochinchina*, to seek out the depos'd King *Langara*, and restore him to his Throne. They found he was dead, but had a Son living, who being told how they had kill'd the

*The depos'd King's Son restor'd.*

Usurper.

the River, abandoning the Place, to the Fury of the Soldiers. Most of them retired to the Town of *Buyaben*, then the Residence of *Raxamura*, King of *Mindanao*, who being under Age, had yet no Charge of the Government, which was wholly in the Hands of *Silonga*, a Soldier, and Commander of Reputation. Our Men following up the River, came to *Tampacan*, five Leagues from the first. That Place was govern'd by *Din-ulibot*, Uncle to *Monao*, the true Proprietor, who was then also young.

The Natives fly, and be pursued.

These two were naturally well affected to the *Spaniards*, and therefore, as soon as they discover'd their Arms, came out, in peaceable Manner, to meet, and offer them their Assistance. They inform'd them, that the Enemies, for they were so to those of *Buyaben*, had retir'd into the Fort they had there. *Stephen Rodriguez* hearing the News, and having made much of those Princes, order'd the Fleet to weigh Anchor, and continue the Pursuit, four Leagues farther, still along the River, to *Buyaben*. Being come thither, he landed his Men on *S. Mark's Day*; which was done by the Col. *John de Xara*, but without any Order, because having had no Engagement at *Mindanao*, they thought they should have little to do there; as if this, or any other Pretence ought to be an Excuse for not observing Martial Discipline, *Stephen Rodriguez* would land to rectify that Disorder by his Presence. He went out in such Armour of Proof, that a Shot of a small Drake would scarce pierce it. Only his Head unarm'd, but cover'd with a Cap and Feather, a black carrying his Helmet, and five Soldiers well arm'd attending him. He had scarce march'd fifty Paces, before an *Indian*, whose Name was *Ubal*, suddenly rush'd out of a close and topping Thicket, and running at him, with his *Campilan*, or Cymiter, clove his Head. *Ubal* was Brother to *Silonga*, and Owner of one only Cow there was in all that Country.

J. kill'd.

He kill'd her three Days before this Accident, and inviting his Friends to her, promis'd in that War to kill the most noted Man among the *Spaniards*. He was as good as his Word, for *Stephen Rodriguez* dropt down of the Wound, and dy'd three Days after, without answering one Word to the Questions that were made him, tho' he did it by Signs. The five *Spaniards*, seeing their Commander so suddenly wounded, that the Slayer appear'd, and the Stroke was heard the same Moment, fell upon *Ubal* and cut him in Pieces. They acquainted Colonel *Xara* with their General's Death; and he suppressing his Concern, drew back the Men, and threw up a Fortification in the most convenient Place, near the River, where he orderly founded his Colony, to be inhabited by our Men. He appointed Aldermen, and Magistrates, calling it *New Murcia*, in Honour of the old one in *Spain*, where he was born. Afterwards, designing to marry *Donna Ana de Osagueza*, Widow to *Stephen Rodriguez*, he left Things unsettled, and arriv'd at the Island *Luzon* about the Beginning of *June*.

A Fort erected in Mindanao and call'd New Murcia.

Capt. Miranda sent to Mindanao.

The Governor *Don Francis Tello*, who was then at the Place call'd *El Embocadero*, an hundred Leagues from *Manila*, being inform'd of what had happen'd, and told upon what design the Colonel *Xara* came, seiz'd him immediately, sending Captain *Toribio de Miranda*, to the War in *Mindanao*. He found his Men were retir'd to the Port de la *Caldera*, in the same Island but 36 Leagues from the Mouth of the River. There he maintain'd himself, till about *August* *Don Francis Tello* appointed *Don John Ronquillo*, who was Commander of the Gallies, to succeed in that Post. He also

commission'd

commission'd *Peter Arceo Covarrubias*, and others, as Captains, to go with him; *James Cbaves Cannizares*, Collonel; *Garcia Guerrero*, Major; and *Christopher Villagra* and *Cervan Gutierrez*, Captains of Foot. *Don John Ronquillo* came with his Recruit to prefs upon the Enemy, and did it so effectually, that being distress'd, they crav'd Aid of the King of *Ternate*, to whom the People of *Mindanao* pay an Acknowledgement, which is little less, or the same as Tribute. *Buizan*, Brother to *Silonga*, went on this Embassy, and succeeded so well, that the King of *Ternate* sent with him seven Carcoas, x heavy Pieces of Cannon, two smaller, some Falconets, and six hundred Men. They sailing up the River of *Mindanao*, design'd to pass on as far as *Buyaben*; but met with great Difficulties at the Reaches; because at one of them they were threatned by the Spaniards chief Fort, the Gallies, and other Vessels; and the other was a narrow Channel, with a Point running out into it, on which was erected a Bastion, defended by forty Men. From thence our Men had artificially laid a strong wooden Bridge over to the other Side of the River, close to which a Galliot ply'd up and down.

The *Ternates* seeing both Sides so well Guarded, resolv'd to fortify themselves at the Mouth of the River. They accordingly erected a small Fort, and put themselves into it, with an equal Number of *Mindanao* Soldiers. The News hereof mov'd the General *Ronquillo* to dislodge them; and in Order to it, came down with the Gallies and other Vessels, and 140 Men well appointed. He landed with 116, and the Captains *Ruy Gomez Arellano*, *Garcia Guerrero*, *Christopher Villagra*, and *Alonso de Palma*, facing the Enemy, at about eighty Paces Distance, on the Bank of the River. The *Ternates* and *Mindanaos* had levell'd all the Front of their Fort, and designedly left a Spot of Bushes and Brambles on one Side, where 300 *Ternates* lay in Ambush, the rest being in the Fort. Both their Parties perceiving how few of our Men came to attack them, were asham'd to be shut up within Fortifications, and lye in Ambush, and accordingly making Show of haughty Threats, came out and met the *Spaniards*. They found such Opposition, that without the Help of any Stratagem, or other Cause but their natural Valour, at the very first onset, almost all the *Ternates* were kill'd, and the rest fled. Our Men follow'd the Chace, till they made an End of them. The people of *Tampaca*, who till then had been Neuters, to see which Side Fortune would favour, perceiving she declar'd for us, took up Arms for our Part. Only seventy seven escap'd dangerously wounded, whereof fifty were drown'd in the River leaping, into it in Despair: Of the other twenty seven, only three surviv'd, who carry'd the News to their King. The *Spaniards* possess'd themselves of the Shipping, Cannon, and Plunder of the vanquish'd, and were encourag'd to prosecute the War.

*Don Francis Tello* did not neglect other Affairs of this Nature. He understood by his Spyes, and it was bruited abroad, that the Emperor of *Japan* was gathering a mighty Army, and fitted out a Fleet for it, with Arms and Provisions. It was also known, that he was in Treaty to secure himself against the *Chineses*, of whom the *Japoneses* are naturally Jealous. Hence it was inferr'd, that he arm'd to carry the War out of his own Dominions. He had already enter'd into Alliance with the King of *Ternate*, and other Neighbours, who were Enemies to the Crown of *Spain*. All these

*Ternates Succour Mindanaos*

*They build a Fort on the River.*

*Slaughter of Ternates.*

*Only three escape.*



these Particulars gave vehement Cause to conjecture, that the Storm threaten'd the *Philippine* Islands, and more especially *Manila*, the Head of them. The Governour strengthened himself, and sent Captain *Alderete* to discover the whole Truth, under Colour of complimenting that Emperour, and carrying him a Present. The Embassador set out for *Japan* in *July*, and at the same Time *Don Francisco* dispatch'd the Galeon *S. Philip* for *New Spain*, with Advice of those Reports. These two Ships, viz. that *Alderete* went in, and the *S. Philip*, were together in *Japan*, which the Natives were jealous of. *Alderete* got full Information of the Strength and Designs of the *Japoneses*, and his Industry was of Use, for the taking of right Measures in *Manila*, and to prevent their fearing without Cause. He brought back another noble Present to the Governour; and both Sides stood upon their Guard, to be ready upon all Occasions.

A Spanish  
Embassy  
thither.

Sovereign  
Court at  
Manila.

Peace be-  
tween  
France &  
Spain.

K. Philip  
the 2d dies.

K. Philip  
the 3d.

Greatness  
of the Spa-  
nish Mo-  
narchy.

In the Year 1598, the sovereign Court was again erected at *Manila*, King *Philip* prudently conferring Dignity on that Province. It was compos'd of the Judges *Zambrano*, *Mezcoa*, *Tellez de Almazan*, and the Kings Attorney *Jerome Salazar*, y *Salcedo*. That great King never allow'd of any Intermiſſion in his weighty Cares, which extended to all the known Parts of the World; having a watchful Eye upon the Designs of other Princes, whether well, or ill affected to the Propagation of the Gospel, which was his main Design. Therefore, about this Time, he made Haste to rid himself of his neighbouring Enemies, that he might have Leisure to attend the remotest Rebels against the Church and his Monarchy. And in Respect that as Age came on, its Distempers grew heavier, he concluded a Peace with *France*, which was proclaim'd at *Madrid*, with Martial Solemnity, after he had withdrawn himself to the Monastery of *S. Laurence*, at the *Escorial*, a Work of his Piety and Magnificence, where he dy'd on the thirteenth of *September* 1598, with singular Tokens of Sanctity. He frequented the Sacrament of Confession, receiv'd the divine Viaticum, and extreme Unction, the last Remedy for temporal, and eternal Health. His Death was in all Respects answerable to the wonderful Course of his Life.

King *Philip* the Third, our sovereign Lord, succeeded him, having been before sworn in all his Kingdoms, who, amidst the Tears and Funeral Solemnities, Commanded the Will to be open'd, and what his Father had order'd to be fulfill'd. His Instructions, and the Mysteries of State, whereof he was so great a Master, and which he communicated to his Son till the last Gasps, produc'd the Peace which attended his most happy Succession, which was his Due by Natural Right, the Law of Nations, and his own innate Virtues; the general Submission of his Subjects, and the Fidelity of the Armies that serv'd in the Northern Provinces in *Italy*, *Africk*, *Aſia*, the *Indies*, and in Garrisons, were a Curb to other Nations. Many of them presented the new King with Protestations of Loyalty, before they had receiv'd Letters and Advice of his being upon the Throne. The same Unanimity was found in the Fleet, and Naval Power, wherein the Treasures and Commodities are transported; a rare Tranquillity upon the Change of Princes. The *Roman* Legions in *Germany*, and *Ilyri-cum*, did not show such Respect to *Tyberius*, after the Death of *Augustus*. And tho' the *Spanish* Monarchy is of so great an Extent, that it borders on the unknown World, and it is never Night in all Parts of it, because the

Sun

Sun encompasses and continually displays his Light over it, yet it obeys without any Commotion, or rather with Pride, as if it knew and were sensible of the new Hand that took up the Reins of Government: Excellent Princes have seldom fail'd to employ extraordinary Ministers about their Persons, to manage and sustain the Burden their Fortune lays upon their Shoulders; so *Alexander* the Great had *Hephestion*; the two *Scipios*, the two *Lelij*; *Augustus Caesar*, *Marcus Agrippa*; the Princes of the August House of *Austria*, other Persons of singular Virtue; for all moral Wisdom, and Experience it self teaches us, that the Difficulties of weighty Affairs are nor to be duly manag'd, and surmounted, by any but Persons of a more than ordinary Capacity; because Nature has not left any of its Works destitute of a proportionable Ministry. And considering, that it is of great Importance to the publick Welfare, to contrive, that what is necessary for the Use and Commerce of Mankind may appear eminent in Dignity, for the strengthening of the common Advantage with Authority: The King, I say, following those ancient Examples, made Choice of *Dou Francisco de Rojas y Sandoval*, then Marquis of *Denia*, and since first Duke of *Lerma*, a most able Minister, privately to consult with him about fundamental Matters and Concerns, for which he had been prepar'd with singular Affection in those Times: Besides the great Antiquity of his Family, which has ally'd him to all the noblest of the *Grandees* of *Spain*, all Men own him endow'd with the necessary Virtues, that belong to a Person in so great a Post; which shine through that pleasing Gravity of his Countenance, with a stay'd Gayety that testifies his Capacity, and provokes Respect at the same Time that it gains Affections. He constituted him the first of his Council of State, and all the Orders for Peace and War began to run through his Hands. All the Opinions of Councils, which he found seal'd, for King *Philip* the 2d to give his Decision thereupon, he restor'd, without opening them, to the Presidents of the said Councils they came from, being, perhaps, calculated out of Respect, that they might again debate upon them with more Liberty, and send them back enlarg'd or reform'd.

Duke of  
Lerma  
Prime Mi-  
nister.

Heaven was now hastening the Reduction of the *Molucco* Islands, and the punishing the Persecution of the faithfull, tho' the Tyrants appear'd never so haughty; however the Talk of it was discontinu'd for some Time; because the Enterprize was to be concerted, and carry'd on in the *Philippine* Islands, and to be resolv'd on, and encourag'd in the supreme Council of the *Indies*, and it was requisite that the President and Councillors should be well affected to the Cause, which had then no Body to support it, as being despair'd of by Reason of so many unfortunate Attempts: and therefore the Papers of Reflections, and Informations relating to it, lay by, forgotten, in Heaps. This was the Posture of those Affairs till Providence dispos'd the Means for bringing it about, that a Matter which was difficult on so many several Accounts, might fall into the Hands of a Sovereign, who being well affected, might with special Zeal bring it to Perfection.

Neglect of  
the Mo-  
lucos in  
Spain.

No Body now disturb'd the King of *Ternate*. The *English* settled on his Lands, and Trade enrich'd the Sovereign and the Subjects. He, tho' he had many Sons, and the Prince his Successor was of Age to bear Arms, did not cease equally to increase his Wives and Concubines. Lust was never circumscrib'd by any Laws among those People. The Relations of curious Persons inform us, That among the rest of this Kings Wives, there was

*Queen of Ternate in Love with the Kings Son.* one very young, and singular for Beauty, with whom the Prince her Son-in-Law, whose Name was *Gariolano* fell in Love, and she rejected not his Courtship tho' she was Wife to his Father: But that Nearness of Blood secur'd their Familiarity, and under the Shelter, and Cover of it, she admitted both Father and Son.

*Sangiack of Sabubu Father to her.* This Queen was Daughter to the *Sangiack of Sabubu*, a potent Prince in the great Island *Batobina*, who came to *Ternate*, upon some slight Occasion. He being lodged in the Palace, and entertain'd as a Father, and Father-in-Law, easily saw into the Incestuous Life of his Daughter. He resolv'd to be thoroughly convinc'd, yet concealing his Jealousy from both the Lovers, he was satisfy'd of the Truth, learnt who were the Parties privy to it, abhorr'd the Baseness, and condemn'd his own Blood. He pretended one day he would Dine in private, and sent only for his Daughter; who being free from all Jealousy or Suspicion, swallow'd a Poison, which soon took away her Life, in that Food which she us'd most to delight in. Endeavours were us'd to help the unhappy Queen, and compose the Father; but he angrily obstructing that last act of Compassion, put away the Physicians, and Women, and being left alone with the King, who, upon hearing the News, was come to give his Assistance, said, *This Woman, whom Nature gave to me for a Daughter, and I to you for a Wife, has, with her Life, satisfy'd a Debt she had contracted by her inordinate Passions. Do not Lament her, or believe she dy'd of any Natural Distemper. I kill'd her, taking the Revenge of your Hands. The Prince, your Son, had a Love Intrigue with her? Being in your House I had full Proof of it, and not being able to endure; that my Blood should wrong you, I could lay aside all Fatherly Affecton, and take away the Stain that on my Side is laid upon the Law of Nature, and your Honour. I have honourably finish'd the first Part of this Example. Now, if you think your self wrong'd by your Son, he is in your Power, and I have no Right to deliver him up to you, as I do this false Body. It lies upon you to finish this Work upon the Offender, for I have perform'd all that was my Duty, in giving you this Information, and depriving my self of the Daughter I lov'd best.*

*The Prince Lies.* The King was astonish'd, without knowing how to return Thanks, or perform any other Act becoming a King; and having lamented the Misfortune for some time, order'd Prince *Gariolano* to be secur'd; but he, who was no less belov'd by the Guards than his Father, Guessing at the Consequences, which might certainly be deduc'd from the Queens violent Death, sparing no Horse-flesh, made to the Sea-Port, where he withdrew, with some of his Relations, from his Fathers Presence and Anger, till it naturally cool'd. It happen'd as he expected, for he was appeas'd before a Year expir'd, and the Prince was restor'd to his Favour; the King then making a Jest of the Stains of his Honour, and saying, *He well knew his ill Luck in Wives and Concubines.* But what Laws does he observe, who is guided by his Appetite? And how can he weigh the Duties of Honour, who Thinks that only the common Actions of the Sense have any solid being?

*The End of the Sixth Book.*

THE

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**DISCOVERY and CONQUEST**  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.*

BOOK VII.

**T**HE Governour *Don Francis Tello*, to attend other Neighbouring Provinces, where greater Commotions were threatned, turn'd his Arms that Way; sending some inconsiderable Part, at several Times to the *Moluccos*; for he never went seriously about recovering those Islands, either because he apprehended, or had Intelligence of Dangers threatned by the haughty *Japoneses*, *Mindanaos* and *Chineses*, or that he would not tread in the Track of those who ruin'd themselves in the Expeditions against *Ternate*. Yet our Men fought that Nation in other Parts; for being the most Warlike, and averse to the very Name of *Spaniards*, it never let pass any Opportunity of doing them Harm.

D. Francis Tello neglects the Moluccos.

We have already mention'd the first coming of the *English* into those Seas, and the Care that was taken to obliterate the Example set by their Voyage, by fortifying the Streights of *Magellan*. It could not be effected, nor did our Fleet succeed in punishing, as was intended, those who had the Boldness to attempt that unthought-of Passage. Since then, the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, supported by Rebellion and Disobedience, have sail'd into *India*, possess'd themselves of strong Holds, and erected Factories, transporting the Drugs, Precious Stones and Silks of *Asia*; and what is worse, possessing themselves of several Places, and rending the *Spanish* Monarchy. They have made several Voyages. What Island have they not pry'd into? What Barbarous Nation have they not encourag'd to Rebellion and Tyranny;

Dutch at the Moluccos.

... of these Provinces...  
 ... Place of Arms, con-  
 ... were towards Re-  
 ... value, notwithstanding that  
 ... he was due to  
 ... of his Province  
 ... Liberty  
 ... which provided against  
 ... in a few short Time there  
 ... and other such like Moo-  
 ... in that Country  
 ... been well provided  
 ... against such Enemies  
 ... That they in-  
 ... which is what usual  
 ... Mechanick Ge-  
 ... at the Work-  
 ... the said, That all  
 ... of the Governour ad-  
 ... All the  
 ... and there  
 ... very dangerous, and  
 ... to these  
 ... of Heaven,  
 ... of the Dutch,  
 ... more Trouble than has been oc-  
 ... to whose Coun-  
 ... ever since the  
 ... and lay down in  
 ... even the smallest Fleets they produce.

Account of  
Holland.

It does not belong to us to give an Account of the English, Dutch, or  
 other Nations of India and Asia, or their Expeditions and Voyages; but  
 only such as relate to the Coast of Ternate and the Molucco Islands, or  
 may have some Dependence on this Subject; but be it known, once for all,  
 that every Year, some Northern Fleets appear'd, coming either thro'  
 their rights, still unknown to our Discoverers, or those before frequen-  
 ted and laid down. But before we enter upon this Relation, it seems re-  
 quisite to say something of Holland, the Head of the Neighbouring Ilands,  
 as that which is become most outrageous in India, and most covets the  
 Moluccas. The Province of Holland is almost on all Sides encompass'd  
 by the Sea, and the Ports of the Meuse and Rhine, for about 60 Leagues in  
 Compas. Within it are contain'd 29 wall'd Towns, whose Names and  
 Situation does not belong to us to speak of, nor of those of Zealand, or  
 the other Provinces subject to them. The Curious may read Lambert,  
 Morten'us, and Montefortius. The Natives are descended from the Anci-  
 ent Gallis, and for as much as Erasmus of Rotterdam, which is in Holland,  
 describes it in his *Chilides*, we will abridge what he there delivers at  
 large,

be, out of Affection to his Country. The Learned, say he, agree, and  
 it is a probable Conjecture, that the Island *Tacitus* mentions, lying from  
 the *Rhine* to the Ocean, is that we call *Holland*; which I am oblig'd to  
 Honour, as owing my first Breath to it; and would to God we could ho-  
 nour it as it deserves. *Martial* charges it with being rude, or unpolished;  
 and *Lucan* with Cruelty. Either these Things do not belong to us, but to  
 our Ancestors, or we may value our selves upon them both. What Nation  
 is now known, whose first Fathers were not more uncouth than their  
 Posterity? Or when was *Rome* more highly commended, than when its  
 People knew no other Arts but Tillage and Warfare? *Erasmus* spends  
 Time in proving, that it is the Nature of *Holland*, not to relish *Martial's*  
 Wit; and that this is not the Effect of Rudeness, but a Gravity worthy  
 Imitation. Then he makes an Exclamation, saying, Would to God all  
 Christians had *Dutch Ears*! And that if still any one shall contend, the  
 Nation is in the Wrong, in having stopp'd theirs to all Poetical De-  
 lights and Allurements, and arm'd it self against them; the *Dutch* valu'd  
 themselves upon being comprehended in that Reflection, which did not  
 displeas the Ancient *Sabines*, the Perfect *Lacedemonians*, and the Severe  
*Catos*. *Lucan* call'd the *Batavi*, that is the *Dutch*, Cruel, as *Virgil* did  
 the *Romans*, Vehement. *Erasmus* adds, That the Customs of these Na-  
 tions are Familiar, inclining to Meekness and Benignity, and not to Fierce-  
 ness; because Nature endow'd them with a sincere Disposition, free from  
 Fraud and Double-Dealing, and did not make them subject to extraordinary  
 Vices, except the Love of Pleasure, and Excess in Entertainments. This  
 is caus'd by the Multitude of Beauties, which are Incentives, by the se-  
 veral Sea-Ports on the Ocean, the Mouths of the two Rivers, *Rhine* and  
*Maese*; the perpetual Felicity of the Soil, water'd by other Navigable  
 Rivers; and the Fish and Fowl in the Ponds and Woods. No Province of  
 so small a Compass, contains so many Cities of a considerable Magnitude,  
 and so Populous, excellently govern'd; so full of Commodities, Arts and  
 Trade. It abounds in Men indifferently learn'd. *Erasmus* himself, in  
 Conclusion, owns that none of them arrives to singular Erudition. This  
 Account, which in all that is natural must be own'd not to exceed, affords  
 Arguments to condemn and convince the Author of it, and the Nation it  
 self. All that Part of the World where Religion and Politeness flourish,  
 is acquainted with the Diversity of Opinions all those Nations espouse,  
 of *Protestants*, *Puritans*, *Calvinists*, these the most Numerous; *Huguenots*,  
*Lutherans*, and all other Sorts, too long to enumerate, and not to our  
 Purpose. Since *Erasmus* confesses that his Country does not produce  
 any Persons of eminent Learning, why do they take upon them to  
 decide Controversies in Religion? Why do they incroach upon Councils?  
 If they are of such an excellent Disposition, and have such a modest Genius,  
 Why do they cast off that Piety, whereof there are such ancient Testimo-  
 nies in our first Fathers, so much honour'd by the primitive Charity of  
 the true Church? It is true, as *Erasmus* says, that they are of a kind Tem-  
 per, but Tenacious of whatsoever they once espouse; the same moves us  
 to pity them the more, for the Difficulty of dealing with Positiveness in  
 Minds that are not given to change. Let no Man believe but that under  
 that seeming Meekness in Behaviour, the highest Degree of Pride lies  
 couch'd.

Tacitus  
l. 20.

*Erasmus*  
of the  
Manners  
of Hollan-  
ders.

The Au-  
thors Re-  
flections on  
them.

A Spanish  
Author  
cannot for-  
bear these  
Rejections.

See the  
Letter part  
of the Pre-  
face.

couch'd. What greater Pride than to scoff at the most ancient Church? At its Apostolical Traditions? At her universal Agreement? At the Miracles God has wrought, to approve the Catholick Doctrine? And what Error can be more inexcusable, than to follow the New Opinions of unlearned and vicious Men, such as the Arch-Hereticks were; and to live under a Necessity of not laying down their seditious Arms only to defend Impiety grounded on Ignorance, and the Extravagancies of their Passions? What Houle is there in those Cities which *Erasmus* extols, wherein all the Inhabitants profess and follow the same Way of spiritual Salvation? When the Father is a *Calvinist*, the Mother is often a *Huguenot*, the Son a *Lutheran*, the Servant a *Hussite*, and the Daughter a *Protestant*. All the Family is divided, or rather every particular Person's Soul is so, and at best doubts of all. Wherein does this differ from Atheism? It is positive Atheism. This Division, unworthy of wild Beasts, is the Occasion, and a Sort of Mathematical Necessity, that these People cannot be united among themselves in true Peace. For those Things are the same to one another, that they are to a Third; so that almost all these having different Notions, as to God, they cannot of Necessity be united among themselves, as differing in the most essential Part, which is the having an uniform Notion of God in Religion. Let no Man believe, that because they are not at War among themselves, it is Love that is the Occasion of it. The Ground of their false Tranquility is to be call'd a Cessation, and not Peace. These are the People who have unhing'd Loyalty and the Christian Religion, before settled in the Islands, and remotest Parts of *Asia*, making Excursions from their own Country, as far as *China*, their raging Avarice being grounded on the Advice given them by the Queen of *England*, and on Malice, because King *Philip* the 1<sup>st</sup> had shut up the other Ports of his Kingdoms against them; so to endeavour to reduce them to the Truth and Submission, by taking from them the Advantages of Trade.

Dutch first  
sail to the  
Moluccos.

The first Dutch Fleet that came to the *Molucco* Islands, after the *English*, in the Year 1598, shall be here spoken of. Some prime Men, for the Sake of their Country, as they said, and to gain Reputation, met in *Holland* and *Zealand*, and fitted out six Ships and two Brigantines, to sail into *India*. The first Ship they call'd the *Maurice*, the Admiral in her being *Jacob Cornelius Neck*, born at *Rotterdam*, and the Master *Gonaert Jansz*; the second was the *Amsterdam*, and in her the Vice-Admiral *Vibrant Darrick*; the other Ships were the *Holland*, the *Zealand*, the *Guelder*, and the *Utrecht*; The bigger Brigantine the *Friezland*, and the smaller the *Oversijfel*. They carry'd 160 Soldiers, besides Mariners, and sail'd from *Rotterdam* on the 13<sup>th</sup> of *March*. Off from *Sluys*, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *April*, they had such a dreadful Storm, as might have discourag'd them from Proceeding, and the Ship the *Holland* was almost disabled; but still they were drove on by the Weather to the *Texel*, and thence to *Debenter*, and in Conclusion they got into the Ocean. They met another Ship returning to the *Low Countries*, which presented them with 10000 Oranges, and having distributed them among the Men, they made a general Rejoycing, for the baptizing of 25 Men, aboard the Ship the *Guelder*, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of *May*. On the 11<sup>th</sup> they anchor'd at *Barrels*, and on the 15<sup>th</sup> at the Island *Madera*,

25 Dutch  
baptized.

Barrels  
must be a  
Mistake.

*Madera*, and again on the 17th at the *Canaries*, *Gomez*, and *Palma*, passing by those of *Sal* and *Santiago*, which are those of *Cabo Verde*, they fur'd all their Sails, and drove in a Storm, in 29 Degrees Latitude. On the first of *June* they took a Sea Tortoise which weigh'd 143 Pounds. On the 15th of the same Month, *Gerrit Fans*, either provok'd by Wine or a worse Spirit, cast himself into the Sea, from the highest Part of the greater Brigantine. The next Day, aboard the Ship *Guelder*, in which the new baptis'd Men were, they saw a large flying-Fish, which clapping too its Wings, fell into the said Ship; but they saw the same Sort of Fishes fall upon their Vessels at other Times. On the Eighth they cross'd the Line, and began to distribute a Pot of Wine to every six Men; but on the 25th of the same Month, for Joy of having pass'd the Ridges of Rocks before *Brazil*, which run to the Southward in 18 Degrees of South Latitude, they allow'd three Pots to every seven Men. Such a thick Fog fell that they lost Sight of the smaller Brigantine; the *Zealand* soon found her again, and discover'd many Cranes standing on the Tops of the Reeds, or Canes, that grew out Tall and of an equal Height above the Water. On the 24th of *July*, they came to an Anchor at the Cape of *Good Hope*, whence they sail'd again on the 15th of *August* with Stormy Weather, all the eight Vessels together, the Sea there boiling up as a Pot does upon the Fire. This Motion, like boiling, was seen for about a Musket Shot in Length, and the Breadth of a Ship, and all this Space was cover'd thick with Weeds, which they pass'd over by main Force, without any Danger.

The Sea seems to boil up.

On the 24th they reach'd the Island of *Madagascar*, or of *S. Laurence*, and saw abundance of Whales. Here the plentiful Distribution of Wine ceas'd, and it began to be given out more sparingly, to lament by this Abstinence, the Death of *John Pomer*, a skilful Sailor. On the 27th they pass'd *Cape S. Sebastian*, and on the 30th *Cape S. Julian*. On the 4th of *September*, it was debated whether they should make for the Island of *Banda*, or put into the Bay of *Anton Gill*. They came to no Resolution at that Time, tho' they afterwards arriv'd separately at *Banda*, and at several Times. On the 17th they discover'd, at a great Distance, the Island of *Cerne*, by others call'd the *Ile of Swans*, which is high and mountainous, and for Joy of the Water they expected to take in there, they gave every Man three Cups of Wine. Before that, the Vice-Admiral went ashore with five Men, in another little Island, and taking a View of it, found a Noble Spacious Harbour, well land-lock'd, into which a Rivulet of fresh Water fell. They put in and refitted their shatter'd Vessels, finding 14 Fathom Water. They had not Landed in four Months, and therefore in Thanksgiving, and because it was then Fair Time in *Holland*, they made a Sort of Chappel, on the Bodies of Trees, and covering it with Leaves, preach'd there twice a Day, in Honour of the Fair: They eat Abundance of Fowl, which they could almost take with their Hands, and drank Wine more plentifully. A Native of *Madagascar*, who came along with them, and had been taken in a former Voyage, was, by the Instruction of those Sermons, made a Christian, and baptiz'd, taking the Name of *Lawrence*. They found no Inhabitants in the Island though it was Delightful.

They land in a small Island.

Y

On



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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice to ensure transparency and accountability.

2. The second section outlines the procedures for handling discrepancies between the recorded amounts and the actual cash received. It states that any such variance must be investigated immediately and reported to the appropriate authority.

3. The third part of the document details the process of reconciling the accounts at the end of each month. It requires that the total of all receipts and payments be compared against the bank statements to identify any errors or omissions.

4. The final section provides guidelines for the storage and security of all financial records. It mandates that all documents be kept in a secure, fireproof location and that access be restricted to authorized personnel only.

5. It is further noted that all records must be retained for a minimum of seven years to comply with applicable regulations. This ensures that the organization can provide a complete audit trail at any time.

6. The document concludes by stating that these procedures are subject to periodic review and updates to reflect changes in accounting standards or regulatory requirements.

7. Finally, it is stressed that adherence to these guidelines is essential for the integrity and success of the organization's financial operations.

providing a smooth square Board, carv'd on it the Arms of *Holland, Zealand, and Amsterdam*, and nail'd it on the Top of a Tree, as a Memorial of his being there, and giving the Name of *MAURICK* to the Island, with this Inscription, which being in *Spanish*, denotes their Hatred to the Ancient Faith of our Nation, and being couch'd in one Line over their Arm, was, *THE REFORM'D CHRISTIANS*. Then they plow'd up a large Field, and sow'd it with Wheat, and other *European Grains* (turning first some Hens; to see what Improvement they should find another Time. They again, for some Days, visited the Hills and Plains, and found no Track of Man.

While these refresh'd themselves at the Island *Corn*, or of *Swans*, being fourteen Days, the other three Ships arriv'd at *S. Mary's*, a barren Island, thro' some Orange and Lemon Trees grow in it, as also Sugar Canes, and there are Hens. About it, and in Sight of Land, there are monstrous Whales. They landed, but not without Opposition from the Natives, with whom they fought; and took their King; but he was easily ransom'd, a Goat and a Calf being given them in Exchange for him. They saw the Manner of the Whale Fishery, which is very easy there. The *Indians* make up close to them in their Canoes, and stick them with a Harping-Iron they dart, being ty'd to Ropes made of the Barks of Trees. They stow'd their Ship with their Flesh and Oil, and some Oranges, and went over to the Bay of *Anton Oil*, where the *Madagascar Indian*, would not stay, as he had desired before, being now well affected to the Habit and Drunkenness of his Companions. They were toss'd backwards and forwards for five Days, between certain Islands, destitute of Provisions, and unsafe, by Reason they were in War among themselves.

*S. Mary Island.*

*Strange Ransom for a King.*

They set forward with a fair Gale towards *Java*, and on the 26th of *December*, 1598, arriv'd at *Banda*, which is eight Leagues from *Amboyna*. This Island is shap'd like a Horse-shoe, and lies in four Degrees of South Latitude. It is most fruitful, with little or no Improvement, in *Muskege*, and their precious *Mace*; as also Provisions and Medicines for Men, beyond all other Parts of the known World. It is divided into three Parts, each of them three Leagues in Compass. The Capital City is called *Nova*. As soon as they arriv'd, they contracted Friendship with the Islanders; tho' a foreign Ship, to secure the Trade to herself, gave them to understand, that the *Dutch* were certain Pirates who fled the Year before, and had lain conceal'd at Sea, to come again and rob the Island, and therefore they did not fully credit them. This Notion was back'd by *Trading Portugueses*, and others settled there; but the *Dutch* sending their *Adel*, that is the *Indian* Interpreter, with some Soldiers, and Gifts to present the King, according to the Custom of Merchants that come into his Country, they before him clear'd that Imputation, and defended their Innocence. The King was an Infant, and govern'd by his *Cephalotes*, that is his *Vice-Roy*, Tutor, or Protector, who set all right. They gave the King the Present before him, which he receiv'd very graciously. It consisted of certain valuable gilt Vessels, admirably engrav'd, *Christal* Glasses, Looking-Glasses in gilt Frames, and Pieces of Velvet and Taffety. They deliver'd him Letters and Commissions of the States of *Holland, Zealand,*

*Banda Island.*

*The Dutch settle Trade there.*

All their  
Ships meet  
again.

and Count *Maurice*, with their Seals hanging to them in Form. All was accepted, and they lay down flat on the Ground to receive and read the Letters, with profound Reverence. The King promis'd to answer them as he did, and immediately gave leave to Trade; whereupon the *Dutch* built Factories in the Island. They then expos'd in publick Shops great Store of Arms, Silks, Linnea and Cloth; as did the Natives their Spice *China* Ware, and Pearls, and other Commodities the Neighbouring Islanders and *Chineses* bring hither to barter, and sell to one another. Five Weeks after, the other three Ships arriv'd, and the People of the City hearing the Discharges of the Cannon, and seeing the Auncients speak abroad, for Joy of the Ships meeting again, came down to the Port, and encompass'd the Ships in Boats, offering them Plenty of Fowl, Eggs, Co-co Nuts, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, and Cakes made of Rice-Flower. This dainty Feeding continu'd every Day, and they gave them a Weeks Provision for a *Dutch* Man for one Pewter Spoon. However they rais'd the Price of Pepper; but they pay'd for all with Pins and Needles, Knives, Spoons, Looking-Glasses, and little Tabors; and with those same Commodities, they purchas'd more valuable Goods at *Sumatra*, as also Provisions; when four of these eight Ships return'd Homewards, the other sailing for *Ternate* and the *Moluccos*.

The Nut-  
meg Tree.

The greatest Quantity, and best Commodity they took in here, was of *Mace*. Nutmegs grow also in *Ternate* and the adjacent Islands, but they are few and weak; but in *Banda* there is a plentiful Crop, and they have much more Virtue. Nature has cloath'd its Mountains and Plains, with Woods and Groves of these Plants. They are like the *European* Pear-Trees, and their Fruit resembles Pears, or rather in Roundness the *Moluccones*. When the Nutmegs blossom, they spread a cordial Fragrancy; by degrees they lose their Native Green, which is original in all Vegetables; and then succeeds a Blew, intermix'd with Grey, Cherry-Colour, and a pale Gold Colour, as we see in the Rainbow, tho' not in that regular Division, but in Spots like the *Jaspar* Stone. Infinite Numbers of Parrots, and other Birds of various Plumage, most delightful to behold, come to sit upon the Branches, attracted by the sweet Odour. The Nuts, when dry, cast off the Shell it grows cover'd with, and is the *Mace*, within which is a white Kernel, not so sharp in Taste as the Nut, and when dry is converted into its Substance. Of this *Mace*, which is hot and dry in the second Degree, and within the third, the *Bandeses* make a most precious Oil to cure all Distempers in the Nerves, and Aches caus'd by cold. Of these Nuts they choose the freshest, weightiest, fattest, juiciest, and without any Hole. With them they cure, or correct stinking Breath, clear the Eyes, comfort the Stomach, Liver, and Spleen, and digest Meat. They are a Remedy against many other Distempers, and serve to add outward Lustre to the Face. The *Bandeses* call the *Mace* of their Aromatick Nuts, *Buna Pala*. It was not known to the *Greeks* nor to *Pliny*, according to *Averrois*; tho' *Serapion*, whether the true, or the suppositious, when he describes it, alledges *Gallen's* Authority. It is true the *Chrisabolans* he treated of, agree well enough with the Nutmegs in Colour and Shape.

Oil of  
Nutmeg.

Virtues of  
Nutmeg.

The

The *Javanese*, *Chinese*, and Natives of the *Moluccos* resort to the City *Mera*, to barter for this precious Fruit, and load their Ships with it; and this is the Trade of that People, as is that of Clove to *Ternate*, *Tydore*, and the other *Moluccos*. The Merchants arriving in this Island, many of them contribute to make up a Sum, wherewith they purchase a Woman, to dress their Meat, and attend them. The *Dutch* did so from this first Time. When they go away she is left free, till they return the next Year; so that her Slavery commences with the Return of her Masters, and their Absence gives it an Intermision. Some of the Natives are Idolaters; but the greater Part *Mahometans*, and so superstitious, that the very Soldiers do not mount the Guard, till they have pray'd in the Mosques, so loud, that all the Neighbourhood can hear them. Nor must any Man go into them without washing his Feet, in great Vessels of Water, provided at the Door, by the publick. Their Prayers consist in these Words, *Eftagfer Al'lah Eftagfer Al'lah, Agiv'd Al'labe, Agiv'd Al'labe, La Il'labe Inla Ai'lah, Muhamed resul Al'labi*. When they utter these last Words, they stroke their Faces with their Hands, a Ceremony denoting much Devotion. The Words in *English* are, Pardon O God, Pardon O God. I prostrate my self to God. I prostrate my self to God. There is no other God but God, and *Mahomet* his Messenger: By those Words, There is no other God but God, they deny the ineffable Mystery of the most blessed Trinity. Then they proceed to several Blasphemies. They say other Prayers, at which they scarce move their Lips; when they do this they stand three and three upon a Mat, lifting up their Eyes to Heaven three Times, and bowing down their Heads to the Ground. The *Dutch* Author, who gives this Account, does not mention any other Religion in this Island, nor in any of the others their Fleets touch'd at; tho' it is so well known, that the Catholick Faith of our Lord *Jesus Christ* has been preach'd many Years before, throughout them all, with the Glory of Martyrdom; but those People conceal it, to what Intent is well known.

Merchants  
way of li-  
ving at  
Banda.

Religion of  
Banda.

The *Bandese* assemble in the Streets, and publick Places, where they feast themselves. It is frequent among them to eat in the Temples and Woods, an hundred in a Parcel; especially when they consult together about the publick Weal, or any Danger. There are seven Cities in the Island, which are Enemies to one another. *Nera* is averse to the *Lambethans*, *Combers* and *Veirans*, and maintains Friendship with the Inhabitants of *Lontoon*, which is on the other Side of the Island, and those of two other little Cities call'd *Poleraija* and *Poelvoay*. When they are to fight, they always repair first to *Nera*, to concert Affairs. *Banda* provides their Entertainments on the Ground, in the Streets. The Dishes are made of the Trunks and Leaves of *Bananas*, and other Plants. Every one has a Piece of *Sagu* brought him on them, and a Plate of Rice boil'd in the Broth of Fleish. This they devour, carrying it to their Mouths with both Hands, and eat it with such a Relish, as if they had *Jove's* Brains dress'd set before them; so the *Dutch* Relation of *Paludanus* and *Hugo* expresses it. Whilst the Meat lasts, till the Multitude are satisfy'd, the Nobles by two and two, take up their Cymiters and Shields, and fight to the sound of Bells, and the Clattering of their Basons. When weary of this Exercise, they deliver the Weapons to others, which continue it. The Cause of their Wars,

Feasting in  
Banda.

Enmity a-  
mong their  
Cities.

is

is for that the Inhabitants of *Labetaca*, many Years since, set some Plants in the Territory of *Nera*. The People of this City affronted at this Presumption, made the first War upon them; which is as bloodily prosecuted, as if their Religion, or Honour, depended on it. They attack one another by Day and Night in their Territories, and by Sea in their *Carcoas*.

*Banda Tar.*

In these they do not, like us, fill up the Seams of the Boards with Pitch and Tar, but with Shells of *Indian Nuts*, which they call *Clappos*. They pound those Shells and Rhinds, till they become like a Bitumen, or *Masr*, wherein there remain certain Threads, which resemble Hemp. with this they knit their Seams, and fill up the Crannies and cover them in such Sort that it resists the Force of the Water. They carry two, and sometimes four Pieces of Cannon. The Men use small Fire-locks, Bucklers, and large Cymiters, which they call *Padang*, and Lances of a more solid Wood than our Box. They exercise all these Weapons from their Child-hood, as they do in casting a sort of Hooks with sharp Points and Edges, which they dart at the Enemies Bodies, and then draw back the Lines they are made fast to. Their Heads they arm with Helmets; and on their Crests wear Birds of Paradise, both for Ornament, and a superstitious Defence. They have Breast and Back Pieces, and call'd them as we did *Corseleta*. When they are to fight at Sea, as soon as the War-like Instruments begin to sound, the Soldiers fall a leaping, and skipping on the Benches, which run round the

*Their Weapons.*

*Carcoas* from Stern to Stern. The Slaves ply the Oars, which are like wooden Shovels, make the Vessel fly by main Force, and serve to lade out the Water, when there is Occasion. They are so revengeful, that having been in those Days vanquish'd on Land by the *Labetans*, many of them being kill'd and wounded, those of *Nera* assembled the next Day in five *Carcoas*, and attacking the little Island *Bayjer*, the Natives whereof had assisted the *Labetans* they slew all they found, without sparing any but a few Women, whom they carry'd Captives to *Nera*, with the Heads of their Enemies before them on Spears; and for four Days, to the Amazement of *Perreigners*, and particularly the *Dutch*, they show'd their Cymiters embrew'd in Gore, about the Streets. Nay, a Soldier among them, in the Sight of

*Oars like Shovels.*

*Cruelty of Bandes.*

Abundance, took a Fancy to try his Cymiter, he carry'd naked, and with it clove down one of the Captive Women, from the Shoulder to the Breast. They shew'd themselves Merciful in burying those Heads, assembling together in the House of the *Shabander*, that is the Governor, in the Presence of all the People, which uses to meet to see such Spectacles, every Soldier, as a Testimony of his Valour, laid all the Heads he had cut off on a very large Stone, under a Tree: They wrapp'd them up in Cotton Cloths, and carrying them in Dishes bury'd them in a Grove, with much Smoke of Frankincense, whereof they have great Plenty. Had those dead Persons been Natives, their Kindred and Friends would have come immediately to lament with loud Cries, as they use to do, over their Graves; which they dig like us, wrap up the Bodies in Shrouds of white Cotton, and carry them to be bury'd on their Shoulders. They are great Observers, that the Funerals of Men should go before those of Women; place Lamps over the Graves of all, and by their Light pray for them. They cry out furiously, calling the Dead, as if they hop'd they should come to Life at their Call; and perceiving they do not rise again, the Kindred and Friends meet about

*Burial of Enemies Heads.*

*Their Funerals.*

the

the most splendid Entertainment they are able to provide. Being ask'd by the *Dutch*, what it was they ask'd of God in the Prayers they mutter'd over the Graves, they answer'd. *We pray that the Dead may not rise again.* So that the Want of the true Light of Faith, does not hinder them from seeing, how much Mankind suffers from the first Moment of his Life, till the last; but it is rather to be concluded, that they look upon it as a Misfortune to have been born. They were much amaz'd to hear, that the *Dutch* did not use the same Ceremony towards their dead.

They play at Foot-Ball, which is made of *Spanish* Reeds. They that Play make a Ring one standing in the Center, who tosses the Ball to those about him, and they with a Kick throw it so high that it is almost out of Sight. If any one misses it, they hiss, and hoot, to shame him for his Unskilfulness. Men live in this Island longer than in any other Parts of the World. The *Dutch* saw several, who exceed 130 Years of Age. They live upon the Product of their Country; and tho' there is continual War, yet the greater Number lives Idle; and it is very remarkable that those People, who are so much addicted to Sloath, should be such Enemies to Quietness. A useless Life does not deserve much Age; and that which is dedicated to Idleness seldom attains to it. The Women Plow and Till the Land, and follow other manly Professions. They seldom go abroad with Men; they have all the Charge of Household Affairs, and their greatest Employment within Doors, is usually uncausing and drying of Nutmegs.

Foot-Ball:

Life long in Banda.

Women Till the Land.

The *Dutch* having loaded with Spice, Purcelane, and some Rubies, and sented Factories, and Amity, sail'd from *Banda*, on the 14th of July, with great firing of Cannon. They stood towards the Island *Nosfelau*, the Natives whereof are *Anthropophagi*, so the *Greeks* call Man-Eaters. They proceeded towards that of *Ambony*, whose Western Point they discover'd, yet did not touch at it then, but went on to the greater *Java*; notwithstanding their Admiral was at *Ambony*. They arriv'd at *Java* and the City *Tuban*, sent two Boats thither to Discover, and know whether they might be allow'd to take in Provisions. Those who return'd with the Answer, brought a-

Dutch de-part from Banda.

Come to Java.

Portuguese Renegado.

long with them a *Portuguese*, who, at the Perswasion of the Natives, had renounc'd the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, as was known, and call'd among them by the name of the *Renegado*, as a proper Appellative, and not dishonourable. This Man inform'd the Admiral, That if he would stay there three or four Months, he might enrich his Ships to his Hearts Content. They sent by him to ask the King's Leave, with some Presents of Copper, Glafs, and Silk. The next day Merchants came down to the Harbour, with Abundance of Commodities; and from the King, in Return for their insignificant Present, they brought the *Dutch* 19 great Sacks of Rice. The Trade being settled, they went up to the City, where they saw several Horsemen, well Arm'd, Horses well Accouter'd, on which they value themselves very much, Shops well stor'd, and a free Trade for all Nations. The Vice-Admiral went to kiss the King's Hand, who receiv'd him Graciously; promis'd to go Aboard the Ships in Person, and perform'd it, having first order'd them to be show'd all his Royal Apartments, even to his Womens private Lodgings; his Elephants; an infinite number of Birds in Cages, and his Stables full of excellent Horses, and many of them. Then the Prince came Aboard the Ships, and after him the King. The Cannon saluted them both, and they admir'd, and were pleas'd with the Noise.

Presents to and from the King.

Tuban

*Trade of this City.* *Habit.* *The Kings Dress.* *Commerce settled between the Dutch and Javaneſes.* *Madura Iland.*

*Tison* is the King of *Java's* Court, the strongest of all the Cities in *Malacc.* encompass'd with a high Wall, divided by several Gates. Towers on them, contains stately Structures, and Squares appointed for publick Resort of Traders, the King is extraordinary rich, and in 4 Hours can gather a great Number of Horse and Foot. His Palace is Royal, his Family consists of the Prime Nobility, and he is very powerful at Sea. They call their Ships *Junks*; which being loaded with Pe and other Product of the Country, as Silks and Cloths, the Manufact of his People, are sent to *Batum*; where bartering them for Cloaths, transport these to other Kingdoms, as those of *Banda*, the *Moluccas*, *Philippines*. Whence, and from other Islands, having improv'd their Commodities, they bring Mastick, Nutmegs, Cloves, and other Spice. A Country abounds in Cattle, which graze all Day in the Woods, and hous'd at Night. Their Habit is the same as at *Banda*, and covers Bodies from the Waste downwards, the rest upwards remaining n They all wear Daggers, call'd *Crifes*, and the Nobles stately long Vests Fullness whereof waves in the Air magnificently. None of them abroad attended by less than ten or twelve Servants, one of which al carries for his Master a little Basket full of the Leaves of a certain they call *Betale*, which they chew with green Nuts, and a little I This Composition they call *Ledon*; in chewing, it yields a Juice, w they swallow, and then spit out the green Substance, after the Virtue been extracted in their Mouths.

They were so overjoy'd at the coming of the *Dutch*, that the next they invited them to see their Diversions. The King was present a H Back, clad in several Sorts of rich Silks, but all Girt about him. T Belt hung a Cymiter, in a Scabbard adorn'd with precious Stones; the of beaten Gold, with a Devils Head form'd on it. On his Turbant in abundance of Feathers. All the Nobility follow'd him, Dress'd much the same manner, mounted on stately prancing Horses, but smaller than with rich Furnitures of *Spanish* Leather, studded, and plated with Gold Figures of Serpents; and in some of the Bridles they had Stones, so that they look'd like Alabaster. Sometimes they ran straight forth and sometimes in a Ring, casting their Darts. When the Sport was: they attended the King, by whose Orders they carry'd aboard the S and to the *Dutch* Men's Lodgings, a great quantity of Rice, Sheep, G Hens, Eggs, Fish, and Fruit, as Coco-Nuts, Mangos, Lemons, and deli Dutch and Bananas. Then they fell to treating of Trade, and Amity, and the every Thing cheap except the Pepper, for they not liking the Common the *Dutch* offer'd in Exchange for it, lifting up their Hands cry'd, d which, in their Tongue, signifies five Pieces of Eight. So much the mandated for a Measure of theirs. They were well receiv'd in all Resi except in Relation to admitting of their Sect.

They had deliver'd Letters to the King from Count *Maurice*, whic answer'd in the *Persian* Tongue, and the *Dutch* having receiv'd them, *Tuban*, on the 24th of the same Month, with fair Weather, and well nish'd with valuable Commodities and Provisions. Passing by the I *Sidago*, they anchor'd between *Java* and *Madura*; founded the Depth notwithstanding the Current, and that the Ground was a stiff Muddy

they visited *Madura*, landing on the East-side; but remov'd presently to the City *Arosbay*, on the West, and afterwards thence to *Forta*, to get Guides, or Pilots to conduct them to the rest of the *Moluccos*. They sent to Compliment the King of *Madura*, who presently after the Audience, sent the Vice-Admiral a Sheep, with which went the Renegado, who had brought him a Dagger, they call *Criz*, from the King of *Tuban*, richly adorn'd with Gold and precious Stones, and the King's Head engrav'd on the Pommel. They found a *German* settled in the Country, rich in Spice, and understood by him, that at *Arosbay* they had seiz'd 40 of their Companions. The Island of *Madura*, next to *Java*, inclines to the Northward. They wear the same Habit as in the other; but are sharper Witted. It is most fruitful in Rice, but both in Reaping and Plowing, the Peasants and Buffalos are mix'd up to the Knees, the continual Inundations keeping the Ground so wet. Few Ships come to it, by reason of its inaccessible Shoales. They have the same common use of Weapons, Elephants, Horses, Spears, Campilanes, or Cymiters, and Shields. The *Crizes*, or Daggers, worn by the King's Guards are of Silver. The City *Arosbay* is Populous, and well Wall'd. The *Hollanders* main Design in coming to it, was, as has been said, to take in Pilots, and other Necessaries to proceed to the *Molucco* Islands; to which Purpose, and to avoid the Shoals lying betwixt *Java* and *Madura*, they divided their Ships. The Vice-Admiral, with the *Guelder* and *Zealand*, pass'd the Channels of *Madura*, in order to joyn, at *Forta*, the Junks that sail for *Ternate*, and thence to the other *Molucco* Islands.

*Madura*  
Described.

*Arosbay*  
City.

The Admiral *Sticht Utsicht*, running along the length of *Madura*, came to an Anchor before *Arosbay*. He sent out a Number of his Men in the Boat, to bring Rice, and other Provisions from Shore. No sooner were they landed, then seiz'd, disarm'd, stripp'd, and carry'd before the King. Those staying long, another Boat was sent with only three Men, and the same befell them. The Prisoners intreated the King to give leave, that those three, or any others, might go to give the Admiral an Account. He granted it, but upon Condition, That as soon as they had deliver'd the Message, they should return to Prison. They gave Notice of their Misfortune, and the Admiral sent away a Boat to carry immediate Advice to his Countrymen at the City *Forta*, writing several Letters to procure the Prisoners Liberty. The Vice-Admiral came with his Ships, and joyn'd those at *Arosbay*. The King demanded the two biggest Brass Guns aboard the Admiral, many Pieces of Silk, and one thousand Pieces of Eight for the Ransom of the Prisoners. The Admiral answer'd, That the Cannon was not his own, but belong'd to all his Nation, and therefore he desir'd him to moderate the Ransom, and turn it into Money, or take it out in such Commodities as he brought. Six Days were spent in Treating, and the Delay made the Conclusion more Difficult; and therefore the Admiral believing, that his Men were kept Prisoners in their own Boats, or near the Sea, without any considerable Guard, he order'd all his Men to land at once, and to Rescue them by Force. An hundred and fifty *Dutchmen* attempted it, but saw a great Number of People gathering on the Shore, led by the *Portugueses*, who carry'd white Colours, in token of Peace, giving out that they came to treat of an Accommodation, which, as *Hugo* affirms, was a Stratagem to gain Time for the Citizens to Arm. The *Dutch* either suspected, or had Notice

*Dutch taken by the King of Madura.*

*His Demands for their Ransom.*

*Attempt to Rescue them by Force.*



of it, and forming a small Body with about 20 Musquetiers, contriv'd to have their other Boats draw nearer, that so the Seamen and Officers might come to Fight, according to the appointed Order. More Men came out of the City, at another Gate, to enclose them unawares in the Port. The Dutch saw into the Policy, and were sensible of the Danger, and therefore sent two other Boats to guard the Port. This Precaution was the saving of their Lives; but they could not escape a Shower of Arrows, wherewith the *Arosbayans* thought to subdue them, not so much by their Force, and the Harm receiv'd, as by keeping the Enemy in Play, that so they might spend their Powder, and be oblig'd to retire to their Ships. Nor would they have been safe there, for now the Wind and Sea threaten'd them, and thirty six Men belonging to the Admiral, and thirteen to the *Zealand* were Drown'd, and the Boats cast away. Some few escap'd, whom they did not kill, at the Request of the Renegado of *Tuban*, but they were made Prisoners. These kneeling down, to move Compassion, with their dismal Looks, and Tears, the Conquerors laid a Handful of Earth on their Heads, a Ceremony they use towards the vanquish'd, whose Lives they grant. Perhaps they themselves know not the Reason, and Original of this Custom. Five and Twenty were lost in this Encounter, fifteen of the Admirals; one of *John Maris*, and nine of the *Zealand*. The Prisoners were carry'd to a Country Cottage; three Men dangerously wounded, one Trumpeter, and a Herald put into Chains, the others only their Hands bound. The rest were carry'd far from these, and put into a deep Cellar. The Herald being brought into the King's Presence, he ask'd him, whether he would stay in his Country, promising, among other Favours, that he would marry him to two of his own Wives. The *Dutchman* answer'd, returning Thanks, but with Freedom in his Looks, That with his good leave he had rather return to his Companions. He was therefore carry'd, with the Trumpeter, about the City, and at his going out at the Gate saw all the Prisoners, being fifty one, who were conducting, under a Guard, to another Island.

*Prisoners Ransom'd.* In fine, the Agreement was concluded, and the King discharg'd them for 2000 *Florines*. So they return'd to their Ships, except two, who hid themselves, taking a liking to that barbarous Way of living. The Governour *Jacob Maris* Dy'd, his Body was cast into the Sea, and the rest sailing to the Northward, directed their Course for the Island of *Celebes*. They pass'd by *Combay*, six Leagues from it, and beyond that of *Bontou*, and escap'd the Ridges of Rocks of *Cebessa*, which are not mark'd down, nor taken Notice of in Maps. There fell mighty Rains, and they steer'd North East for the Island of *Amboyna*, and in sight of *Boora*. A Boy dy'd aboard the *Zealand*; another falling off a Yard, into the Sea, held a Rope's End in his Mouth that his Arms might be at Liberty to swim, and quitted it not, till he had Help, and was sav'd. The next Day they lay by, and their Preacher made a long Spiritual Discourse upon the Sacraments, to celebrate the solemnity of Baptizing two Boys, whom he had already Carechis'd. On the first of *March*, not far from *Biau*, to the Eastward of *Boora*, they saw three other smaller Islands, call'd *Aypoti*, *Maniba*, and *Gita*, which are not far from *Amboyna*. They pass'd by them, and arriv'd at *Amboyna* on the third of the same Month.

*Come to Amboyna.* The Port is small, and at the Mouth of it, they were receiv'd by three Boats

Boats, belonging to the Town of *Matal*, seated on the Mountains. Thence they went on to that of *Ito*. *Ambogna* is about eight Leagues from *Banda*, to the Northward, in the Way to *Ternate*. The compass of it is fifteen Leagues, most fruitful in Cloves, Oranges, Lemmons, Citrons, Coco-Nuts, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, and other such like Product. The Natives are more open Hearted, and sincere, than those of the *Moluccas* or *Banda*; wear the same Habit; live upon the Trade of Spice; are temperate and abstemious, and great Sufferers of Hardship. Their Weapons, are Spears with Sharp twisted Eggs; these they dart so dexterously, that they will hit the smallest Mark at a great Distance. They also use Cymiters and Shields, and now Muskets. They make great Masses of Sugar, Rice, and Almonds, like our Sugar-Loaves, and value themselves upon being able Seamen. Their Carcoas are like great Dragons, did these swim with their Bodies extended on the Water, and lifting up their two Ends of Head and Tail, which are gilt, and well Carr'd, and serve for Prow and Poop. At both of them hang Standards of several Sorts of Silk, and Colours, which are born up by the Wind, when they do not reach to the Water. The Admiral of *Ambogna* came with three of these Vessels full of arm'd Men, to see the *Dutch*, with a Noise of Kittle-Drums, and Brass Basons hanging on the Musitian's Left-Shoulder, and striking them with the Right-Hand, as they do the *Tabor* in *Spain*. They sang their set Airs, understood by none but the Native *Ambognese*, tho' attentively listen'd to by the *Dutch*, for their Strangeness. The Slaves also sang to the Noise of their Oars. They fir'd the three Guns every *Carcoa* carry'd, being a Salute, in Honour of their Guests; who relying on that Reception, dropt their Anchors, posting many Sentinels, because they observ'd the Natives had done the same in all Parts, and there were constant Fires in many Places.

The *Ambognese* Admiral ask'd them, What they came for, and who they were, and having heard their Answer, gave them leave to go ashore, and expose their Commodities, allowing them free Commerce, contrary to his Majesty's Prohibition, which us'd to be more punctually observ'd in this Trade at *Amboyna*. The *Dutch* Vice-Admiral went ashore, where he was well received, and conducted to a Seat cover'd with Sails of Ships, supported by Trees, full of Fruit not known in *Europa*. He easily prevail'd with the Governors, to allow him full Liberty to Trade. Their Success was forwarded by *Casbil Azud*, Brother to the King of *Ternate*, who happen'd to be there then, celebrating his Nuptials, being newly come with his Bride, who was the Daughter of a *Sangiack* of *Batocina*. He had long courted, and desir'd to be marry'd to her, but was oppos'd by the Father, who had promised her to the King of *Bachian*. We shall say no more of their Love; nor of what became of the Prince, because it is no essential Part of this History. He presently repair'd to the *Dutch*, and order'd them to be furnish'd with those Loaves made of Sugar, Almonds and Rice, with Coco-Nuts, Bananas, and Wine made of Rice, and this so lavishly, that the *Dutch* Relations own they had scarce Room to lay up such Plenty of Provisions. The same would have been, had they bought them; for they had so much for a Fewer Spoon, that they knew not what to do with it. The *Ambognese* Admiral went aboard the Ships again, was pleas'd to see the great Guns, and the Variety and Plenty of Merchandise. The Prince of *Ternate* did

did the same, and both of them at their coming and going were saluted with the Cannon. They had private Conferences with him, and other Nobles of the *Moluccos*, who attended him. They erected Factories in several Parts of *Amboyna*, and agreed that the two Ships, *Guelder* and *Zeyland* should Sail for *Banda*, whilst the other two lay two Months to let rest at *Amboyna*. We shall mention hereafter what befel these in *Ternate*, as now return to the other two.

*Two Dutch Ships sail for Banda.* They sail'd with a fair Wind, but one of them stuck in the Flats, so that she could scarce be got off. Below *Jealau*, they met a *Portuguese* Ship, on merrily by *Poelseton*, two Leagues short of *Banda*, on that Side.

*Island of Devils.*

desert, and uninhabited, infamous, for stronger Reasons, than the alledge against the *Acroceranian* Rocks. There are Cryes, Whistlings, and Roarings heard in it at all Times, and dreadful Apparitions are seen, Fires ascending through the Air; and long Experience has shown, that it is inhabited by Devils. Therefore Sailors, when they pass in Sight of it, which seldom happens without Storms, make all the Sail they can to get far off, from the very Wind that blows on it. The *Dutch* chief Pilot, being so much, furiously took such fast hold of the Helm, that all the

*Dutch Pilot fought by the Devil.*

Force drove on the Ship; his Face grew fiery, and his Breast not able to contain his Wind, he breath'd fast, and groan'd, till being past the Island, he grew merry, and whistling loud, scoff'd at the Devil, because he could not cast away the Ship; yet soon after he was in Disorder, and dropt the Helm; they recover'd him, and made all sail to go for *Banda*.

*Trade at Banda.*

They arriv'd at *Banda*, near the River, on the fifteenth of the Month of *April*. Several *Bandese* Boats came out, offering their Spice. The *Dutch* Ships, carrying with them sundry Commodities, which they expos'd in the Market. A rich *Turk*, who was in Esteem, entertain'd them. They built Houses on the Island, and a few Days after heard News of their Admiral, by some *Portuguese* Ships, that came from *Amboyna*; and were inform'd, that the *Portuguese* were already at War with the Natives, for entertaining and settling them Factories.

*Return thence.*

On the fourth of *July*, having settled Trade at *Banda*, they sail'd towards *Noeselau*, along the Channels of *Zeru*, without regarding the Admiral, who was promoting, and fomenting the War at *Amboyna*. They sail'd in Sight of *Routon*, which is in five Degrees of South Latitude of the Island *Cobayna*. On the twelfth they pass'd the Coast of *Cebu*, and on the seventeenth, by that of *Madura*, and again discover'd *Java*, where the Misfortune we have spoken of befel them. They ran along the Coast of *Java*, and in the Evening came to *Jacatra*, where they cast Anchor, to visit the King, and their Compliment was return'd by him, with the Present of Rice, Fowl, and Coco-Nuts, and a Buffalo for the Vice-Royal. The *Zealanders*, who had been left at *Banda* in their House Factories, in the Cities of *Montelongo*, and *Soleparuo*, by Letters of the King of *August*, acquainted them, how the new Friendship was establish'd. At this Time the *Dutch* began, without any Opposition, to possess themselves of the Provinces belonging to the Crown of *Spain* in *Asia*.

They took Leave of that King, and return'd to *Banda*, with the Natives.

of which Place they had now contracted such Familiarity, that some Ships belonging to *Banda* Merchants, which they met by the Way, presented them with a considerable Quantity of Porcelane. At their Arrival the Governour came out to meet them, with 400 Men, inviting them to take some Refreshment ashore, which they refus'd, but made presents to each other, and drank out great Vessels of Wine made of Rice, which is a powerful and strong Liquor. Continuing their Voyage on the tenth of *September*, towards the South West, they thought they were under the Tropick of *Capricorn*. On the thirtieth, they were in 28 Degrees, with the Wind at West, somewhat Northerly, and ran thirty Leagues beyond Cape *S. Roman*, after they had been tofs'd among many Islands, in thirty two Degrees and a half South. Next they discover'd Cape *Ploemera*, of the Southern *Ethiopia*, or Land of the *Cafres*. A Storm dispers'd the Ships, but they met again when it ceas'd, at Cape *Anquillos*. On the seventh of *September* they arriv'd at the Island *S. Helena*; the Master went ashore, kill'd many wild Beasts; and furnish'd the Ships with Fruit, there being Plenty of both. The Sick recover'd there: They went into the solitary Church, and on the first of *January*, 1600, they sail'd thence, and being come into five Degrees of North Latitude, on the Thirtieth of the same Month, observ'd an Eclipse. Then they began to discover the North Pole, which had been out of their Sight so long. On the thirteenth of *February* they had Sight of the Island *Mayo*, or *May*, one of those of *Cabo Verde*, and about the End of *March* discover'd the *English Hills*. In fine, they arriv'd at the *Texel*, and thence to *Amsterdam*, where they unladed that spicy Wealth, the like, for Quality and Newness, had never yet been brought to *Lisbon*; at least *Hugo's* Relations tell us, there might have been as precious Oyl drawn from these, as when they were just gather'd.

Whilst these two Ships, *Zealand* and *Guelder*, were sailing Home, the other two, *Amsterdam* and *Utrecht*, being almost naturaliz'd at *Amboyna*, Dutch departed thence for *Ternate*, on the eighth of *March*, 1599, in the Company of three *Funks*, full of *Javane* Soldiers, well arm'd, and hir'd to attack a Fort that was defended by *Portugueses*. Before their Departure, some of them went ashore, and among other Game, took Abundance of green Pigeons, as big as our Ducks. They loaded with Clove, because it is sold in that Island for thirty five Royals a Bar, which is there 150 Pounds. They were inform'd, that the *Dutch*, who had been left at *Banda*, would soon come to joyn them. The *Portugueses* attacking a Fort with ill Success, the *Dutch*, who were before agreed with the Prince of *Ternate*, arm'd, and mix'd with his Men. This was the first Time they ever fought with the Subjects of *Spain*, in those Parts; and the *Dutch* Author, who gives an Account of this Action, says, the Islanders look'd upon it as a Prodigy.

Having settled Commerce at *Amboyna*, they sail'd away for the Islands of *Ternate*, taking for their Guide, a Captain, who pretended to them, that he was Brother to the King of an Island; and to magnify his Grand-Father, boasted he had kept seventy lawful Wives, besides Concubines; and that his Son, to vie with him, had forty Wives, besides Mistresses. So says the Journal of that Voyage, writ by them who perform'd it. They discover'd the Islands of *Tydore* and *Ternate* on the twenty sixth, and coming to an Anchor at the latter, in fifteen Fathom Water, put out their Colours,

The King  
goes to  
view the  
Ships.

Colours, fired their Cannon, and spar'd for no real or vain Ostentation. The King of *Ternate*, whose deep known Sagacity is such, that he trusts no other but himself to observe what Dangers may threaten, went into his own *Carcoa*, attended by many others, on the 28th of *May*, and sail'd to the Place, where the *Dutch* lay at Anchor. He drew near and inclos'd the Ships, call'd to the Admiral, and ask'd him, who he was, whence his Ships, and other Particulars. These Questions and Answers held some Hours, by Means of the *Nagatato's* who interpreted the Discourse. The Admiral intreated the King that he would please to come aboard his Ship. He excus'd himself, first alledging, that he did not like those Ladders they show'd him to go up to them, tho' they had purposely cover'd them with fine Cloth; and afterwards, that the Sun was setting, and it was Time for him to repair to his Devotions. Having made this godly Excuse, he sail'd towards the City, the Air resounding with the Noise of his Brass Bassons, Flat Tabors, Guns, Shouts, and *Persian* Songs.

He re-  
turns.

The 29th he drew near to the new Comers again, with 23 *Carcoas*; in which he had 100 Brass Guns for his Defence, and firing them all at once, to the clattering of Bells, made show of his Warlike Preparation. The Confusion of it being over, tho' they sang Verses, as they do to denote Peace, in the *Malay* Tongue, so they call the Language of *Malacca*, whence it was convey'd to the *Moluccos*; yet the *Dutch* made ready their great Guns, Muskets, and half Pikes. They plac'd some arm'd Men out of Sight in every Ship, as also where they might be taken Notice of, showing, or at least not concealing their Jealousy, that so no sudden Surprise might find them unprovided. The King's *Carcoa* drew near alone, and those who were in it spoke to the *Dutch* Admiral, by Means of the *Nagatato*, without showing themselves.

The King was satisfy'd with only talking to them, and withdrew; after Noon he return'd with only two *Carcoas*, one of which tow'd a Boat after her. Being come up to the *Dutch*, he began to talk to the Vice-Admiral; *Talks with the Dutch.* enquir'd after their Guns, and order'd the other *Carcoa* to stand further off, and the Captain going too far, the Boat, either accidentally, or by Design, broke loose from the Stern, and was over-set by the Waves; the King then desired the Admiral to fire at it with a Ball, that he might see whether they could hit or sink it. They fir'd immediately, the King being well pleas'd to see that the Shot had slav'd the Boat in Pieces. The Admiral laying hold of this Opportunity, took Care, whilst they were commending the Shot, which serv'd to disguise the Threat, to let him know that he could with as much Ease sink the *Carcoas*. This Tryal satisfy'd the King, who soon after gave leave for that Nation to Trade in his Dominions, and barter Cloves, Spice, precious Stones, and Pearls, all which is there to be found, by reason of the Resort of the *Japonesc*, *Camboaja* and *Chinese* Ships. Of these last they then saw some all made of Wood alone, even to their Anchors, and the Sails of Cane. They came to an Anchor at *Ternate*, where the first Thing they did, was burying of *Reynart Reynarts*, a *Dutch* Soldier, scarce worthy of that Buryal, Idolaters and *Mahometans* resorting to the Funeral. The King the next Day sent a *Carcoa* to acquaint the *Dutch*, that he would go aboard their Ships, and a Boat came

Gives them  
leave to  
Trade.

The other Boys, shouted and sham'd him, proclaiming the Theft with loud Voices.

*Triumph of  
Ternates.*

About this Time some *Ternate* Troops return'd Home victorious, having plunder'd and destroy'd a Town in the Island of *Tydore*. They march'd into the City on the 27th of *July*, the King being present, with their *Campilanes*, or Cymiters drawn, and bloody, with half Heads, Ears, and Hair of those they had conquer'd, or slain, sticking to them. They show'd the Shields and Weapons they had taken from them, their Cloaths and Feathers, and 43 Prisoners, who follow'd dragging Chains, some about their Necks, and some at their Heels. Among them was a brave Youth, 21 Years of Age, who was a *Singick* of Note, and Kinsman to the King of *Tydore*; as also a very beautiful *Portuguese* Lady, Wife to a Captain in that Fort. They walk'd about the City, with all this Spoil and Plunder, till they came to the King's Palace; there the Captives were sacrific'd, and the *Portuguese* Lady sold for a Slave, a rare Piece of Mercy, and purchas'd by her Tears. The King of *Ternate* honour'd the Chief of the *Tydores*, smiling and lovingly encouraging him, as Kinsman to a King. The Youth excusing himself, and pleading Innocence, to gain the Victor's Favour, he return'd a favourable Answer, and bid him wash himself. Sweet Water was brought to wash their Hands, and it was poured over the King's Hands and his, at the same Time, out of one Ewer. Then the Captive thus assur'd, letting fall his Hands with the Water, which, perhaps, is a Ceremony to denote Peace, and bowing his Head by way of Civility, a Soldier struck him on the Neck with a sharp *Campilane*, or Cymiter, so furiously, that the Head dropt at some Distance from the Body half alive; then they cut both the Head and Body into small Pieces, all which, to exercise their utmost Rage, they put into a *Prau*, which is a little Boat, and then sunk all together in the Sea.

*Prisoners  
sacrific'd.*

*Barbarous  
Perfidious-  
ness.*

*More of  
their Cru-  
elty.*

*The King  
aboard the  
Dutch  
Ships.*

Four Days after another Parcel of *Ternates* came with several *Tydore* Prisoners, whose Heads they cut off in the Port, as they did that of a Stranger, who came peaceably to the Island with Merchandize. All these Spectacles the *Dutch* beheld. Such good Use do those Barbarians make of Victory. Friendship being now establish'd with the *Dutch*, and the King well assur'd of it, he resolv'd to go aboard their Ships. He went aboard the Admiral on the 25th of *July*, with all his Guard, where nothing escap'd being narrowly view'd and observ'd by him, with a seeming willingness to buy it. He desired the Admiral to leave some of his Men at *Ternate*, which was refus'd at that Time. He view'd the Ship over again, and going into the Cook-Room, very much admir'd a Pair of Bellows, wherewith they kindled the Fire in his Presence, and seeing the Use they were put to, took them into his own Hands, and was a considerable Time opening and shutting of them; then biting and pressing the Nozle with his Lips, he began to swallow the Wind it blow'd out, swelling himself up, not without much Laughter and Astonishment of the *Dutch*, who write, they Thought the King was either running Mad, or had no Sense before. He begg'd those Bellows, and being presented with them, was highly pleas'd. He return'd several Times after to the Ships, with a greater Design in his Head, which was to try whether he could by any Means contrive to seize them. He was pleas'd to see how affectionately his Subjects

*Foolish Be-  
barbarous.  
of his.*

traded

traded and trusted them with their Spice. At length they prevail'd upon the Admiral to leave some of his Men, with a good Sum of Money, to buy up Cloves the next gathering. The first Dutch Factors left at Ternate, Dutch Factors were Francis Verdoes, Father to William; Diricht Floris, Jacob Lamberts, &ory at John Fans, of Groel; Cornelius Adrians, and a Boy of Amsterdam, whose Ternate. Name was Henry Fans. These laid the Ground for the second Enmity, with the first Rebels of that Nation, who conspir'd with the Ternates, and were afterwards the Occasion of other Fleets and Succours coming into those Parts, against their Natural Sovereign.

These Men being left at Ternate, and having receiv'd Intelligence that the Brigantines were returning from the Island of Banda, the Ships sail'd from Ternate, on the 19th of August, passing by the Island Maca, among the other Moluccos, and that of Oda, to the Northward. Then in two Degrees and a half Latitude, they discover'd so many Islands, that they could not count them; others they saw, not set down in the Maps, and learn'd their Names from some Sailors. Among them was that of *Banquore*, and its Neighbour *Sabobe*, whose King resides in that of *Mitara*, and has 30 more within a very small Compass. He furnish'd them with Provisions, and gave Notice of Dangerous Ridges of Rocks; to avoid which, they return'd the same Way they came, in Sight of *Ambonya* and *Celebes*. On the 13th of November, they were inform'd at *Faquetra*, that the Vice-Admiral was already gone from *Banda*; and had there a great Quantity of Rice, brought but just before by Chinese Vessels.

Dutch depart Ternate.

On the 17th they came to *Banda*, where at *Montelongo*, and *Soleparvo*, they found the two Zealand Ships, which having traded about eight Months with little Profit, design'd to return. On the 15th of January 1600, the Admiral made the Governour of *Banda* some European Presents, and among them a small Boat, all cover'd with fine Scarlet. All the Merchant-ships met and set sail for *Holland*, on the 21th of the same Month, and sail'd all February, with stormy Winds, and loss of some of their Men, till the Weather mended on the third of March. On the 13th of April, in the Latitude of 34 Degrees and a half, they found themselves somewhat above 20 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. On the 16th of May, At the they reach'd the Island of *St. Helena*, where, at some Distance, they discover'd other Ships. Some Men landed, and admir'd its strange Fertility Good. among those Mountains. They saw another Island, whose bare Rocks, Hope: without Trees or Grass, look as if they were made of Coals; and among them are Abundance of monstrous wild Boars, yet nothing could be seen S. Helena. to grow, or any living Creatures they could feed upon. There were also large Tortoises, some of them weighing 400 Weight. On the last of May they made for the *Texel*, and thence to *Amsterdam*, where they were receiv'd with publick Rejoycing; and they again prepar'd to return to *India*, and continuing their Trade with those barbarous Kings, who are Masters of the Spice, Metals, precious Stones, Pearls, and other foreign Wealth, have at length converted the Friendship they kindly offer'd at first, into Slavery, and Subjection to the Tyranny of *Holland* and *Zealand*. And in the Year 1600, with more Expedition, they sail'd into *Guinea*, and to *S. George de la Mina*, with only two Ships, the first Time, and ran through the same Ports and Islands, throughout our Seas in Safety. They

Come to Banda.

At the Cape of Good Hope:

S. Helena.

Depart Island.

Nova  
Zembla.

took particular Accounts of all Things, whether Natural, or Political, relating to that vast extended Country of *Asia*, which is almost opposite to *Europe*, and under other Stars, and another Pole. The same Year, being in search of the *North-Passage*, in 80 Degrees of Latitude, they discover'd *Nova Zembla*, where they found nothing but monstrous white and grey Bears, which did not run, but rather took little Notice of the Noise of Cannon, and devour'd Men; there were also white Crows, no less undaunted; and in short, most of that Part of the World was desert, and they found not the Passage they expected into the South-Sea. Yet they now sail'd all those Southern Parts, at all Seasons, making a Jest of the *Monsons*, the *Portuguese*s to mightily observe, as if they had them shut up in Skins, like the Fable in *Ulysses*. Perhaps they buy fair and stormy Winds, as is said to be done in *Lapland*, at settled Rates, of Witches that deal in them.

Vanity of  
the King  
of Ternate.

The King of *Ternate* was so puff'd up with the Friendship, and Support of the Northern Nations, that he durst boldly flatter himself with the Hope of becoming absolute Master of *Tydore*. Accordingly he streightned that King, and the *Portuguese* Garrison, without allowing them the least Respite. Other *Dutch* Ships had come since the former to that Island, on Account of Trade, by the Way of *India*, with Arms and several Commodities. The *Ternate* Embassadors were treating in *England* and *Holland*, for settling of perpetual Peace and Commerce. The King had already received Answers to these Embassies, and very speedily expected an *English* Fleet, and many *Dutch* Ships, with whose Assistance he promis'd himself to destroy *Tydore*, and thence to stretch out to the *Philippines*. In the mean while, some *Dutch* and *English* remain'd at his Court, like Hostages, with a Factor, whose Business was to attend the Bartering, or buying up of Spice; to purchase which they brought him Abundance of curious Arms. This being known to the King of *Tydore*, and *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeyra*, Commander of the Fort, who every Year writ to the Governour of the *Philippines* about it; they now sent a particular Embassy to *Don Francisco Tello*, giving him an Account of the Condition of those Places; of the Fort; of the Succours, and how vain it was to expect them from *India*. That an Affair of such Consequence might fort the de-

Embassy  
from Ty-  
dore to the  
Philip-  
pines.

The King's  
Brother  
Embassa-  
dor.

sired Event, they appointed *Cachil Cota*, the King of *Tydore*'s Brother, a notable Soldier, and most renowned Commander of the *Moluccos*, to go Ambassador. He came to *Manila*, well attended, with Letters from the King, and the Commander in Chief. Those, and he, in a set Speech, (for the People of the *Moluccos* do not want Rhetorick to persuade) return'd the Governour Thanks for the Supplies he had at several Times sent them of Provisions, and Ammunition. *But what we come to desire*, said *Cachil Cota*, *is that this Work be now effectually taken in Hand, before the English and Dutch with their Fleets strengthen Ternate, and render it impregnable. We cannot but admire, that whereas the Portuguese Arms obtain such signal Victories, as are those of Calicut; over the Turks, at Diu; over the Egyptians; over the People of Cananor, of Ceylon, the Javas, Sumatra, and other Nations on that Side; and the Spaniards on this, against those of Cambosa, Mindanao, Japan, Cochinchina, and China, yet only we of the Moluccos, who lie amidst the Dominions of one only Monarch, should be left*  
expos'd



*Don Francis Tello* resign'd up the Power into his Hands, and staying there to give an Account of his Administration, dyed in *April*, the following Year. The new Governour was much concern'd to find the King's Treasury empty, and himself under an Obligation of supporting the King's and his own Credit. To this Consideration belong'd the *Moluccos*, the reducing whereof he had in Charge. However he took Courage, believing he might with Industry and Labour, make amends for the Want of Cash. He attended all the Works in Person, as he had been wont to do, both at *Manila* and in the Country about; building Gallies; and other Vessels; whereof there was then a great Want, to secure the Sea; at that Time infested by the Neighbouring Pirates and Enemies, especially those of *Mindanao*. Next he visited the Provinces of the *Prinados*, and supply'd the Wants he found in those Parts. In these Passages betwixt the Islands, besides the Storms, his little Vessel, which had only three Soldiers in it, escap'd, he fell into another notable Danger. Two and twenty *English* Vessels enrich'd with the Booty they had taken in the Islands belonging to that Government, attempted to inclose and take him, but the Tide failing them, they stuck on Ground, and could not get off. *Don Pedro* saw them throw over-board above 2000 *Spaniards*, and Natives they had made Prisoners, to lighten their Vessels. They also cast into the Sea a beautiful *Spanish* Maid, about 17 Years of Age. Afterwards the Fleet from *Manila* sail'd in quest of them, and chastis'd some, tho' the Punishment was inferior to their Cruelty.

*Don Francis Tello* dyes.

*Don Pedro* visits his Government.

Cruelty of *English*.

*Don Pedro* would fain have remov'd all Obstacles that lay in the Way to the Enterprize he had in Hand; but was oblig'd to put off for some Months that which he was most intent upon, and to dispatch the Affairs of *Xolo* and *Japan*. *Chiquiro*, a *Japonefe* Embassador, was newly arriv'd at *Manila*, with a Present of the Product and Manufactures of that Island, and orders to treat with the Governour, and settle Amity and Commerce, between the Subjects of the Emperor of *Japan*, whose Name was *Dayfusama*, and the *Philippines* and *New-Spain*. The Neighbourhood of those Provinces, the Power of the *Japonefe* Kings, their natural Disposition, and other Considerations, which Experience had shown to be of great Moment, made against refusing of that Commerce; and yet there were Opinions to the contrary, for those very Reasons. However that barbarous Prince having once espous'd that Affair, it was not easy to find out an Expedient to settle it, without any Jealousy or Disguist. *Dayfusama* demand'd, that the *Spaniards* should trade to *Quanto*, a Port in one of his Provinces, and that such Friendship might be establish'd, that the *Japoneses* might go over to *New-Spain*. That the Governour should send him Shipwrights, and Workmen to build Ships in *Japan*, for performing of that Voyage, upon which *Dayfusama* was very intent, being perswaded to it by a Religious Man of ours, of the Order of *St. Francis*, whose Name was *F. Jerome* of *JESUS*, and for whom that Monarch had a great Esteem.

*Japonefe* Embassador at *Manila*.

His Proposals.

This was a Matter of great Weight, and on several Accounts most prejudicial to the *Philippine* Islands, whose greatest Security for so many Years, has consisted in the *Japonefe's* wanting of Ships and Pilots, and being ignorant in the Art of Navigation. Men of Experience observ'd, that

Objections to them.

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*Dutch* Nation, to whom he had made a Promise, that none but they should buy up and lade the Product of his Country. All this appears by the Copy of a Letter in the *Portuguese* Tongue, found among the King of *Ternate's* Papers, when our Men possess'd themselves of his Palace. Where we may observe the perfect Hatred he shows for the *Portuguese* Government, since he never Names those People without adding the Epithet of *Mortal Enemies*; and in speaking of the *Dutch*, *My Friends and Deliverers*; adding, That he expects their Fleets with great Satisfaction. This Answer he sent King *James* by *Henry Middleton*, then Admiral of the *English* Fleet, on the eighteenth of *July*, 1605. The Truth of the Fact is, that this King admitted, and invited to his Dominions, and the Product of them, all other Nations, to arm against the *Spaniards*, and oppose Christianity; and tho' he then boasted of the Succours he receiv'd, and expected from the *Dutch*, had he seen the Power of their Fleets and Arms decline, he would have excluded them the Trade. All his Religion and Hopes were subservient to the present Circumstances of Times, and his Faith depended on the Advantages he could make.

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*The End of the Seventh Book.*

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**DISCOVERY and CONQUEST**  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.*

**BOOK VIII.**

**A**LL the Contents of the Letters, and other Papers, that came from the *Molucco* Islands to *India* and the *Philippines*, for the following Years, amount to nothing but Complaints, asking Relief, and giving Intelligence, not altogether below the Dignity of History, were we not come so near the last Period of it. Particularly there are Letters of the Cominander of *Tydore*, *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeira*, to the Governor of the *Philippine* Islands, wherein he complains, That whereas he had sent 400 Men, Ships, and Warlike Stores to *Cambaya*, where his Majesty had nothing to Recover, he had furnish'd him with only twenty Soldiers. He represents to him many pressing Wants, without any Hopes of Relief from the Viceroy, by the way of *Malaca*; urging the scarcity of Provisions, Arms, and all other Necessaries. He informs him, That through his Means *Cachil Mole* had been sworn King of *Tydore*; and how faithful a Friend he approves himself to the Crown of *Sian*, and an Enemy to the *Ternates*, and that he is always sollicitous for recovering of that Fort. He desires him to send the King a Present of great Guns, and other Gifts, and to do the same by the King of *Sian*, who is a Christian, and our Friend. He acquaints him how frequently the *English* and *Dutch* Ships resort to those Seas, and that he had taken some of them.

*Complaints from Tydore, and other Advices.*

The Success of a very great and rich Ship of *Zealand*, is most particularly Remarkable: This Vessel putting into *Ternate*, and Trading with that

that Wicked Faithless King, he consented that *Ruy Gonzalez* should contrive to cut her Cables, provided the Booty might be his: He agreed to it, exacting an Exorbitant price for the Villany. The Bargain made, and the Bribe receiv'd, they who had cut the Cables leap'd over-board, and immediately the King's Officers appear'd, who seiz'd all the Loading the Ship being beagen to pieces, to no purpose. He assures him, That the Enterprize on *Ternate* might be effected with 400 Spaniards; and promises to send him a great piece of Amber, as an extraordinary Rarity from the Isles of *Mava*, which are 60 Leagues from the *Moluccos*. He again gives Advice of Northern Galeons, and that one of them, in four Hours, had batter'd that Fort, shot into it 261 Bullets; one of which he sent him; and that they had beaten down a large Curtin of the Wall, which was then Repairing.

In the mean while *England* invaded the *West-Indies*; where the Towns and Ships suffer'd by their Invasions, Robberies, and Burnings. Only that Part, which was the District belonging to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, defended it self, through the Bravery of its Governor, and for the same Reason the Enemy had Regard to it. *William Park*, the English Admiral, appear'd upon the strong and garrison'd Coasts of *America*, in the Year 1600. They defended themselves well, yet he prevail'd in some Places. On the Coast of *Cartagena* he took one *Julio*, a Fisherman, whom he afterwards set at Liberty, that he might carry the following Letter, writ in broken Spanish to *Don Pedro*.

English  
Infect the  
West-  
Indies.

A'miral  
Parke's  
Letter to  
Don Pedro.

Being inform'd by Fame, with how much Generosity and Kindness your Lordship entertains Strangers, especially those of my Nation, I would not forbear expressing the Gratitude due to your Lordship for that Magnificence, on my own Part, and returning Thanks, wishing you as long a Life, and as much Health, as to my self. I would not omit writing these few Lines to your Lordship, not only on the aforesaid Account, but to acquaint you with what has happen'd to me during this Expedition. It pleas'd God to make me Master of one of the Kings Ports, call'd *Porto Belo*, which I was possess'd of a whole Day and Part of the Night, where I found some Gentlemen, particularly *Captain Melendez*, and some other Soldiers of the Garrison; and plundering the Place, had very little Booty. The said *Captain Melendez*, fought like a resolute Soldier, and faithful Servant of his King, and therefore I order'd him to be dress'd by my Surgeon, and to be carry'd out of the House where he was wounded, having laid Wood in all the Houses to fire them, and consume the Town. I do assure your Lordship, and declare on the Word of a Soldier, that being inform'd of your Valour and Renown, by certain Prisoners I took, as *Captain Rolan*, and several others, and at *Porto Belo* by the King's Factor, *Funes*, and other Soldiers, that were my Prisoners, and aboard my Ship, I gave them all their Liberty, and forbore firing the City, only on Account of your Reputation, and the Fame of your good Usage to such Prisoners as fall into your Hands. So that those I set at Liberty, as also the Town, may be thankful to your Lordship for so great an Obligation, as is the Value of the said Town, and their Lives. The Castle, and the Port at the Mouth of the Harbour, and the Port it self, so well fortify'd and furnish'd with Artillery, and all other Necessaries, did not deter, fright, or daunt me, for I went out with six Ships, and the Castle did me no Harm. Really the Commanders

and



Brother  
Gaspar  
Gomez  
forwards  
the Expe-  
dition.

Approbation of his Advice, and the Supplies to put it in Execution, being to come from a Center so remote, and where there lay an Obligation of being no less attentive to all Parts of the Circumference, the Expedition could not possibly be brought about sooner. Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, whose Intelligence in this Affair, was always very material, had presently Intimation of what had been resolv'd on, by Letters from *Don Pedro*; and he was so diligent in promoting it, that to advance this Cause, he cross'd the greatest Oceans as readily, as if they had been the Narrow-Seas, which part those Islands; having solicited the Viceroy at *Mexico*, and then the Counsellors, and Ministers of State in *Spain*. His Arguments and Motives were the same we have several Times mention'd in this Work. Dividing the Wealth of the South into three six Kinds, precious Stones, and Pearls, Metals, and Spice, and Drugs; all which were distributed among Enemies, *English* and *Dutch*. That the King had no Spice left, but only that of *Tydore*, which must be lost, unless speedily and powerfully supported, and the same Forces would recover *Teinate*, *Banda*, *Amboyna*, and what had been held in *Celebes*, *Batochina*, and the Places wrested by the Tyrants of *Sumatra*. All this the Jesuit made out by Demonstration, for he ground not the least Information upon any thing less than Experience.

Succeeds in  
his Negoti-  
ation.

He was heard in the Council of the *Indies*, and the Council of State for the Crown of *Portugal*, and dispatch'd for the *Philippines*, by the way of *New-Spain*. By the other Way, the King order'd, that the Captain General *Furtado*, taking with him the necessary Fleet from *Goa*, should sail for the *Moluccos*, by special Commission, by Virtue whereof he afterward sent to ask Assistance at the *Philippine* Islands, as we have seen, and such Supplies were to be furnish'd on both Sides, as being united, might secure the Conquest of the *Moluccos*. However the Event must of Necessity be tedious, the *Dutch* being already possess'd of all the King's Forts in the *Archipelago*; and their numerous Fleets of all the Ports, Fairs, and Trade, with Factories conveniently settled for their Intercourse between *India* and their own Country. We shall not enter upon the Account of those Affairs, because no more of them than have been already mention'd, as yet related to the *Moluccos*. Much Time, and many Precautions were requisite, for these two Commanders to joyn, amidst so many Obstacles: They sent frequent Advice backward and forward, and neither Part was idle in the mean while.

Furtado  
Sails from  
Goa.

Disabled  
by Storms.

At length, notwithstanding all Difficulties, *Furtado* sail'd from *Goa* with six Galeons, eighteen Gallots, and one Galley, with the King's Orders, and in his Name those of the Viceroy *Arias de Saizania*, to fight the *Dutch*, and any other Enemy, and to proceed to *Sunda*, to chastize that King, and the Rebels in *Java*. He was directed to place Garrisons there, and having settled the Affairs of *India*, to proceed to the *Moluccos*. They went out with good Hearts to undertake that Work, but were hinder'd by Storms and Tempests. In the Gulph of *Ceylon*, he lost the Galley, and seventeen Gallots that were under the Conduct of *Francis de Sousa*, and *Andrew Reiz*, and in them the greatest Strength he had to compass his Designs. He was three whole Years without any Succours to proceed on his Enterprize. At *Malaca* he recruited the best he could; and in *December*, 1601, Steering his Course for *Sunda*, relying on the Succours he expected from the King of *Palimban*

world professing Christianity by publick Authority. *Don Pedro* the Governour took the necessary Measures, that so favourable an Indulgence might not be lost, and that not only barefoot *Franciscans*, but also Religious Men of other Orders should go over thither. They made use of the *Japonesse* Captains and Ships, newly come to *Manila* with *Meal*. The *Dominicans* sent over to the Kingdom of *Zazuma* four Fryars, and *P. Francis de Morales*, Pastor of *Manila* for their Superior, saying the King of that Province sent for them, being the only one, who had not yet submitted to *Dayfusama*: The Order of *S. Augustin* sent two Religious Men, and *P. James de Guevara*, Pastor also of *Manila* for their Superior, and these went to the Kingdom of *Pirundo*. Those of the Order of *S. Francis*, sent *P. Augustin Rodriguez*; who had been Witness to the Martyrdom of his Companions in *Japan*, *St. Nangasaku*, for him to go thence with a Lay-Brother to *Miaco*, and with *P. Jerome* of *Jesus* Company. Many perswaded *Don Pedro*, not to send away these Religious Men; but tho' those Perswasions were well grounded, and some Difficulties occur'd against their Departure, he resolv'd to dismiss them. The Zeal of true Glory overcomes all Opposition. These Religious Men found no Signs of those Desires that had been signify'd to them in the Provinces they went to. Very few *Japoneses* were converted, and there was less Disposition to advance, because the Kings, and *Princes*, which are Princes had no Affection for our Religion, nor were any Way disgusted with their Idols. They only aspir'd to settle Commerce, and to trade with the *Spaniards*, for their private Interest.

Religious  
allow'd to  
Preach in  
Japan.

*Don Pedro* sent the Ship he had promis'd to *Japan*, well stor'd with Cannon, and call'd it *S. James* the Less. The Captain, Officers, and Sailors were all Men of Experience; and she was laden with Commodities to barter, Red-Wood, Deer's-Skins, raw Silk, and several other Sorts: The Governour order'd them to dispose of what they carry'd at the Port of *Quano*, and to furnish the Religious Men they found there, and then return with the Produce and *Dayfusama's* Leave. Thus Provision was made for all the Affairs of *Japan*, according to the present Exigences. The Ship-Wrack of the Embassador *Chiquiro* was known, and by the good Management of *P. Jerome*, *Dayfusama* was acquainted with the Answer he carry'd, and rested satisfy'd; so that the preaching of the Gospel went on in his Dominions.

Another  
Ship to Ja-  
pan.

*Don Pedro's* Thoughts were all bent upon Recovering of the *Molucco* Islands; and his other Business did not make him neglect that Enterprize. *Andrew Furtado de Mendoza*, Admiral of those Seas for the Crown of *Portugal* had writ him Word, that he had Orders from his Majesty to repair to *Ternate*; but that he did not expect the Viceroy would let him out, as was requisite for that Expedition. *Don Pedro* answer'd him, to his Content, with Assurance, that he should be supported. These Letters came to the Hands of the *Portuguese* Admiral at *Malaca*, when he was ready to set out. He presently answer'd both those of the 22d of *September*, and the 22d of *December*, signifying how acceptable they were to him. Because, says he, I love your Lordship entirely, tho' I have never seen you, on Account of your being a brave Commander, and so zealous for his Majesty's Service; not to mention other Reasons for which I am yours. I was much troubled for the Loss of the Ship, and the ill Fortune of the other, for

Furtado's  
Letter to  
Don Pedro  
concerning  
the Expedi-  
tion.

the want you will find of the Return you expected by them: But it is to be supposed, that the Viceroy of New-Spain, seeing how long those Ships were missing, would impute it to some very considerable Causes, and therefore will assist you Powerfully, for nothing less can be expected from such a Viceroy, who, I am told, is a very worthy Gentleman. I am experimentally sensible of what your Lordship writes to me; for after being in those Parts five Years, without receiving any Succours from India, when I expected these Disorders should end, and considerable Supplies would be sent me, the Viceroy furnish'd me so poorly, as will appear to your Lordship by the List of what he sends, and thence you may infer, how his Majesty is serv'd in those Parts, that your Lordship may acquaint him with it, and we may joyntly so order it, that all this may not be overthrown in one Hour.

Then he complains, That they have not sent him his Majesty's Letter, nor the Archbishop of Goa had not receiv'd his; and says, *He had rather be at Plow in Old Castile, than a Witness to the ill Disposition of what is committed to his Charge:* And proceeding, says thus, *Your Lordship tells me, That as soon as I draw near the Moluccos, you will do me the favour to have in readiness for me 300 Soldiers, with Captain Gallinato, and another Captain, and two Galleys, four Brigantines, and all the Carcoas that shall be requisite. I know not what his Majesty appoints for me; but, for the Sins of these Dominions, Time has put Things into such a Posture, that I must be forc'd to repair to the Moluccos, as well to recover what is Lost, as to save what is Gain'd, which cannot be done, unless both Powers, from hence and thence, be United. Twelve Dutch Ships anchor'd this Year at the Bar of Goa: They took the Viceroy so unprovided, that they lay at Anchor a Month at the said Bar, without any Attempt made to remove them. They made great Havock amongst the Merchants Ships on the Coast of India, without any Opposition. They came from the other Sea, by the Back of Sumatra, to the Straights of Sunda. Seven of them arriv'd at Amboyna, the others being Baseness of a Portu- guese Governour.* *then parted from them. When they enter'd over the Bar, the Governour sent two Men, to ask, whether Don Emanuel was aboard. The Ships hearing it, went and Anchor'd under the Fort. Then the Governour sent three or four other Men, who made the Agreement for the surrendering of the Fort. When it was sign'd the Dutch drew near; the Gates were open'd to them, and they admitted without standing one Musket Shot, or firing a Cannon. They took an Oath of Fidelity to Prince Maurice, and the Governour after committing the Treason, commanded a Black of his own to put him into Irons, saying, The People of the Town had done it. Since that he came hither, and skulks about the Mountains, and I am very earnest to take him, that I may make an Example of him. I have already secur'd some of the Marry'd Men that came hither, being fully convinc'd that the Governour and they are Enemies and Traytors. When the Dutch were possess'd of the Fort, they put more Cannon into it, with a Garrison of 140 Men, and Provisions for two Years. I have also received Intelligence, That they sent five Ships against Tydore; and I am very jealous of that Place, because of the Divisions there; wherefore I immediately sent away two Gallies, well Man'd, Arm'd, and Provided. God grant they find that Fort in the King's Possession. Thus, if his Majesty well send hither the Galeons he writes of, and commands me to serve him in these Southern Parts, I must of necessity go over that way; for since*

Amboyna



Amboyna is in the Possession of the Dutch, we may conclude Tydore will soon follow. If they extend their Dominion, from that Port, which God avert, they will thence put an End to the Affairs of the Moluccos, and of China, and with the Assistance of the Ternates must of necessity Insest those Parts about Manila; and therefore we are all oblig'd, as Christians, and his Majesty's Subjects, to Oppose such a mighty Misfortune. And since the Lot has fallen between your Lordship, and this Soldier of yours, we seem to be in some measure both of us under an Obligation to spare no Pains for the Recovering of those Parts of the Molucco Islands. For my part I will labour for the Success, tho' I were to lose ten Lives, if I had so many. But because I shall not have an Opportunity to send your Lordship Intelligence, till a Year hence, I now intreat you to have what Soldiers you can in Readiness, and the greatest Number of Natives, that we may not fall short when the work is half done, and be forced, for want of them, to put our selves into the Hands, and expect the Assistance of Traitors. The same I beg, as to Provisions; for there are none where I am at present. But since Captain Gallinato has seen all, and knows what is Necessary in those Parts, whereof he has before now given your Lordship ample Information, it will be needless to repeat it in this, being your Lordship tells me in yours, you do me the Favour to appoint him for my Companion; and he is so able a Commander, that when your Lordship orders him to prepare for this Expedition, he will take with him all he thinks proper for it. Tho' his Majesty should send several Galeons, and many Men, I shall not be able to do any thing with them in those Parts, because the main Thing there, is to have Vessels that Row, and Men that have Serv'd, whereof I am very destitute. From India none can come, tho' the Viceroy were never so willing to furnish me. However, confiding in your Lordships Worth, and in what you have signify'd to me by Letter, I will undertake this Expedition, believing I shall find all Things in such Readiness, that they will set out from thence the Moment your Lordship receives Advice from me. I am told your Lordship expects a Gentleman in those Parts, who comes to Conquer Cambaxa. If he happens to come, I must put your Lordship in Mind, that the best Conquest is that of the Moluccos, where his Majesty's Forts will be restor'd, and there the said Gentleman may shew his Valour, and merit a considerable Reward from the King. Before the Dutch came to Amboyna, two English Ships pass'd by that Island, which sent a Letter to the Governor of the Fort, to acquaint him, that the Dutch were coming after them, with a Design to possess themselves of the said Fort, and therefore they advis'd him to behave himself well, because the Dutch they spoke of, were a poor faint-hearted People. That, if they had Occasion for Powder, Ball, and all other Necessaries, they were ready to supply him, because they were then at Peace with Spain, and the Constable of Castile was already sent into England, by his Majesty, to Ratify it: And the Post-Master-General was Embassador in Ordinary. This Intelligence leaves the Rebels no pretence to any Excuse. Furtado's Letter goes on, to other Particulars, recommending Religious Men, and Commanders and he concludes with Abundance of Compliments, and Courteous Expressions.

Don Pedro having receiv'd these Letters, order'd and hasten'd all necessary Preparations, with the utmost Diligence, pressing the Business in Spain, and with the Viceroy at Mexico, and thought all Delays tedious; but the

Approbation

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Approbation of his Advice, and the Supplies to put it in Execution, being to come from a Center so remote, and where there lay an Obligation of being no less attentive to all Parts of the Circumference, the Expedition could not possibly be brought about sooner. Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, whose Intelligence in this Affair, was always very material, had presently Intimation of what had been resolv'd on, by Letters from *Don Pedro*; and he was so diligent in promoting it, that to advance this Cause, he cross'd the greatest Oceans as readily, as if they had been the Narrow-Seas, which part those Islands; having solicited the Viceroy at *Mexico*, and then the Counsellors, and Ministers of State in *Spain*. His Arguments and Motives were the same we have several Times mention'd in this Work. Dividing the Wealth of the South into three fixt Kinds, precious Stones, and Pearls, Metals, and Spice, and Drugs; all which were distributed among Enemies, *English* and *Dutch*. That the King had no Spice left, but only that of *Tylore*, which must be lost, unless speedily and powerfully supported, and the same Forces would recover *Ternate*, *Banda*, *Amboyna*, and what had been held in *Celebes*, *Batocchina*, and the Places wrested by the Tyrants of *Sumatra*. All this the Jesuit made out by Demonstration, for he ground not the least Information upon any thing less than Experience.

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*Matan*, in *Java*, suppos'd to be our Friend and Contederate; but he was liv'd; for that Infidel was so far from espousing our Party, that he had a up with the King of *Sunda*, whom he intended, and afterwards actu- did succour with 30000 Men. This did not dismay *Furtado*, but he Sails for Sunda. he on towards *Sunda*, referring the Punishment of the King of *Palimban* another Time: There, on the Bar, he discover'd seven Dutch Ships, he pursu'd, tho' to little purpose, they being excellent Sailers. How- the Galeon Commanded by *Thomas de Souza Aronches*, fought five of killing many Dutch, without losing one Man; but her Rigging was and she could not board the Enemy, who fled, drawing our Ships af- hem in such manner, that *Furtado* could not possibly recover the Bar, he anchor'd in a Road, from whence he might have return'd to the

his was a special Providence, for the Enemy did not seem dispos'd to Arrives at Amboyna. and they had already been upon both Bars; and therefore reflecting he Tears, and Groans of the Commanders, and Christians at *Amboyna*, rected his Course towards those Islands, where he arriv'd on the 10th *Library* without being detain'd by some Victories he gain'd in his . The Natives and those in the Fort were alarm'd, believing they had Enemies, but the Admiral giving a Signal, they knew the Christian . The Joy 'pread abroad, and the Shore was cover'd with People ex- ng it. *Furtado* first apply'd himself to repair the Fort, and refit the . He also built four Ships, two Galiots, and twelve *Carcoas*. Then out, without losing Time, to make War on the *Itos*, and other Towns Subdues the Itos. that rebell'd against the Fort, sending *Joseph Pinto*, with 200 *Portu- s* by Land. The Fleet sail'd round the Island, and lay a Month in the all'd *Bacacio*. *Texeira*, Commander in Chief of the Fort, went be- with a good Number of *Carcoas*, to reduce some rebellious Towns, ally those which are on the Mountains call'd *Gunos*, where there are but sweet Waters, and large Woods of Orange Trees. These Towns The Gunos submit. wledge their Fault, and came to make their Submission. Seven of of the principal Men came from each Town. Every Town brought and three large valuable Basons of bright Metal, and in them a Earth, with Branches of Clove-Trees in Blossom, in Token that they s'd up the Land, with the most precious of its Product. Some brought , and Hens, and such Fruit as their Country afforded to denote the

*Furtado* knew there was a private Alliance between the Rebels of *Am- Ten Dutch and the Dutch*, and that ten Ships were to come to take that Fort, Ships at Amboyna. whether we had left us at *Amboyna*. They were so deeply engag'd in contract, that those at *Sunda*, seeing *Furtado* set sail towards those they did the same, and on the 10th of *March*, the ten Ships ap- in Sight of the Islands, three of them coming on and treating with tives; yet for fear of us, they stood off to the Island *Rurro*, and the even to *Banda*, to sail over to the *Moluccos*. All this was known *Furtado* by good Intelligence, besides that he receiv'd from *F. Lewis* *Three of them at Ternate.* *Matz*, Rector of the Society of *JESUS*, who was newly come from , with Letters from that King, and the Christians residing there, g him welcome, and pressing that he would come to their Assistance; because



The General came to this Place on *Palm-Sunday*, order'd a Trench to be cast up, and Tents to be pitch'd, for a Defence against the Sun, and the Furtado Rain, which sometimes falls unexpected. He commanded an Enemy *Am-encamps at boynese*, that had fallen into his Hands, attended by some Christians, to go enquire into the Designs of the People of *Ito*, and to guide the Way. When they were come within hearing, and had deliver'd their Message, the Infidels answer'd, *That they were the King of Ternate's Subjects, and own'd none but him. That they would trade with the Dutch, and all other Nations they thought fit. That they would also sell Clove to the Spaniards; but that the King of Spain had a very long Neck.* Having return'd this Answer, they began to fire the Cannon. Our Men were forc'd to put up the Affront, and pass by their Fury; but the General regarding neither, order'd a Captain, on *Monday*, to view the Situation of the Place; because his Soldiers had gone up disorderly to their Trenches, and been repuls'd with Shot, and throwing of Stones, which made them retire down the Mountain with many wounded. The next Night he sent 200 Men, to possess themselves of a Mount that overlook'd the Enemies Trenches. They did so, and as soon as the Day appear'd, our Musketers pour'd in their Volleys of Shot, firing at the same Time with two Drakes, they had carry'd up with a Design to cast up another Trench, and thus they put the Enemy to Rout. The Trench was thrown up, and the next Night they remov'd the Drakes to it, drawing nearer, to make the greater Slaughter. *Gonzalo Vaz de Castello-Branco* commanded at this Pass. The Men here that Night talk'd with the besieg'd, and assur'd them, they would take their Fort the next Night, as they actually did.

*Haughty Answer of the Itos.*

*Portugueses gain Ground.*

On *Wednesday* Morning the General order'd the Drums to beat to Arms, to go up himself to the Hill where his Men were, leaving *Trajano Ruiz de Castello-Branco* below, with 50 Men, to guard the Camp; but without any Design of attacking the Fort that Day; but only to order the Men, and assign them their Posts. Whilst he was concerting this Affair with his Officers, *Gonzalo Vaz* came to them with a dangerous Shot in one of the Calves of his Legs, and five other Wounds running Blood. The Soldiers were incens'd, at the Sight of him, and signify'd they would fall on. It was given out, where the General was, that the Victorious Enemy was falling upon our Drakes, and Posts; and he improving Necessity, cry'd out, with a loud Voice, *Santiago*, that is, *S. James*, the Cry given by the *Spaniards* when they fall on. The Soldiers were so encourag'd by this Cry, that they immediately gave the Assault, with much Fury and Alacrity, climbing those smooth Rocks, upon their Hands and Feet: The Barbarians Drums and Bag-Pipes rattled in their Ears, and the Noise of their Cannon and small Shot echo'd among all the Rocks. The Enemy threw Stones, which wounded, and knock'd down our Men, and many tumbled; without being able to help themselves: Some single Stones carry'd two or three Men down the Side of a Hill, till they stopp'd at some Tree. A Captain was stunn'd with a Pebble, tho' he receiv'd it on a Steel Buckler; but he soon recover'd, and was seen upon the Enemies Works. The Cries and Shouts rent the Air. Many tumbling down forc'd out the sharp Pointed Stakes that were drove into the Ground; and presently after, as they had flown, were seen Fighting above. Those who were left to guard

*They attack the Enemies Fort.*

*The Fort taken.* the Camp, look'd on with Emulation. Among them a Religious Man of the Order of *S. Dominick*, fell on his Knees to say the Litany, all the Men answering, and God heard him, for before it was ended, they saw our Colours display'd above, and the Enemies cast down, the Fort and Works being Demolish'd.

*Amboynese abandoned their highest Fort.* A brave Christian, who carry'd the foremost of our Colours, was laid hold of by an *Amboynese*, yet he, tho' shot thro' the Body with a Musket-Ball, whereof he soon after Dy'd, defended them bravely. However, notwithstanding his Resistance, and that his Captain came to his Succour, the Infidel carry'd off a Part of the Staff, which was recover'd when the Victory was gain'd. The *Amboyneses*, seeing their Works taken, and their Colours dragg'd about, withdrew to the upper-Part, leaving only three Men behind them, who dy'd Fighting, with honourable Obstinacy. They did not fortifie themselves in that Place, but abandoning their Town and Goods, and slipping down Precipices, and upright Heights with Ropes, made their Escapes; and though they burnt some of their Goods, yet many of value remain'd. The General gave Order for curing of the wounded Men, which were above 200, besides those run through by the sharp Stakes pitch'd all about the Field.

*The Towns submit.* The gaining of this Victory did so discourage all the Islanders, that they refus'd to take up Arms, or hazard an Engagement. Nine Towns submitted at once, the next day, and the Territory about did the same. The General came down Victorious, and erected Arbours in those Delightful Woods, with an Altar, on which Mass was sung on Easter-Day, and all the Office of the Church, with much Solemnity, in Thanksgiving, assigning the Sovereignty to that Lord, who grants, or takes away Victory, according to his secret Judgements. The *Dutch Fort* was raz'd, where, in several Places, were to be seen Escutcheons, with the Arms of Count *Maurice*. The King of *Ito* came and submitted himself; his Name, whilst an Idolater, was *Talere*, afterwards *Don Melchior*, for he was a Renegado Christian, and fled at the taking of *Rosatelo*. He deliver'd himself up, as also a famous *Cazix* he brought with him, who was a Man of much Reputation among them.

*Dutch Fort raz'd* To this Victory *Furtado* resolv'd to add those he expected at *Veranula*, a large City, and Neighbouring Island. He sail'd from *Amboyna* with all the Fleet, and arriv'd at *Veranula*, and the City of the same Name, which is populous, and its Territory the most fruitful in Clove of any in those Parts. It is built along the shore on a high and upright Rock, which look'd like a Wall, with Towers, and Stories. The Houses are high, Roof'd, with Galleries. There is a Mosque that has three Isles, with a stately Room to read the *Alcoran* in. Within the City was the *Dutch Fort*, conveniently seated, built of Stone, round, and cover'd. Beyond that was also another Stone Fort, with several saliant Angles, Ravelins, and Guerites. This belong'd to the King of *Ternate*, who was Tyrant of that Part of *Veranula*. As soon as our Fleet anchor'd before the City, the Prime Men of it came to acquaint the General, That they were willing to submit, but knew not how to do it, for Fear of the *Ternates*; and therefore desir'd he would let them assemble their Council, and they would return the next Day with their Answer. *Furtado* granted their Request, sending two *Amboyneses*

boyneses of Note along with them. They return'd no Answer, but fled, not daring to stand the Fury of those who came Victorious. They fir'd a Gun for a Signal of what they were doing, and the General being assur'd of their Flight, order'd the Men to land and plunder the City. The Inhabitants had before secur'd the best of their Effects, and yet in some Houses they found above the value of 30000 Crowns, and in others less, besides many Goods of value; abundance of Brass Drakes and Muskets; China Ware; and Silks; Dutch Glasses, and great Store of Royal-Cloves. After plundering the City, they set fire to it, and it burnt for some Days. The Dutch and Ternatese Forts were raz'd. The General was inform'd by some Prisoners, that the People of *Veranula*, had expected mighty Succours against him from the Dutch Ships that were seen; and that there were aboard 100 Men to Garrison *Veranula*, and 100 more for the Fort he had demolish'd at *Ito*. Some of our Men pursu'd the Ternates as far as *Lacide-cavello*, a Town where they imbark'd on many Vessels, for their own Island.

After this, the City *Mamala* sent to make its Submission, and many others follow'd its Example. *Furtado* having concluded this Affair, resolv'd to return to *Amboyna*, and being upon his Departure, *Francis de Sousa Tevé* came to him, with ten Portuguese, who had been, not long before, taken by the Dutch Ships. He had met at *Banda* the five Ships *Furtado* found at *Sunda*, and here gave him some important Intelligence, showing how much he would find the Seas, in his Way to the *Moluccos*, infested by those Northern Sailers. The Commander in Chief of the Dutch made very much of *Francis de Sousa*, dismissing him with Arms and Provisions for his Voyage, but at the Price of 500 Crowns, paid for him and his Companions, by some Heathen Towns in the Island; to whom *Furtado*, without any Delay, made good the whole Sum. The Dutch General writ very civilly to *Furtado*, desiring he would use his Men well, as he would do by the Spaniards he met with. *Furtado* return'd an Answer, no less Courteous, and sent him a Dutch Youth, who had been Prisoner at *Ternate*.

Having redn'd these Islands, *Furtado* appointed a Day for the Governors of them to come and swear Fealty to our King, that he might save Time, and follow the Course of his Victories. They came with much State, and Submission; and to secure their future Behaviour, and their new promis'd Fidelity, deliver'd to the General a considerable Number of Youths, being the Sons of the Prime Men, as Hostages. Peace, and the general Pardon, were celebrated with Rejoycings. The Preaching of the Gospel was again exercis'd with entire Liberty, and many Idolaters, and Mahometans were converted. Other Provinces came to acknowledge the Conqueror; without expecting the Chance of War. *Furtado* at *Amboyna* prepar'd for the Expedition against the *Moluccos*.

Those who fled to *Ternate*, gave an Account of the Loss of the King of Towns and Forts that King had been possess'd of at *Amboyna*; and *Ternate's* that the General *Furtado* openly declar'd he was making Preparations against those Islands, and grew stronger upon his Success. The King slighted not this Intelligence, but immediately strengthened his Fleet, and his Forts, and call'd in the *Javaneses* and *Mindanaos*, to be in readines





*Gallinas*, appointing him General, and Commander in Chief for this Expedition.

As soon as the General *Furtado* had sent away for Succours to *Manila*, after chastising and garrisoning of *Veramula* and *Ambogna*, he set sail for the *Molucco* Islands, with five Galeons, four Galliois, and 12 *Carcoas*, carrying his Victorious Men; but in those Seas Disasters are so frequent, that neither the Joy of their late Successes, nor the Refreshment receiv'd after their Victories, appear'd in their Countenances. He arriv'd at *Ternate* with this Fleet, on the 10th of *August*; but he only look'd on that Island, and proceeded to *Tydore*: There he view'd the Fort, encourag'd the Soldiers in it, and made use of that King's Person and Interest, as Prudence directed; for that Prince, tho' he labours by Words to convince us of his Friendship and Fidelity, does not confirm it by his Actions; but rather leaves us dubious, when he most endeavours to persuade.

*Furtado* left the Galeons at *Tydore*, and with the other Vessels that row'd, went six Leagues thence, to the Island of *Machian*, then Subject to the King of *Ternate*, but so weary of that Vassalage, that as soon as our Fleet appear'd, the Governours flock'd down to the Port, attended by the Natives, with their Wives and Children, and such Gifts as came next to hand, as also some Colours, which they laid at *Furtado's* Feet, submitting themselves, and delivering up their Country. The Men landed in peaceable Manner, amidst the usual Noise of Bagpipes and Basons; and the *Portugueses* having in vain sought after some *Dutch* Men, who chose rather to secure themselves by Flight, than to trust to the General's good Nature, were inform'd that they were gone over to *Ternate*. A view having been taken of the Island, *Furtado* erected a Fort with all possible Expedition, in the most convenient Place. When finish'd according to the Rules of Fortification, he put into it a Captain with 50 Men, whom he well arm'd and provided, and with them a light Vessel, call'd a *Galiolva*. Then he return'd himself, with the Rest of the Fleet, to *Tydore*, where he joyn'd all his Ships, repair'd them, and set out for *Ternate* to the Port of *Talangame*, where he anchor'd, and lay from the End of *October* to the middle of *February*, when the Succours from *Manila* came:

Some accuse him of lying still very long without attempting any thing; trying, he let slip the Opportunities, without cutting off the Enemies Provisions, or ravaging their Country, when he might have subdu'd them by the Means alone, without firing a Shot. However, when we have before us the Actions of such great Commanders, it is safer to judge they had some sufficient unknown Reason for what they did, than to attribute to their Fault. Most certain it is, That being inform'd of a Fleet of the enemies of 22 *Carcoas*, which was not far from the Island *Machian*, he did not Time, but putting 172 *Portugueses*, of the chosen Men of his Fleet, in 18 *Carcoas*, under an able Commander, he sent them to find out the Rebels. But tho' the Soldiers were so haughty, that every one undertook to fight six *Carcoas*, yet every Officer was for commanding all the Rest, and the Want of Discipline snatch'd the Victory out of their Hands. The enemy pass'd by, and they look'd on, without firing a Gun. The Barbarian Fleet, observing their Disorder, stood about nimbly, and pouring in a Volley

*Furtado*  
sails by  
*Ternate* to  
*Tydore*.

*Machian*  
Island sub-  
mits to  
*Furtado*.

*Dutch* fly  
to *Ternate*.

*Furtado*  
accus'd.

*Portugueses*  
basted  
through  
their Pride.

Volley upon the *Portugueses*, took a *Carcoas*, with fourteen Men in it, whom they slew, in Sight of their Companions, and it was good Fortune that they did not follow their Stroke. This occasion'd the General's erecting the Fort at *Machian*; whilst the King of *Ternate* strengthen'd his, with the Assistance of 20 *Hollanders*, making good Use of the Leisure of eight Months given him by *Furtado*. He then cast up Works, and provided Engines, as he did afterwards in the Sight of our Camp.

The Success  
of Don  
Pedro de  
Acuña.

When the Fleet was all assembled at the *Philippine* Islands, the Ammunition and Provisions were deliver'd to *Gallinato*, by the Judges and King's Attorney of the Sovereign Court, being 1000 Bushels of clean Rice, 300 Bullocks for Flesh; 200 Jars of Wine; 80 Quintals, or hundred Weight of Nails, Hooks, Hinges, and other Iron Work; 40 of Powder; 300 *Ilocos* Blankets; 700 Yards of *Spanish* Woollen Cloth; 100 Needles for Sails; 30 Jars of Oil; and for the Complement of Men, 200 Soldiers, 165 of them heavy Harquebusers, and the other, 35 light Musquetiers; 22 Seamen; some Pilots; one Master; three Gunners of *S. Potenciana*, and 20 Grumets. The whole Expence hereof amounting to 22260 Pieces of Eight a Month. The Governour and Sovereign Court having done thus much, they requir'd *F. Andrew Pereyra*, and Captain *Brito*, to go with that Supply, which was then in readines, under *Gallinato*, with the Colours, and Captains *Christopher Villagra*, and *John Fernandes de Torres*. The Company belonging to Captain *Don Thomas Bravo*, the Governour's Nephew, and Son to his Brother *Don Garcia*, staid behind, but the Captain went himself, and serv'd honourably in the Expedition. The Foot embark'd on the Ship *S. Potenciana*, and the Frigats *S. Antony*, *S. Sebastian*, *S. Bonaventura*, and *S. Francis*. They set sail from the Port of *Noilo*, on the 20th of *January*, 1603, and arriv'd at that of *Caldera*, in *Mindanao*, on the 25th; where receiving some Intelligence of the Enemy, they continu'd till the 28th. Then they sail'd towards the *Moluccos*, and on the 7th of *February* descry'd the Island of *Siao*, and the next Morning, by Break of Day, that of *Toalan*, four Leagues from it. There the Frigate *S. Antony* was cast away, on a Shoal of that Island, which discompos'd all the Squadron. *Gallinato* took Care to save the Men. He sent Captain *Villagra*, who brought them off, with the Arms and Guns; the rest was swallowed by the Sea.

S. Antony  
Frigate cast  
away.

Gallinato  
from Ma-  
nila joyns  
Furtado.

They held on their Voyage, and on the 13th of *February* discover'd the Island of *Ternate*. On the 14th they arriv'd at *Tydore*, where they were inform'd of the coming of *Andrew Furtado*; and therefore stay'd but a short Time to refresh themselves, being earnest to joyn him. Setting forward with a fair Wind, they came to *Ternate*, and enter'd the Port of *Talangane*, a League from the Fort, on the 16th of the aforesaid Month. The Fleets saluted one another in friendly Manner, and the Generals did the like, giving one another an Account of their Strength, Transactions, and all other Particulars till that Time. The Discourse falling out of one Thing into another, came to contesting; for *Gallinato* affirm'd, That the Enemies Provisions ought to have been cut off, by ordering our *Carcoas* to sail round the Island, which was in great Want of them, and could be reliev'd by the Opportunity he had given. *Furtado* alledg'd other Reasons to defend himself. It was thought convenient before they landed, to take

a View of the Enemies Fort, to which Purpose, the Captains, *Christopher Villagra*, and *Gonzalo Sequeyra* were appointed to make up to it in a *Caracoa*, with a white Flag, as it were to speak with the King, and propose Peace and Conditions.

Those two Officers drew near, the Enemy met them, and understanding what they came about, sent to acquaint the King. He answer'd he could not give them Audience that Day, but they might return the next. They returning accordingly, the Inhabitants of the City came out to meet them, and among them *Cachil Sugui*, *Cachil Gogo*, and *Cachil Quipate*, the King's Uncles, who went back to tell him, that those Captains were come by his Highness's Command. This Message was brought him at Nine a Clock in the Morning, and tho' he was close by the City, the Answer came not till four in the Afternoon, and was, That unless *Furtado*, or *Gallinato* came, he would not speak with any other; but that the Captains that were come might treat with his Officers, and he would stand by, and ratify what they should conclude. The *Spaniards* having receiv'd this Answer, and their Design being to view the Fort, Captain *Villagra* set his Resolution, and pretending some Occasion, went into the Thicket, whence he observ'd all that could be seen on that Side, more nicely than could have been expected in so short a Time. They return'd to the Fleet, and gave the General an Account of all they knew.

Two Captains sent to the City of Ternate.

Villagra views the Fort.

In fine, they landed, and then again *Gallinato* intreated *Furtado*, to send out the light Vessels a cruising, to cut off the Enemies Supplies; and those which went out upon his Request, sped so well, that they met a plentiful and strong Reinforcement of Men and Provisions, in two *Junks* and a large *Chiampan*, which they took, killing and taking the Men, who were Numerous and well arm'd. They continu'd to round the Island, encourag'd by this first Success, and by that Means cut off all Succours. The Enemy began to want, sicken and dye. They fed on Herbs, and other slight Dyer; and many, but particularly Women, not being able to endure Hunger, fled confidently, tho' compell'd by Necessity, to our Camp; and the rest would have done the same if they could.

The Forces land.

Famine at Ternate.

On the 27th of February, *Furtado* took a Review of his Men on the Enemies Shore, where our Ships were at Anchor. *Gallinato* said, he was much troubled to see it, because in his Opinion, they were not fit even to make that Show, most of them being Boys, sick of the Distemper they call *Berber*, unskillful at their Fire-arms, and very few of them had Muskets; but only little Fowling-Pieces; so that all seem'd to forebode ill Success. The whole Number of them was 420 Soldiers, divided into four Companies. The next Day, the *Spanish* Infantry of the *Philippine* Islands pass'd Muster, in the same Place, before *Furtado* and his Officers. *Don Thomas* led them in Armour, and with a Pike in his Hand, with all the Musketeers in the Van. After him the other Companies in Order, according to Seniority. They all form'd three Bodies, being Men of Experience, well equip'd, orderly, and of such Valour as soon after appear'd.

Christians review'd.

A Council was held, about landing, on the first of March, where the General declar'd by Word of Mouth, saying he never did it in Writing, That he had lain so long, almost idle, wholly depending on the Succour that was come; and that since *Don Pedro de Acunna* had sent it so compleat,

Consult about landing.

pleas'd it was not reasonable to lose Time. *Gallinato* answer'd, representing the *Spaniards* Fate Enterprize, and that they had provided no Necessaries to begin the Work, wanting at some Home Particulars, which were signifi- cant to them by the *Portuguese* Commanders. The Votes being taken, it was finally resolv'd to land, because all Things were in readines; per- haps they conceiv'd that the Enemies Power was imaginary, and that they would submit in the Sight of our Army. *Gallinato* was always of the contrary Opinion, because that Weakness he was an Eye-witness to, could not deceive him; and therefore that nothing might be wanting on his Part, and he was under Command, but much respected, he writ a Role of the Things necessary for the Design in Hand, setting down in it even the exact Orders for moving of the Artillery, which had not been provided till that Time. By which may be seen, said *Gallinato*, how great a De- sign was not seen in the Rest. When the Council broke up, *Purtado* the *Spaniard* he had resolv'd, that as soon as they landed, 200 *Portuguese* should strike the Ground, with one Company of *Spaniards*. *Gallinato* being a Soldier gave him leave to lead the Van, saying, he would accept of him, not only as a Soldier, as being proud of serving under him. This he request very earnestly; but *Purtado*, who knew how to value his *Romans*, answer'd, That if he went he must accept of his Company. *Gallinato* reply'd, That he should take the Post due to his Per- son, since it was of such Consequence, and do him the Favour to grant him the Van. He would not grant it at that Time, but the next Day, by the Advice of his Admiral, and therefore desired he would be content it might consist of the Number of Men he had appointed. *Gallinato* accepted the Command, and valu'd it as was due. They landed on the 3d of *March* and as they were drawing up, *Purtado* would needs place two of his Co- lours, and one of the *Spanish* in the Van, with 300 Men; the other three in the Rear; and the Royal Standard, and himself to be in the main Bo- dy; *Gallinato* was of Opinion, that all the Colours should march with the main Body, but the General follow'd his own Way.

They were  
conquer'd  
the Enemy.

In this Order they began to move towards the Enemy, *Captain De Thomas* marching by *Gallinato*, who afterwards, in a Letter to *Don Pedro* said, He this Day, and upon other Occasions, gave good Proof, that he was the Son of such a Father, and these grey Hairs of mine were sufficient honour'd with the Assistance of such a Hand, and I was well defended on several. The Enemy being above 700, kept in a strong and safe Post, in the Shore on which our Men march'd, being little or nothing, by Reason: was High-Water, and that on the Land Side there was a very high Bank and above it a rising and close *Zacatal*, which could not be broke through. *Zacatal* is a Field overgrown with such deep Grass or Weeds, that man Men, and much Cattle may be hid among them. These are much thicker than the Fields of Sedge, or Sheer-Grass in *Spain*. They call it *Zacatal* from the Word *Zacato*, signifying that Sort of Grass or Weed, which grows up almost as thick as a Reed. Along this narrow Slip of Shore which was full of Rocks, and uneven, only three Men could march a breadth, he that was next the Sea, being partly in the Water. The Enemy was possess'd of this close Pass, and a great Tree cut down for that Purpose,

Zacatal  
what it is.

pose, and lying across the Place, serv'd them instead of a Trench. Behind it, and upon the Bank, between it, and the *Zacatal*, appear'd all their Men, with Muskets, Fire-Locks, *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, *Bacacacs*, or burnt Staves, Darts, Hand Granadoes, and Stones which did not do us the least Harm. They had also five Drakes in this Post, wherewith, upon some short Attacks, they kill'd five *Spaniards*; and afterwards, as the Action grew hotter, wounded ten *Portugueses*, in such Sort that they dy'd in a few Days. *Gallinato* owns he was this Day in Danger of losing his Honour; because the Colours, and all the Rest was in the utmost Peril.

*Influence of the Ternates.*

The Enemy fought in Safety, and did our Men so much Harm, that the first Charge *Gallinato* gave, the *Ternates* fell on so furiously, as to drive us from the Ground we had gain'd. *Gallinato* look'd behind him to see the Colours he had brought with him in the Van, with the 300 Men, and found them at his Back very thinly Guarded. Thus the second Time the Shout was given to fall on, and he again oblig'd to retire, because he had fewer Men every time, and the last they were scarce twenty. At length shaming those that lagg'd, and as it were inspiring new Vigour into them, he fell on so fiercely, that he gain'd the Post, and the five Drakes. The *Ternates* lost all, or most of their best Men. *Gallinato* follow'd the Chace till he discover'd the Fort, then he halted, and order'd our Camp to be Intrenched. The work was begun, and the Enemy obstructed it twice, sending out Parties to prevent planting the Gabions, and divert the Workmen; but they retir'd both times with loss. When the Trench was finished, *Gallinato* sent to the General to come to it. He came and took up his Quarters, with all his Men, bringing the Royal Standard, and all the Colours.

*Gallinato repulsed.*

*Gains the Pass.*

*Spaniards Intrench.*

The next Day he judg'd it convenient to carry the Lodgment forward. *Gallinato* undertook it, and with his Men finish'd the Trench, within 200 Paces of the Enemies Fort. There they continu'd some Days; and it being *Gallinato's* Part only to obey, he sometimes gave his Opinion, and always did what he was commanded. He did so, when the General told them it would be convenient to carry on a Trench farther, to plant the Cannon. On the Ninth of the same Month, before the Fort had been well view'd, he went to open the Trench, with his own Men, and 100 *Portugueses*, a little above 100 Paces from the Walls, which being so near they all soon perceiv'd the danger of the Undertaking. It was the worse for the Confusion and Noise in filling the Gabions. The next Day the Cannon was brought thither, being four Guns, two thirteen, and two sixteen Pounders. These sixteen Pounders, which the *Portuguese* Soldiers call *Caneles*, are short Pieces, unfit for Battery; besides that the Bullets were made of Stone, and broke as soon as they touch'd the Wall; being only fit to fire at the Houses. *Gallinato* seeing this, told the General that since before they landed he said, he had Cannon, he should order it to be brought on, and planted in Battery, now he saw how ineffectual that they had prov'd. He answer'd, that these was all he had, having left the best in some Places he recover'd the foregoing Year; and could not bring any more such, by Reason of the stormy Weather.

*Trenches carry'd on nearer to the Fort.*

*Stone Bullets unfit for Battery.*

This being mounted, the Battery began; but being so improper for this Purpose, it was canonading the Air; for the Enemy overlook'd, and was strengthen'd by a Stone *Cavalier*, which is that of Our Lady, next the Sea,

*The Enemies Strength.*

Under it was a Ravelin, with seven heavy Pieces of Cannon which did and threatened greater Harm to our Camp. The *Cavalier* was six Ramparts four Fathom high, and a Fathom and a half broad; all which had been performed, and rais'd with Espauls, by the Contrivance of the Dutch, who forwarded it, ever since they traded with that Tyrant. On the Land Side ran the Curtin of the Wall, as far as the Stone Bull-wark, call'd *Castil Tulo*, fortify'd outwards with Massy Timbers, on which there were three large Guns, and two on the Wall from this Bull-wark to that of our Lady. All these Works look'd towards that Part, where our Men had taken up their Quarters. These Forts had also a great Number of Falmets, and Drakes; and the *Cavalier* that was batter'd being the strongest Part, where there was more Noise than Effect, the General order'd the Battery to cease.

On Sunday the twentieth, between four and five in the Evening, the Enemy sallied out of their Fort, with most of their Men to attack, and gain the Trench, where our Cannon was planted. They assaulted it in three Places, driving their Men, next the Mountain in Front, and towards the Shore. From the Mountainward came above 800 *Ternates*, with *Muscovets*, or *Cymbers*, in the Van of them almost as many *Javaneses*, with Pikes six Spans long, all in close Order. The Leader of them was a valiant Youth, call'd *Castil Anzera*, the King's Cousin German, and Son to *Castil Tulo*. Four hundred attacked in Front, and many more next the Sea, each Soul under its own Commander; who all fell on together with such Vigour, that had not they who defended it been in great Resolution, the Enemy could not miss of being Master of it. The Captains *Plato* and *Villogra* commanded in it, who defended it bravely, but *Emanuel Soares*, Sergeant to *Villogra*, *Menjo Rolim*, a Corporal, and another *Portuguese*, who behaved himself bravely, dy'd fighting, being all run through with Pikes. The Advantage soon appear'd on the *Spanish* Side, which the Enemy perceiving, they turn'd their Backs, leaving the Commanders their King had the greatest Value for, dead in the Field, and retired to the Fort. This Success gave Occasion to draw another Trench nearer the Fort, to batter the Ravelin, whence they did us Harm, with seven Pieces, notwithstanding our Work, which was carry'd on by the Captains *Villogra* and *Plato*. On *Thursday* the Trench was almost finished, and being near, made them so uneasy, that the Besieged began to batter it, with all their Cannon, but ineffectually, because the *Gabions*, and *Naupers* on the Inside, could bear much more. However, by this they receiv'd the Power and Strength of the Enemy, and the Difficulty of the Undertaking.

On the twenty first of *March* the General came to the Trench, and sitting together the Captains, *Gallinato*, *Villogra*, *Antony Andrea*, *John Almeida de Torres*, *Gonzalo de Saqueyra*, *Sebastian Suarez de Albuquerque*, *Stephen Texeira*, *Gaspas Pacheco*, the Admiral *Thomas de Sousa*, *Romão*, *Luis de Mela Sompayo*, *Jacome de Miralles*, *Don Lope de Almeida*, *Ruy Gonzalez*, *Trayan Rodriguez Castelbranco*, *Antony de Brito Fogaça*, *John Plato de Moraes*, and *Don Thomas Bravo*, and taking out a Missal, in the first Place desir'd them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangelists, that they would not speak of, nor any otherwise reveal, what he should there

there propose to them, and what should be resolv'd upon it, till effect-  
ed. They all swore, and then he propos'd the Matter thus.

I have call'd you together, Gentlemen, to acquaint you with the Condi-  
tion I am in at Present, and this Siege has brought me to. It is two Furtado's  
Speech to  
the Coun-  
cil.  
Years since I came from Goa, and during my Voyage, have spent a great  
Quantity of Ammunition, upon several Occasions; so that when we lan-  
ded the other Day we had only ten Pipes of Powder, and 29 Barrels sent  
me from Manila. Since I landed, so much has been consum'd, as is visible,  
In Skirmishes, and Battery, that I have now much less than half that Quan-  
tity. The Dead, Wounded and Sick, of our Foot, now wanting in the Camp,  
are 130; and the rest, as daily Experience shows, fall Sick very fast of the  
Distemper call'd Berber. Our Provisions, tho' we took the Rice the Frigates  
brought from Manila, are so short, that they can not last beyond the be-  
ginning of June. The Ships and other Vessels of the Fleet, in the Opinion  
of the Pilots, run a great Hazard, where they now lie at Anchor; because,  
when this Moon is out, there can be no Safety for it, by reason of the high  
Winds and Storms, unless they remove to another Place, and there is no other  
but Tydore. We see how resolute, and well fortify'd the Enemy is, since  
all our Battery has produc'd so little Effect, and if they receive any Dam-  
mage, it is soon made up by the Multitude of People. The Friendship the  
King of Tydore promis'd for advancing of his Majesty's Service, has prov'd  
so false, that he has perform'd nothing of what was concerted with him,  
tho' so reasonable, and beneficial to himself; having only been free in Words,  
but his Actions have not yet been seen. I have had sufficient Tryal of him.  
He has no other Design, but to deceive, and amuse us, that our Men may be  
destroy'd by Degrees, and so Time may consume us if the Enemy cannot. When I  
press'd him to do something, to show at this Time that he was a Friend,  
and his Majesty's Subject, he answer'd, he would; but that we must furnish  
Provisions for all his Men, because he had none. They demand Powder and  
Ball, for every trivial Undertaking, that so they may consume the little we  
have left; and when there is any Work to be done, there are no Men for  
it. Of the few Amboyneles I brought with me, for this Purpose, their La-  
bour being great, some are return'd home, others gone to the Enemy. Those  
that remain are not sufficient, and most of what has been hitherto done is  
owing to the Infantry; which is so harass'd, that it can do no Service. The  
Enemy expects Dutch Ships, and knows they are now at Banda. I have  
Intelligence that they have sent for them, and if they come they will be a  
great Obstacle to our Designs. Considering what I have discours'd of, I desire  
you, Gentlemen, and every one of you, still under the Obligation of the Oath,  
to give me your Opinions, that according to them I may resolve what to do,  
in pursuance of the great Duty incumbent on me.

Upon the Request of the Captains, the General Furtado gave in these  
Proposals in writing, tho' he oppos'd it at first. In short they were written,  
as were the Opinions of the Councillors, among whom the greater Part,  
even of the Portugueses oppos'd the General; and tho' I ought to give some  
Account of their Votes, because they had all different Views, yet, in  
Regard that most of them assented to Gallinato's Opinion, it will suffice to  
set down his Answer.

John X Suarez Gallinato, Commander of the Provinces of the Pintados, and  
D d 2 the





ly much weakened; and freighted by Hunger and Sickness. And tho' with the Help of the Dutch, and their own Hardiness they repair the Breaches, and fortify themselves with Artillery, Means may be found to surmount these Difficulties, for if there were none, it would be no War we are engag'd in.

We are sensible of the King of Tydore's Want of Faith; but what discreet Commander has not made the best of such Accidents, and wink'd at disloyal, and unsteady Persons till a more favourable Opportunity; Besides, before we landed, Notice was taken of this Princes Indifferency, and that his Design is to protract the War, rather in Hatred to Ternate, than out of any Love to our Nation. We our selves will make amends for the Want of Labourers; we will be both Soldiers and Pioniers, as we have hitherto been; for the Sword and the Spade are equally honourable in so just a War; and we again offer our selves, and our Soldiers, to perform whatsoever shall be for the Service of God and the King.

It is therefore our Opinion, that the Galeons remove immediately; that two of them Anchor between our Ladies Cavalier, and S. Paul, and batter the inside of the Cavalier, and the other two; the House of S. Paul, the Fort, and the Town. Then of Necessity the Defendants within must fly, since the Defence of the Stone Parapet, is but a meer Show, except only where it looks upon the open Country. As soon as the Galeons begin to batter, we will also batter the Ravellin before the Cavalier, where the seven Pieces of Cannon are, which will certainly be ruin'd in two Hours, because our Fort of S. Christopher commands them, and the Thickness is not above a Fathom. To conclude, My Lord, the Want of Provisions, and of Health, the coming of the Dutch, the Resignation of the Besieged, of all other Difficulties will be surmounted by Celerity. We are ready to perform all Things on our Part; it belongs to your Lordship to make Tryal of our Promise. It will not be reasonable immediately to abandon the small Remains of Christianity in the Moluccos, and the Hopes of regaining what has been lost, in vain endeavour'd for so many Years, at the Expence of so many Millions of Money, so many Lives, and the Honour of European Nations, by turning our Backs upon so holy an Undertaking.

This Answer was sent in a Paper signed by the Captains, to satisfy all his Doubts, for they answer'd others by Word of Mouth, which were started by the Portuguese Commanders to perswade drawing off; but the General Thanking both Parties for their Zeal in Advising, broke up the Council; and on Saturday the 22d, came to a Resolution, which he left to be put in Execution the next Day. That Night he drew off the Cannon; and on Sunday Night, at the second Watch, the Forces began to March towards the Shore, where the Ships lay to take in the Men. The Admiral, Thomas de Sousa, led the Van; the General and his Officers, the Main Body; and John Xvarez Gallinato, with the Captains Don Thomas Bravo, John Fernandez de Torres, and Christopher Villagra, and the Musketers, brought up the Rear. In this Order the Foot were Shipp'd off, and got all aboard by the Morning. At the same time two Dutch Men, of those that were in the Fort with the Enemy, fled from it, and came to the Ships. Among other Intelligence, they told the Spaniards how strong the Enemy were in Men and Cannon: That they had 36 heavy Pieces mounted

Furtado  
dissolves  
the Council,  
and acts  
counter to  
it.

The Forces  
Shipp'd off.

Earl of  
Lemos  
President of  
the Council  
of the In-  
dies

This was  
writ when  
he was li-  
ving.

Member of  
the said  
Council, at  
that Time.

Fr. Gaspar  
Gómez in-  
forms the  
Council.

This same Year, about the beginning of *April*, the Presidentship of the Council of the *Indies* was conferr'd on *Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro*, Earl of *Lemos* and *Andrade*, Marquess of *Sarría*, Chief of his Family, whose Royal Antiquity is well known, Nephew and Son-in-law to the Duke of *Lerma*. In his Youth he gave such Hopes; as were afterwards fulfill'd by his Actions. He was then Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to our King. The World made the same Judgment of him, that the Senate of *Rome* had in his Time of *Scipio*, afterwards call'd *Africanus*; when it made a Scruple of entrusting him with Matters of great Difficulty, because he was so young. But Experience soon made appear in the Earl, as well as in *Scipio*, that Prudence, which regulates all other Virtues, often anticipates grey Hairs. It is no Merit of the Off-spring to be descended from Noble, or Plebeian Families; but such was the Vivacity of this great Man's Spirit, and Judgment, that had he been born Meas, he might by his own natural Parts have made his Fortune. No Man can say he wanted publick or private Accomplishment. In him appears a settled Magnanimity; with a courteous Sincerity; yet temper'd with that Justice we extol in the severe Austerity of some of the Ancients. These Virtues are interwoven with Religion, a Zeal for its Propagation, and the universal Agreement, which is the Product of publick Tranquility. Thus he serv'd his King, with Care and Solitude; without Intermision, or seeking himself and his Advantage. It will be requisite to be brief in this Particular, because his singular Modesty is not pleas'd with the Soothings of Commendation; he is as averse to Flattery, as remote from standing in need of it.

The Earl found the Council fill'd with zealous and grave Men; the Lords *Benedict Rodriguez Valtodano*, *Peter Bravo de Sotomayor*, *Alonso Molina de Medrano*, Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, or *S. James the Apostle*, *Juan de Armenteros*, *Gonzalo de Aponse*, *Don Thomas Ximenes Orta*, *Don Francisco Arias Maldonado*, *Benavente de Benavides*, *John de Villagustin*, *Lewis de Salcedo*, and *Ferdinand de Villagomez*; all of them qualify'd by Extraction, noted for Learning, and having taken the highest Degrees in it. These were Counsellors, and the last of them Solicitor General of that Assembly. To which also belong'd *John de Ybarra*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, and Commendary of *Moratalaz*, and *Peter de Ledesma*, the King's Secretaries. In the Places of the *Licenciates*, *Molina de Medrano* and *Gonzalo de Aponse*, whom his Majesty afterwards employ'd in his Royal Council of *Castile*, and in those of some who dy'd, his Majesty, at several Times put in the *Licenciates*, *Lewis de Salcedo*, *Gudiel*, and *Don Francis de Texada y de Mendoza*, Doctor *Bernard de Omedilla*, and *John de Ybarra*; &c. All these amidst that Multitude of Business they demerously dispatch'd, laid all their main Designs, for the restoring his Majesty's Monarchy to its Fulness, in those utmost Limits of it; a Project suitable to the Genius of the new President. He enquiring into the general and particular Posture of all Things then depending, met with that of the *Molucc Islands*, and finding it of Consequence, and almost forgotten, inclin'd to give it a helping Hand.

Much about this Time, Brother *Gaspar Gomez* came into *Spain*, being sent by *Don Pedro de Acunna*, to sollicite that Enterprize. The Brother, several tedious Audiences, gave the President full Information of all the concern

concern'd the *Molucco* Islands, their Wealth, the great Treasure *Spain* has expended in Attempts to recover them, to restore persecuted Christianity, where it had been so much receiv'd; and what Consequence it was, that this should be done by Way of the *Philippine* Islands. The Earl undertook that Cause, as such ought to be supported, and consulted about it with the Council, with the Duke of *Lerma*, and most particularly with the King's Confessor. He never desist'd, till it was brought to bear, and in such a Forwardness, that it might be effectually dispatch'd. The Members of the *Stipream* Council, with the same Zeal, and considering the repeated Disappointments of this Enterprize, forwarded the Expedition, and all of them agreed that *Don Pedro de Acunna* should undertake it in Person. This favourable Disposition of theirs, was fully confirm'd, by the News brought a Year after, of the ill Success of the united Forces of *India* under *Furtado*, and those of the *Philippine* Islands, under *Gallinato*. It was writ by *Don Pedro de Acunna*, describing it to the Life, with Duplicates for his Majesty, and the prime Ministers, and though he left much to Brother *Gasper Gomez*, he was very particular himself.

He complain'd that they had let slip such an Opportunity of Recovering *Ternate*, and chastising the *Dutch*, who resort thither to the Trade of Clove, Mace, and other Spice, and Drugs. He represented the Danger the *Philippine* Islands were in, after that Neighbouring Tyrant's Victory; and that having more particularly weigh'd the Circumstances of that Affair, besides the Necessity of regaining the Reputation lost there, he found that whatsoever has been yet said, was short. For not to mention the principal End, which was the Propagation of the Faith, but only with Regard to the King's Revenue, he show'd, That *Ternate* being reduc'd it would be easie to subdue the Islands of *Banda*, which are above thirty, lying about a hundred Leagues from the *Moluccos*, full of valuable Mace, and possess'd by an unwar-like People, would add that Income to *Spain*, and take it from the *Dutch*, who carry all away, with little or no Opposition. He promis'd the same as to the Islands *Papuas*, which are many, not far distant from *Ternate*, some of them Subjects to that King, and yeilding him a considerable Quantity of Gold, Amber, and other valuable Tribute. Then he extended to the Great *Batochina*, or *Gilolo*, describing its Fertility, and how that Tyrannical King oppress'd it. Those of *Celebes* 45 Leagues from *Ternate*, where he had strong Garrisons. The Greater and Lesser *Javas*, whose Kings would again submit to *Spain*, as soon as the *Moluccos* were brought under. He earnestly recommended Secresie and Expedition. To convince the Necessity of both, besides the usual Reasons, he urg'd that as soon as those Rebels and the *Dutch* hear of any War-like Preparations, they spare neither Cost, nor Labour, to make all necessary Provision; and that they never sail by the Coasts of *India* without ruining, and plundering them. He affirm'd, that the General *Furtado* was no way to blame for having abandon'd that Enterprize; for as it plainly appear'd, and Captain *Gallinato* declar'd he had always behav'd himself like a brave Gentleman, and discreet Commander; but that besides the Want of Provisions and Ammunition, he could not relie upon his own Men; and that if the Succours sent him from *Manila* had been more considerable, he would have hazard-ed all with only them. He said, the King of *Tydore* had sent him great

*Don Pedro de Acunna's letter concerning the Enterprize on Ternate.*

Complaints against the General *Furtado*, and that it was a common saying with him, That before he came to the *Moluccos* the King of *Tydore* Slept, and he of *Ternate* Watch'd; but now the Case was alter'd, and the contrary might be said. Yet he believ'd he was not heartily sorry for the Dis-appointment. The same he urg'd in Relation to the Kings of *Bachian* and *Sian*. He concluded, offering to undertake that Affair in Person, provided he might be furnish'd with what was necessary, that he might not be Dis-stress'd as his Predecessors had been. Then he went on, by Way of Answer to the Objections, or Accusations of the *Spanish* Commanders, who being us'd to the Wars in *Europe*, despis'd all other Enemies, who made War without all those Engines, and Fire-Arms us'd in *Flanders*, *France*, and *England*. He says, none of those Eastern Provinces wanted any of the In-ventions we have in *Europe*; and that besides the great Numbers they have, and the Dexterity in using them of the *Japoneses*, *Chineses*, *Mindanaos*, and *Moluccos*, they are no less expert at their Bows, and Arrows; especial-ly the *Javaneses*, who conquer when they fly, and that they are not desti-tute of such Stratagems, that the *Spaniards* have need of all their Valour against them, and their numerous Armies. He owns the *Molucco* Islands can not stand in Competition, with the strong and populous Cities taken in our Parts, but that nevertheless, so many Christian Churches as have been pollute in them; the banishing of our Religion; the Persecution of its Ministers; the continual Tyrannical Practices; and Alliance of those Peo-ple, with the *Dutch*, his Majesties last Rebels, ought not to be cast into Oblivion. And that, were there no other Motive but this, the King ought to retrieve his Honour, which is concern'd for the loss of so many of his Fleets, and Commanders. It is very remarkable, that tho' in these Letters he gave an Account of the Posture of Affairs, either as to Peace, or War, of so many several Kings, among whose Territories the *Spanish* Arms appear, not without Glory; yet he insists not so much on any Point, as that of *Ternate*, which was grown Old by above thirty Years standing, to the Discredit of our Nation. From all this may be inferr'd, how necessary it is always, in Affairs of great Difficulty, to bend the entire Understanding to them, and to be in Love with the Design conceiv'd, that so the Event may answer the Expectation. He at the same Time sent long Reflections, and Projects of the Count *de Monterey*, then Viceroy of *Peru*, relating to the Execution of that Affair, wherein it plainly appear'd, by the Consonancy of the Reasons, and the Opinions of Men well acquainted with those Parts, that the Expe-dition was of greater Concern and Importance, than all the Arguments made use of upon the like Occasions do ever amount to.

*Lewdness of the King of Ternate and Cachil Amuxa.* Thus was *Ternate* bandy'd in the Councils of *Spain*, whilst at home it abounded in Trade, yet stood upon its Guard, and particularly the King, whose Prosperity gave him Occasion to indulge his Inclinations, of Cruelty towards the Christians, and private Satisfaction to himself. He gave himself up to the Love of *Celicaya*, yet being divided among so many Women, it had not the usual Power over him, but allow'd of other Diver-sions. *Cachil Amuxa*, the bravest of his Commanders, and his Cousin *Ger-man*, was newly Marry'd to a Daughter of the King of *Mindanao*, a singu-lar Beauty, not of the *Asttick* Sort, but of the *Spanish* or *Italian*. The King, who was us'd to observe no Rules, courted her as a Gallant, and as a King, persuing, and presenting her; and was soon admitted by the *In-dian*

*dian* Lady. Her Husband, tho' their Privacy for a while conceal'd his Wrong; at length, by the King's contriving to keep him abroad, and the Interposition of Time, which reveals all Secrets, found out who it was defil'd his Bed. What could the unfortunate Man do? He durst not kill his Wife, for the Love he bore her, and for Fear of the King's Displeasure. He resolv'd to be reveng'd, as if it had been in a Money Concern. In order to it, he dissembled the best he could, and whensoever he had an Opportunity to talk to *Queen Calicaya*, either feign'd, or profess'd Love, till he had inculcated it as he desir'd. He bore with the Disdain and Threats, which are the Weapons Nature bestow'd on that Sex; and Perseverance prevail'd, for *Calicaya* rewarded *Cacbil's* Love. This Intrigue continu'd a considerable Time, till the King found it out, and both Rivals took Notice of it. Tho' the King more deeply resent'd the Reprisal his King had made, to be reveng'd; yet they did not fall out on that Account, not forbear conversing together. They preserv'd Peace and Friendship in their Houses; and the King stood so much in need of *Cacbil Amuxa*, for his Wars, which in those Parts are no less frequent, than Peace, the special Blessing of Heaven, is among us, that he durst not declare against him, and what is more, not so much as displease *Calicaya*. She, as if the Abuse tolerated in Men had been allow'd to Women, justify'd herself by alledging the Wrong the King had done her in courting the other. However, the King being once in the Field, under one of their Arbours, and *Cacbil Amuxa* coming in, without his *Campilan*, or Cymiter, the Guards upon a Signal given them, handled their Arms, fell upon, and gave him many Wounds on his Head, Face, Arms and Body, none daring to defend him. He was sensible of the Occasion, and Revenge, and suddenly drawing a small *Criz*, or Dagger, he happen'd to have about him, did not only defend himself against many Cuts and Thrusts, but assaulted the *Murderers*, and with great Activity, wounded some, bore down others, and put the rest to Flight, killing four. Nor had his Fury stopp'd there, but that the King slipp'd away; tho' now his Wounds had weaken'd *Amuxa* by Reason of the great Quantity of Blood that ran from them. He was left for dead; but an Uncle of his, hearing the Noise, came in to his Assistance, with his Followers; who all bound up his Wounds, and carry'd him to his House, where he was cur'd, by the King's Permission. This was the Effect of his Fear, rather than good Nature, for all his Kindred took the Injury upon themselves, and began to meditate Revenge; which they would certainly have compass'd, and made fair Way for the Pretension of *Spain*, had not those who were apprehensive of another War soon reconcil'd those Animosities. The *Cacbil* was cur'd, but with such Scars in his Face, and so many deep Gashes and Seams in his Head, that he was nothing like the Man he had been before. So say they who knew him, and have seen him in our Days at *Manila* and *Ternate*. He was restor'd to the King's Favour, and both of them to that of their Wives, without Notice taken of the Accident, or as if it had been a Secret. So great is the Difference in the Humours of Nations.

*Amuxa*  
*Cuckolds*  
*the King*  
*in Re-*  
*venge.*

*The King's*  
*Revenge.*

*The End of the Eighth Book.*

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**DISCOVERY and CONQUEST**  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.*

BOOK IX.

*Preparati-  
 ons in  
 Spain  
 against the  
 Moluccos.*

*The Pre-  
 sident's Re-  
 monstrance  
 to the  
 King.*

**T**HE continual Application of the President and Council to expedite the Enterprize, seem'd to be a Prefage of the late ill Success at the *Molucco* Islands. The true Account of it was brought in *Don Pedro de Acunna's* Letters. The King and his Ministers were concern'd at it; but at the same Time, it was a Motive to hasten the Preparations, recover the lost Reputation, and put an End at once to that Strife. Some attributed the Miscarriage to Disagreement between *Gallinato* and *Furtado*; others suspected the Discord had been between the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Nations. None urg'd that it might be for Want of Necessaries for carrying on the Work. These Debates ended, and the President espousing the Business with the Resolution that was requisite, represented the Matter in a lively Manner to the King, recounting what the General *Furtado* had done, the Succours sent by *Don Pedro de Acunna* under *Gallinato*, and how, tho' the Officers and Soldiers did their Duty, the Success fail'd. That it was look'd upon as most certain, That the *Molucco* Kings, who still continu'd under Subjection, had acted coldly. That this Failure in them was occasion'd by a Sort of State Policy, easy to be seen thro'; which was the Protracting of the War, and making use of our Arms for their private Advantage, without desiring it should be fully concluded. That, if Means were not us'd for expelling the *Dutch* out of *Ternate*, they would become absolute Masters of the *Archipelago* of the *Conception*, and deprive his Majesty of all the Revenue of

of the Spice, as they had almost done in the most considerable Parts of India.

The King having consider'd it, approv'd of what was laid before him; *The King's Answer.* and being sensible of its mighty Importance, judg'd the Number of Ships, Men and Arms demanded, too small; and therefore added more with his own Royal Hand; without fixing a certain Proportion; and order'd, that no Time should be lost, seeming very earnest to have his Decree put in Execution. In the same Manner he directed, thro' the Intervention of the Duke of Lerma, that the Design in Hand should be carry'd on. Hereupon the Council pass'd the Necessary Orders, and the President sent Letters and Instructions to the Viceroy of New Spain, and the Governour of the Philippine Islands, that they might with the same Diligence fulfil the Commands they should receive as to this Point. The King in his Order sent to this Effect, declar'd his Will, and the Method he was pleas'd should be observ'd as follows.

Don Pedro de Acunna, my Governour, and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Court in them. On the 20th of September of the last Year 1603. I writ to you by an Advice Boat, which carry'd Galpar Gomez, of the Society of JESUS, to New Spain, acquainting you with the Resolution I had taken concerning what you writ to me from New Spain, when you went to serve in those Posts, relating to the Expedition of Ternate. Pursuant to it, I have order'd 500 Men to be rais'd in these Kingdoms, who shall be sent aboard the Fleet that is to go thither Year to New Spain. I writ to the Viceroy, directing him to raise 500 more, that so you may have at least 800 sent you for this Enterprize. I have appointed four Captains to carry them from this Kingdom; one of whom is the Vice-Admiral John de Esquivel, to be Commander in Chief of the said Men; besides six in half Pay, who are skillful and experienc'd Soldiers, that in Case any of the said Captains dye by the Way, they may supply their Places; and that they may take Charge of the Companies to be rais'd in New Spain, as I write to the Viceroy. I have appointed the said Captains 40 Ducats a Month Pay, and the Vice-Admiral John de Esquivel 60. Those in half Pay are to have 25 Ducats; and from that Time forward, the said John de Esquivel, in Case I order him to have the Title of Colonel, shall have 120 Ducats a Month; and whilst he serves under the Title of Commander in Chief of the said Men, to have 90 Ducats a Month; the Captains 50, and those in half Pay 40. The Soldiers, as well those rais'd in Spain, as those from New Spain, shall have Eight Ducats a Month; the Viceroy being order'd to send to those Islands as much Money as is requisite for a Years Pay, according to those Rates. And, if they shall be longer detain'd upon other Occasions of my Service, he shall also furnish what is Necessary, upon Advice from you. Concerning which I have thought fit to acquaint, charge and command you, that in Case this Pay of the Soldiers can be motivated, with Regard to what is usually paid there to Men of this Sort, you accordingly reform it, as may be justifiable, acquainting me, and the Viceroy of New Spain with it. However you shall make no Alteration in the Pay of the Vice-Admiral John de Esquivel, nor of the Captains, Ensigns, and those in half Pay. I have also directed the Viceroy to furnish you with whatsover shall be requisite, as far as 120000 Ducats you have demanded for

*The King's Letter to Don Pedro de Acunna.*

*Captains and their Pay.*

*Soldiers Pay.*

*The Viceroy to furnish Money, Powder and Cannon.*

Don Pedro  
to go in  
Person.

John de  
Esquivel  
to succeed  
Don Pedro.

Charge of  
Martial  
Discipline,  
&c.

for this Expedition, six Pieces of Battering Cannon, and 500 Quintals, or hundred Weight of Musket Powder. The Men from hence go arm'd with Masks and Firelocks. You must be very careful that there be due Order, Rule and Method in the Distribution of the said Money, and every Thing besides. You shall endeavour to perform what is intended, as I expect you will, with the Men sent from hence and from New Spain, and those you may have rais'd in those Islands for the Expedition against Ternate. If it be possible you shall go in Person, as you have offer'd to do, leaving those Islands in the best Order that may be. And in case the Affairs there should be in such a Posture, that you cannot go in Person upon this Expedition, you shall appoint another of sufficient Experience, and well qualify'd, to take the whole Command, for I empower you so to do. And it is my Will, That in Case you should miscarry, either going upon the Expedition, or thro' any other Accident, or the Person you shall appoint for it, that then the Vice-Admiral John de Esquivel succeed and prosecute it; and that all such as go upon the said Expedition, as well Seamen as Landmen, obey him, as they would you, if there. And I declare that in this Case, and if you should miscarry, and the said John de Esquivel succeed in the Command of the Expedition, he shall be subject and subordinate to my Royal Sovereign Court of those Islands. I have made Choice of the Captains, who have the Command of the Foot rais'd in those Kingdoms, as Persons of Merit and Service; and therefore do command you to honour and favour them as far as may be allowable, and in so doing you will please me; and that you do not reform them, nor take away their Companies, to give them to others, unless it be to advance them to higher Posts. Nevertheless, if they shall be guilty of any Crimes, you may punish them, as their Superior Officer. It is to be suppos'd, That when these Men come to those Islands, and they shall set out in the first Ships that sail from New Spain, after the Arrival of the Fleet, you will have all Things in such Forwardness, that the Enterprize may be gone upon immediately. I charge you strictly to undertake it with all the Precaution, Maturity, and Consideration I can expect from so able Soldiers; and that the Men be well disciplin'd and exercis'd, and all Things so well dispos'd, that you may meet with the wisht Success, which is of such Consequence, and you are sensible how much is hazarded, and of the great Expence that is made. You are to take Care, as I charge you, that the necessary Order be taken in the Distribution and Management of my Treasure; and that all superfluous Charges be avoided. You shall from Time to Time give me an Account of whatsoever happens, as Occasion shall offer. When you have recover'd the Fort of Ternate, you shall take the necessary Measures for the Security of the same, and of the Island. I have order'd the Viceroy of New Spain to send you Advice, as soon as the Men that go from hence arrive there, if there be conveniency so to do; and that he particularly inform you of what Force he has gather'd there, and will be effective any other Way; as also when they shall sail thence, that you may dispose Things there accordingly; and if you shall think fit that the Men be left any where, before they come to Manila, you may order it, or do as you shall think most Expedient in all Respects. Valladolid, June the 20th 1604.

After



After the Dispatching of this Order, or Letter, the Contents of it began to be executed in Spain. In the foregoing Year 1603, whilst Don Pedro de Acuña was busy in making Preparations to this Effect, an Accident happen'd in the Philippine Islands, which threatned the Ruin of them, and greater Calamities. A Fire broke out at Manila in April, which consum'd the best Part, and above half the City, without being able to save the Goods, which had been landed from the Ships newly arriv'd from New Spain, and laid up in the safest Part of the Houses, whereof 270 of Timber and Stone were burnt, as also the Monastery of S. Dominick, House and Church, the Royal Hospital of the Spaniards, and the Magazines, no Building that lay betwixt them escaping. Fourteen Spaniards were burnt, and among them, the licenciado Saaz, a Canon of the Cathedral, with some Indians and Blacks. The Loss was valu'd at a Million. It seem'd to be an Omen of what was to follow, which agreed with the Signs seen in the Sky.

Dreadful  
Fire at  
Manila.

In the foregoing March, a Chinese Ship came into the Bay of Manila, in which, as the Out-Guards gave the Account, there came three great Mandarines, with suitable Pomp and Retinue, about their Monarch's Business. The Governour gave them leave to land, and come into the City. As soon as landed, they were carry'd directly to the King's House, in Palankines of Ivory, and curious Sorts of Wood gilt, on the Shoulders of their Servants, who were clad in Red. There the Governour expected them, with the Members of the Royal Court, and a great Number of Officers and Soldiers, who also lin'd the Streets, and publick Places. When they came to the House, they were set down by their Servants, and leaving their Colours, Umbrelloes, Launces, and other Tokens of Grandeur, went into a spacious Room magnificently adorn'd. As soon as they saw the Governour, who expected them standing, the Mandarines, making their Obedience, and performing Ceremonies of Civility after the Chinese Fashion, made up to him. Don Pedro return'd their Courtesy after the Manner of Spain: They, pursuant to their Commission, with the Interposition of Interpreters, told him; "That their King had sent them with a *Chi-*  
" *nese*, they brought along with them in Chains, that they might with  
" their own Eyes see a Golden Island, call'd *Cabit*, near Manila, of  
" which that Subject of his had given him an Account, telling him, it  
" was not possess'd by any Body, and therefore ask'd of him a Number  
" of Ships, to seize it, promising to bring them back laden with Gold,  
" and if he did not he should take his Head. That they were come to  
" fulfill that Promise to their King, and to satisfy him of the Truth of  
" the Existence of so strange an Island; which being an Affair of such  
" Consequence, their King would not commit it to any Persons of less  
" Note than themselves. Don Pedro de Acuña, answer'd them in a few  
" Words. "That they were Welcome; that they might rest them in the  
" House prepar'd for their Entertainment in the City, and they would at  
" towards discourse about that Affair more at Leisure. Thus they took  
" their Leave, and at the Door got up again into their *Palankines*, on the  
" Shoulders of their Slaves, who carry'd them to their Lodgings. There  
" the Governour order'd them to be plentifully furnish'd with Provisions, and  
" all Dainties as long as they staid.

Three Chi-  
nese Man-  
darines at  
Manila.

Their Ex-  
traordinary  
Message.

Don-Pe-  
dro's An-  
swer.

*Jealousy  
of the  
Chineses.*

It is a plain Case, that the coming of these *Mandarines* must raise a Jealousy, and make it be concluded, that they came upon another Design, than what they declar'd. The *Chineses* are sharp and mistrustful, and it was not to be believ'd, that their King should send them on that Errand, nor the Fiction likely to be credited by the *Spaniards*. At the same Time, eight *Chinese* Ships arriv'd at *Manila* with Merchandize, and declar'd, That the *Mandarines* come as Spies, because the King of *China* intended to break off all Trade with the *Spaniards*, and send over a mighty Fleet of Ships that could carry an hundred Thousand fighting Men, to possess himself of that Place, and that this Expedition would be some time that Year. The Governour redoubled his Care for the Security of the City, and order'd the *Mandarines* to be well treated, but not to be suffer'd to go out of the City, nor to administer Justice among the *Sangleys*, or *Chineses*, as they had began to do, which they seem'd to resent. Then he sent them Word, that they must dispatch their Business, and return speedily to *China*. All this was done, without any Signs of Jealousy shown by the *Spaniards*, or that they saw into their private Designs.

*Second Visit  
of the  
Mandarines,  
and  
the Governour's  
Answers.*

The *Mandarines* visited the Governour again, and then he was more plain; and making something of a Jest of their Coming, said to them, That he wonder'd their King should give Credit to the *Chinese* they brought Prisoner; or if it had been true that any such Gold were in the *Philippine* Islands, that he should think the *Spaniards* would suffer it to be carry'd away, the Country belonging, as it did, to the King of *Spain*. The *Mandarines* answer'd they believ'd as much; but that their King had sent them, and they were oblig'd to come, and to carry him an Answer. That having done their Part, according to their Duty, they would return. The Governour being willing to make short Work of it, sent the *Mandarines*, with their Prisoner and Servants to the Port of *Cabite*, which is two Leagues from the City. There they were receiv'd with the Noise of our Cannon, purposely fir'd at their Landing, which they admir'd, and did not conceal their Surprise and Fear: When landed they ask'd the Prisoner, whether that was the Island he had told the King of: He, nothing daunted, answer'd, It was. They reply'd, Then where is the Gold? All that is in it, rejoyn'd he, is Gold, and I will make it good. The same Answer he made to several other Questions put to him; and all was writ down in the Presence of some *Spanish* Commanders, and trusty *Naguatatoes*, or Interpreters. To conclude, the *Mandarines* order'd a Basket made of Palm-tree Leaves to be fill'd with that Earth, to carry it to the King of *China*; and after dining and resting, return'd to *Manila*. The *Naguatatoes* or Interpreters, declar'd, That the *Mandarines* pressing the Prisoner to answer directly to the Purpose, he told them, That the meaning of what he said to the King was, that there was abundance of Gold, and other Wealth in the Possession of the *Spaniards* and Natives of the *Philippine* Islands; and if he would furnish him with a Fleet well mann'd, he having been at *Luzon*, and knowing the Country, would undertake to make himself Master of it, and return to *China* with the Ships laden with Gold. This, with what the *Chineses* had said before, seem'd more likely than the Invention of the *Mandarines*.

*The Chinese Prisoner prov'd a Cheat.*

*He explains himself.*

*Don F. Michael de Benavides*, then Archbishop Elect of *Manila*, who understood the *Chinese* Language, was of this Opinion. He had been in their Country, was acquainted with the Subtilties of the *Sangleys*, and suffer'd their Torments and Cruelties. It was presently judg'd, that the *Mandarines* came under that Colour to view the Country, and to lay the Foundation of their Insurrection and Mutiny there. These certain Judgments are grounded on the Irrational Disposition of the *Sangleys*, or *Chineses*, which, not to mention other Proofs, will sufficiently appear, by some few Periods of the long Letter *Ferdinand de los Rios*, of whom we have spoken before, writ to *Manila*, from the Port of *Pinar* in *Canton*; where he was upon the Service of the Church, and of his King. For these Infidels, says Part of a he, have the Light of Nature more clouded than any other People in the Letter World, and therefore there is need of Angels, and not Men, to deal with concerning them. For the better conceiving what a sort of a Country 'tis we are in, I shall the Chinese only say, that this is the true Kingdom of the Devil, and where he may be said to govern with absolute Power. Every Sangley, or Chinese, seems to be possess'd by him; for there is no piece of Malice, or Fraud, but what they attempt. The Government; tho' outwardly it appears good, as to Order and Method, for its Security; yet when you once have Experience of its Practices, you will find it is all a Contrivance of the Devil. Tho' they do not here publickly rob, or plunder Strangers, they do it another worse Way, &c.

This jealousy conceiv'd against the *Sangleys*, who, once for all, are the *Chineses* *Gbineses* so call'd by the *Spaniards* at *Manila*, was verify'd; for it was afterwards known, that the Captain of the King of *China's* Guards had begg'd of him the Conquest of the *Philippine* Islands, at the Persuasion of that *Chinese* they brought Prisoner. The Governour treated the *Mandarines* civilly, and mistrusted their Designs, keeping a watchfull Eye over them. However there wanted not some-body that ask'd them, what they thought of that Fellow's Invention, since they had seen that the Place he mention'd was so far from having any Gold, that there were not the least Tokens of any such Thing to be found in it; and since it was so, they ought to make him give it under his Hand, that he had told his King a Lye. One of the *Mandarines* bid him do so, and he taking the Pen form'd three Characters, which, explain'd in our Tongue, signify'd, *If the King please, it is Gold; and if not, it is Sand.* Being press'd farther, he declared, That he had inform'd his King that Gold was produc'd there, to incline his Majesty to entrust him with a good Fleet, wherewith he might take Revenge of the Christian *Sangleys*, who had done him many Wrongs. Little Notice was taken of all this, and tho' the Authority of the *Mandarines* seem'd to corroborate it, all was look'd upon as Folly, for none believ'd that they design'd to carry on a War out of their Country. The *Mandarines* return'd Home, having, as is believ'd, communicated their Project to the *Sangleys* that were settled there, who at *Manila*, and in the other Islands, were above 30000.

The same was practis'd by the *Chinese* King in the Island of *Aynao*, or *Aynan*, a most fruitful Country, and near to his Kingdom, where the *Chineses* crept in under Colour of Trade, as they did at *Manila*, and possess'd themselves of it to this Day. This Island has such a plentiful Pearl Fishery, that in the Year 1600 the King caus'd 1500 *Arrobas*, that is, 375 Hundred

Part of a  
Letter  
concerning  
the Chinese  
only say, that  
this is the true  
Kingdom of the  
Devil, and where  
he may be said  
to govern with  
absolute Power.  
Every Sangley,  
or Chinese, seems  
to be possess'd  
by him; for there  
is no piece of  
Malice, or Fraud,  
but what they  
attempt.  
The Government;  
tho' outwardly  
it appears good,  
as to Order and  
Method, for its  
Security; yet when  
you once have  
Experience of its  
Practices,  
you will find it  
is all a  
Contrivance of  
the Devil.  
Tho' they do  
not here  
publickly rob,  
or plunder  
Strangers,  
they do it  
another worse  
Way, &c.

The Prisoners  
Declaration.

Chineses  
take Aynan  
by Treachery.

*Monstrous  
Quantity  
of Pearls.*

dred Weight of them to be taken up. This will not seem incredible to such as know, that not long before, in four Months Time, he gather'd 1700, Vessels that row'd, for this Fishery, every one being oblig'd to take a *Pico*, that is, five *Arrobas*, or Quarters of an Hundred, to gather a sufficient Quantity of Pearls to rebuild a Royal Apartment that had been pull'd down in that King's Palace. He built it again, covering the Walls and Roofs with Clusters of Pearls, and Birds, Beasts, Fruits, and Flowers, all made of that precious Substance, set on Plates of Gold. The Truth of this Fact appears by an Authentick Writing, which gives an Account of it; for being likely to be judg'd Fabulous, it was requisite to authorize the Relation.

*Precauti-  
ons taken  
at Manila.*

The Governour did not altogether look upon the Design of the *Mandarines* as a Piece of Vanity and Folly, tho' he conceal'd his Thoughts; for he made some Preparations, and among the rest hasten'd the repairing of the Walls of the City; which having suffer'd much by the Fire, when the Arms were also lost, he made up that Defect the best he could, and the *Sangleys* were assisting in it. It is to be observ'd, that those People have a separate Government among themselves, in the *Philippine* Islands.

*Encan a  
Chinefe of  
great Sub-  
silty.*

At the Time that *Don Pedro*, the Governour, was most intent upon the War against the *Molucco* Islands, there happen'd such an Accident at *Manila*, as might not only have diverted it, but utterly destroy'd the whole Province. A Man was then living, who stay'd at *Manila*, when the great Pyrate *Li-maon*, of whose Life and Actions there are Printed Relations, came to *Manila*. He was then an Idolater, and, as was reported, serv'd the Pyrate in a lewd Capacity. His Name was *Encan*, born at *Semyga*, in the Province of *Obincheo*, and was baptiz'd under the Government of *Santiago de Vera*, who gave him his Surname, and he was call'd *Baptist de Vera*. He prov'd a subtle Dealer, and successfully Active; by which Means, following Trade, he gather'd immense Wealth, and was Great with the Governours of the *Philippines*. Through his Interposition, the *Sangleys* propos'd to *Don Pedro*, that he should allow them to repair a Parapet of the Wall, which was finishing, at their own Expence; for that they, as a Part of the Publick, would do his Majesty that Piece of Service; and every one of them offer'd four *Reales*, that is, two Shillings, towards the Work. This Piece of Service, and the Favour of the Citizens, *Encan* had purchas'd by good Turns, made the Suspicion conceiv'd of their Conspiracy vanish, or at least be little regarded.

*His crafty  
Practices.*

He was respected by the *Spaniards*, and belov'd by the *Sangleys*, had been their Governour several Times, and had many Godsons, and other Dependants. At this Time he cunningly kept within the City, to secure Things by his Presence; but from thence he stir'd up the People, and laid his Design, by Means of his Confidants. He thought his to know what Number of People he should find to put it in Execution, and that he might muster them in private, order'd that every one of his Country-Men should bring him a Needle; pretending he had Occasion for them for some Work. The *Sangleys*, either guessing at the End for which these Needles were gather'd, or else ignorantly obey'd *Encan*. The Needles being put into a little Box, the Number of them was so great, that it encourag'd him to undertake a far different Work than he had propos'd.

The Governour still forward'd the Work of the Walls; rais'd Men; and directed the Justices to furnish themselves with Provisions, and Arms,

to relieve the City. Near the *Parian*, which is the Quarters of the *Chineſes*, there was another Ward, inhabited by *Japoneſes*, who are Enemies to the *Singloyes*, with whom they are continually at War in their own Country. The Governour ſummon'd the Heads of them, and artfully div'd into their Inclinations, to diſcover, what Uſe he might make of them upon Occaſion, and whether they would aſſiſt him againſt the *Chineſes*, in Caſe they came to a War. The *Japoneſes*, proud of the Confidence he repos'd in them, and of an Opportunity of ſerving againſt their Enemy, answer'd, they were ready to dye with the *Spaniards*. This diſcreet Precaution occasion'd ſome Harm, for the *Japoneſes* revealing the Secret, or adding ſome Circumſtances in the Relation, it was given out, that *Don Pedro*, with their Aſſiſtance, intended to cut off the *Singloyes*; and ſome of the *Japoneſes* told them as much, that they might fly, and reward them for the Intelligence. Many of them had Thoughts of abſconding in the Mountains, the Reſt were frighted, and thoſe who intended to revolt, found an Opportunity to perſwade the others to joyn with them, and encourag'd the unſettled with fair Promiſes. In ſhort, moſt of them conſented to the Rebellion, and appointed *S. Francis's Day*, when the *Chriſtians* were all at Church, celebrating that Feſtival, for the Time of riſing. Others were for having it done at Night, when 25000 of them were to break in and murder our Men.

Don Pedro  
Strength-  
ens himſelf

Japoneſes.  
Promiſe to  
aſſiſt the  
Spaniards,  
and alarm  
the Chi-  
neſes.

Conſpiracy  
of the  
Chineſes.

Notwithſtanding their Secrecy ſome Diſcovery was made. *John de Talavera*, Curate of the Village of *Quiapo*, inform'd the Arch-Biſhop, that an *Indian* Woman, with whom a *Singloy*, or *Chineſe*, was in Love, had diſcover'd to him the Plot laid for *S. Francis's Day*. It was alſo reported, that a Woman-Black had ſaid, there would be a great Slaughter, and another Conflagration, like the former, on *S. Francis's Night*. Theſe and other Advices were preſently made known to the Governour and Council. A ſufficient Proof was to ſee the *Chineſes* ſell all; to their very Shoes, and compound their Debts, tho' this was rather lookt upon as a Deſign to be gone, than to commit any Treafon. To diſpel the Fear of the *Spaniards* and *Japoneſes*, the Governour made them ſome Speeches himſelf, and caus'd the ſame to be proclaim'd in all Parts, ingaging the King's Faith and Security; but nothing was of Force to quiet them. Three Days before the Feaſt of *S. Francis*, above 400 *Anhayes* Merchants ſtay'd in the City, becauſe they could not diſpoſe of their Goods. Theſe ſeeing the others in Diſorder, on Account of the Report, that the *Spaniards* and *Japoneſes* design'd to maſſacre them, ſent a Meſſage to the Governour, by *Chican*, one of the Provinces of *Anbay*, or *Chinchoo*, whereof that City is Head. He came to him by Night, for Fear of the other *Chineſes*; and acquainting him with the Dread, and Confuſion they were in, without knowing what Courſe to take, and therefore they came to him for Advice and Protection. He having heard him, gave all poſſible Security in his Answer, and the next Day went himſelf to talk to his Companions, whom he ſatisfy'd in a very obliging Manner, aſſuring them, that the *Spaniſh* Nation never was guilty of executing, or conſenting to ſuch Villanies. This Diſcourſe ſatisfy'd them; but ſtill thoſe who had Miſchief in their Hearts did not deſiſt. The *Singloyes*, or *Chineſes* live there in a ſeparate Quarter, which the *Arabians* call *alcheyria*; and the People of the *Philippines* call it *Parian*. On the

Diſcovery  
of it.

The Go-  
vernour's  
Precauti-  
ons.

Anhayes  
in Fear,  
aſſur'd.

Parian the Chinese Quarter. *Francis's Eve*, a great Number of them met in a House half a League from the City, where there is a Sugar Work: The House stands in a Thicket, which belongs to the *Sangleys* Governour. Those who began first to gather there, were the Gardiners of the Quarter of *Parian*. *Don Lewis Perez de las Marinbas* had Advice of it, from the *Dominicans* of *Minondo*. *Don Lewis* had Charge of the Christian *Sangleyes*, and sent Word to *Don Pedro de Acunna*. *Minondo* is a Town inhabited by *Chineses* opposite to *Manila*, the River only parting them. From *Minondo* the *Chinese* Dwellings run on, as far as another Town of the Natives, call'd *Tondo*; and in the Quarter of the *Chineses*, there is a strong Monastery of *Augustinians*, all of Stone. Not far from it the *Dominicans* have two, but wooden Buildings. The Governour, to be fully inform'd of the whole Truth, sent thither *Baptist* before mention'd, Governour of the *Sangleyes*, of whom he had a great Opinion, and all Men lookt upon him as a sincere Christian, and loyal Subject to the King. He charg'd him to speak to them in his Name, and to convince them how little Cause they had to fear, as knowing how peaceable the *Spaniards* were. *Baptist* undertook this Commission, went to the Sugar Work, which was his own, spoke to his People as he thought fit, and return'd very late with the Answer, telling *Don Pedro*, that he had been in Danger of being chosen their Chief, and that his People would have forc'd him to accept of it. That it was true, they were assembled together, and strong, but that it was all occasion'd by the Fear they had conceiv'd of the *Spaniards*; and that they had display'd several Colours with *Chinese* Characters on them, which, being translated, contain'd these Words.

Inscription on the Chinese Rebels Courts.

*The Chief and General of the Kingdom of China, call'd Ezequi, and another of the Tribe of Su, call'd Tym, following the Dictates of Heaven in this Affair, that all the Chineses may unanimously joyn in this Work, and obey them, in Order to root out these Enemy Robbers, are willing that Youchume and Quinte, Japoneses, in Conjunction with us Sangleyes, do conquer this City, and when we have subdu'd it, we will divide this Country, even to the Grass of it, equally between us, as becomes loving Brethren.*

Falshood of Baptist.

He pretended to be mightily concern'd, because they would have proclaim'd him King, and he was forc'd to make his Escape to save his Loyalty; and had deceiv'd them, promising to return. Hereupon the Governour us'd several Means to appease them, the Danger of so furious a Beginning increasing with the Number of the Rebels. The first Mischiefe he endeavour'd to prevent was the destroying of the Rice, which was then almost ripe. He appointed Colonel *Augustin de Arceo*, Major *Christopher de Azuceta*, and Captain *Gallinato* to go speak to them; but *Don Lewis Perez de las Marinbas*, who liv'd at *Minondo* thinking the Rebellion now requir'd some harsher Remedy, came at Night to advise the Governour to be more watchful, and that all the City should do the like. He desir'd he would allow him some Men to secure that Town, for he fear'd the *Sangleyes* would burn it that Night, and it was now requisite to make open War; and he must not believe they could be reduc'd by Messages, or fair Means. The Governour being impos'd upon by *Baptist*, still hop'd all would be compos'd without Effusion of Blood, and at the Perswasion of *Don Lewis* gave him 20 Soldiers, his own Servants, and some marry'd *Spaniards*, who were Inhabitants of the same Town: He distributed these Men into the most dangerous Posts of it, that the Enemy might not set Fire to it, and the Christian

*Don Lewis Perez de las Marinbas* secured *Minondo*.

*Sangleyes*

er when they lost their Goods, joyn'd the Rebels. On the other Hand, the Governour privately posted his Troops, and Sentinels; and all Men d, or dreaded the Fate of that Night, particularly the General *John* *de* *la* *Rea*, who, by the Governour's Command, was to follow the Orders he receiv'd from *Don Lewis*. Proclamation was again made, that all Men should be punishable, under Penalty of being sent to the Gallies for four Years.

avail'd so little, that, excepting 4000 Handicrafts Men, and the *Anglo* *Portuguese* Merchants, all the Rest assembled at the Sugar Work. At one in the Evening, a Party of about 1000 *Sangleyes* march'd out of a Fort, with their Arms, or Cymiters, Halbards, and other Weapons advanc'd, as also with their Axes, harden'd at the Fire at the Points; which they use instead of Swords, and are no less serviceable. These are very frequent among them in that Country, and are made of a solid Sort of Wood, call'd *Mangle*.

kill'd upon the Farm, or Pleasure House of Captain *Stephen de Marquis*, who was sent from their *Parian*, and murder'd him, his Wife, Children, and Servants, and Slaves. They set Fire to the House, and to those of other Spaniards, among which were those of Colonel *Peter de Chaves*, and of two other Men, who liv'd a retir'd Life, their Names *Francis Gomez*, and *Fernando de los Rios*. They also kill'd *P. Bernard de Santa Catalina*, Commander of the Inquisition, of the Order of *S. Dominick*. All these defend themselves, as did many more who escap'd, desparately wounded. Thence they march'd towards the Town of *Tondo*, which is divided into Quarters.

kill'd upon that of *Quiapo*, and set Fire to it, after murdering 20 Persons. Among the Rest they burnt a Lady of Quality, and a Boy, giving

rejoys, and boasting that from thence forward, the *Indians* should be made to taste the same Fate, and the *Castillas* perish.

being brought on *Saturday* Morning, that the *Sangleyes* were going towards the Town, and that the Natives had withdrawn themselves in their

to ward *Manila*, in Order to get in, or lye under the Shelter of its Banks in the River, the Governour dispos'd the Regular Troops, and those of the *Militia* about the Walls, viewing the Gates, and all weak Places. He sent Captain *Gaspar Perez* with his regular Company to *Tondo*, and order'd him to obey *Don Lewis de las Marinhas*, and to carry no Commissions, as soon as he came, the 20 Men sent the Night before, joyn'd him, and *Don Lewis* thinking that too small a Force, sent to desire Succours.

The Governour knowing he was in the right, sent the Captain *Don Thomas* his own Nephew, 24 Years of Age, who serv'd at *Ternate* in the Regiment of *Andrew Furtado*. He went over to the Town of *Tondo*, with a Company of the regular Forces, some Voluntiers, and seven of the Governour's Servants, leaving the Colours in the City. After him he sent *Peter de Arcea*, an old Low-Country Soldier: *Don Lewis* sent

word, that the *Chineses* were marching towards *Tondo*, that they were numerous, and he fear'd they would burn the Town, and a stately Church of the *Augustinians*. The Governour sent him 60 Men more, most of them arm'd with Pikes, and Halbards, the first having been Musketers. They were commanded by *Don John de Penna*, till he deliver'd them to *Don Lewis*. When this Company came, there had been an Engagement at *Tondo*, *Don Lewis* slew abundance of *Sangleyes*, and oblig'd the rest to retire; and upon their burning the Town, which began to take Fire, and the Houses

of the Church of it were consum'd. *Don Lewis* would have pursu'd the Enemy,

1000  
*Sangleyes*  
alley.

They murder several and burn Houses.

More Cruelties.

Captain  
*Perez* sent  
to *Tondo*.

Captain  
*Thomas*  
*Bravo* Succours him.

my, who retir'd to their Fort, and *Don Thomas Bravo* endeavour'd to dissuade him, saying, The Men were all fatigu'd, and that as soon as out of the Town they would meet with nothing but Bogs and Brambles; and since the Governor's Orders extended no farther than to keep the Enemy off from thence, and save the burning of the Church and Houses, and that had been done, they ought to send him Advice of it, before they proceeded, being only the River parted them, and in the mean while the Soldiers would refresh themselves, and they might hear more of the Enemies Design. Captain *Alcega* said the same, but *Don Lewis* being bent upon it, and offended to be contradicted, ask'd him, *What Hen had cackled in his Ear?* And bid them follow him, for five and twenty Soldiers were enough to deal with all *China*. *Alcega* answer'd, *He was us'd to hear as good Game-Cocks as himself Crow*; yet he would do well to consider what he did. However, *Don F. Faxan*, an *Augustinian*, earnestly perswaded *Don Lewis*, falling on his Knees, to do as they desir'd him, and not to go any farther, yet he could not be prevail'd on; but having order'd the Captains, *Gasspar Perez*, and *Peter de Arceo*, to secure some Posts with a few Men, he broke out furiously, and began to march, being follow'd by the Men, in Pursuit of the Enemy; who had already gain'd the Road, and they overtook them near the Fort, between the Bogs and the Fordable Shoals. When they came to the Fort, the Country open'd a little more. Here they began to fall upon the Enemies Rear, and they perceiving how few the *Spaniards* were, as not being above 130, drew up in a Body with two Points, like a Half Moon, and lay in Ambush among the Grass. The main Body of our Men march'd towards the Fort, and then those who lay in Ambush rising, enclos'd our Men, and fell upon them so furiously with sharp Stakes, Cymiters, and other Weapons, that they cut them in Pieces. Head-Pieces of Proof were found batter'd with a Stake. A Musketer, who serv'd *Don Lewis*, reported, that a Company of *Sangleys* fell upon him, who having enclos'd him, laid about so implacably, that they bruiz'd and broke his Legs; after which he fought a considerable Time on his Knees, till they stun'd him with their Staves, against which a strong Helmet could not defend him. They left the Ensign *Francis de Rebollo* stun'd, for Dead, and when the Enemy drew off, he made a Shift to get up and escape, with his Head cruelly cut, and was cur'd in the City, where he told many Particulars of that miserable Slaughter, about 30 more escap'd, and among them *F. Faxan*, who all got off by being in the Rear, and light of Foot. *Don Lewis* was kill'd there by the same People that had slain his Father, and with him the General *Alcega*, *Don Thomas Bravo*, Captain *Cebrian de Madrid*, and only one of all the Governor's Servants surviv'd.

The *Sangleys* cut off the Heads of the Slain, and hoisting them on the Points of their Spears, run in at their Nostrils, carry'd them to present to their *Chinese* General, who was in the Fort, and his Name *Hontay*. He, and the Rest, view'd the Heads, and set them up with much rejoicing, returning Thanks to Heaven, and the Earth, according to their Custom, for that Victory; thinking they should meet with little Opposition from the *Spaniards* after that.

All this Day, being the Feast of *S. Francis*, and the next, the Enemy spent in rejoicing. At *Manila* they were burning the Suburbs, and Houses without the Walls, and consider'd what Order they should take against

Chineses  
repuls'd.

Don Lewis  
upbraids  
Captain  
Alcega.

Pursues  
the Enemy  
against  
Advice.

Is slaugh-  
ter'd with  
his Men.

Chineses  
rejoyce  
with the  
Spaniard's  
Heads.



the *Parian*; for tho' many Thousands of *Sangleyes* us'd to inhabit it, there were not then 1400 remaining, and among them 500 *Arabays* Merchants, a peaceable and rich People, of whom there was no mistrust; the rest were Handicrafts, no Way suspected. About 50 of the others were secur'd, who had their Hair shorn, and were mix'd among the Christian *Sangleys*. These gave Information, that they had burnt Monasteries of Religious People in several Places. Some Clergy-Men, with abundance of Women and Children, secur'd themselves in the Church of *S. Francis del Christians Monte*, and some Companies of *Sangleyes* coming to besiege them, they *defend* went up into a Belfry, where having fixt a Sheet on a Staff, they display'd *themselves* it like Colours, the People appearing at the Windows, the Women and *in a Belfry* Children ringing the Bells, rating the Enemy, and bidding them come on. Our Men often firing two Muskets, which was all they had, the *Sangleyes* durst not approach, being more afraid than they had Occasion, and accordingly drew off to a strong Post, whence they were to continue the War.

The Governour endeavour'd to prevent the News of the Slaughter spreading abroad, lest it should discourage the Country; and gave out, that the Slain were at *S. Francis del monte*. He warn'd the Justices to get together all the *Indian* Servants, because there were scarce any *Spaniards* left; and sent the Factor *Francis de las Missas* to cruise upon the Coast, with three Rowing Vessels, towards the Enemies Fort, to cut off all their Provisions. The Factor perform'd his Part so well, that he sunk some Vessels, and burnt those that carry'd them Provisions. He kill'd many of their Men at the Mouth of a River that falls into the Sea, about the Fort call'd *Maduro*; look'd for the Clergy-men they were said to have kill'd in their Houses; and sent away to *S. Francis del monte*, a Party of 500 *Japoneses*, with three *Spaniards*, and two *Franciscan* Fryers, to gather the Remains of that Slaughter. In his Way, he pass'd by the Enemy's Fort, with a Design to do them some Harm, if he could, and found they had abandon'd it, returning to the *Parian*, to joyn the rest and besiege the City, being *assist* up with their late Victory. This happen'd on Monday the 6th. The *Japoneses* search'd the Fort, where they found about 200 sick and wounded *kill 200* *Chinezes*, whom they slew, and saving abundance of Provisions, burnt *Chinezes*, the Fort with all their Warlike Preparations, which could not be service- *and burn* able against the first Owners. They went up to the Monastery, and re- *their Fort* turn'd thence the same Day to the City.

The few *Sangleyes* in the *Parian* were no less apprehensive, than the greater Number in the Fort, both because they were so near, and for that it was suppos'd they would joyn their Companions, when they saw the *Spaniards* decline. Besides, it was known, that those in Rebellion had sent to desire them to come over to their Party, giving them Notice of the *Spaniards* they had kill'd. This was discover'd by a *Sangley*, who swimming over, was taken by the Sentinel on the Vessels that were in the River, who, having confess'd on the Rack, that he was a Spy, and went forward and backward with Intelligence, was put to Death. On the other Hand, it was consider'd, that though the safest Way was to kill all those People, yet it was not just to execute Men that were not convicted of any Crime; especially since they came to the *Philippine* Islands, to trade upon the

Francis de las Missas does the Rebels much Harm.

Japoneses kill 200 Chinezes, and burn their Fort.

Rebels send to stir up the others.

Spy executed.

The Journal of the ...

The first part of the ...

The second part of the ...

The third part of the ...

mation made the Day before, commanding them all to have the Palm-Tree Leaves and *Nipa*, wherewith they are thatch'd, taken off, for Fear of another Conflagration; he sent to take it off. The Ensign *Andrew Obregon* went up to this Purpose to the very Top, and there found *Baptist* hidden with his Sword and Dagger, whom some Women endeavour'd to conceal. Being ask'd by the Ensign, what he did there? he answer'd, He was taking off the *Nipa*. The next Question he was quite dash'd, and his own Conscience suddenly accusing him, he said, *Do not kill me, Sir*. The Ensign mildly encouraging, bid him go to the Governour, who expected him, and stay'd to take off the Covering of *Nipa*. Then coming down saw some Soldiers, and went up again with them. By this Time certain *Indian* Women had hid *Baptist* in a Chamber, where the Soldiers entering by Force, bound him, and he was cast into Prison among other *Chineses*. The Tryal was short, as is usual in the Martial Way, and in the mean while the Prisoners were remov'd to Captain *Gallinato's* House. Thither came a *Japonesse* Boy, enquiring for *Baptist*. They found his Pocket full of Squibs, and another Boy with a Piece of a Wax-Candle, all which was given them by one of *Baptist's* Slaves. The Squibs were all bloody, perhaps it was some Christian's Gore. He own'd himself he had so great a Hand in the Rebellion, that it was not without good Reason they would have made him their Chief. That the *Sangleys* call'd out upon his Name. That *Hontay* was troubled at his Absence, saying, He must needs be in some Trouble, since he did not come to Head them; and for this Reason he hang'd himself. Next appear'd the Ring-leaders of the Mutiny, and it was prov'd against them, That they had set up a Pole on the Place call'd *el Cerro*, or the Hill of *Calocan*, and on it a black Flag, with two *Chinese* Characters on it, which import'd *CUNTIEN*, the Signification whereof is, *IN OBEDIENCE TO HEAVEN*. Other Colours were found with the Army that fought at *Dilao*, with a Cut on them containing the *Chinese* Figures of *Encan*, or *Baptist*.

Baptist Chief of the Rebels taken.

His Confession.

Why Hontay hang'd himself.

Several Religious Men, at this Time fought against the Mutiniers; but among them all, special Praise is due to the Valour of the Lay-Brother *Antony Flores*, of the Order of *S. Augustin*. He was born in *Estremadura*, had serv'd in *Flanders*, was a Slave in *Turkey* above 20 Years, and made his Escape out of the Inland Country by his Valour and Industry. He went over to the *Philippine* Islands, where he cheerfully took the Habit, in the Monastery of *S. Augustin* at *Manila*. He always show'd great Humility in Obedience, and lost nothing of his Courage in the Simplicity of a Religious Life. Him the Governour order'd to scour the River, in the Galliot belonging to the Monastery, fighting the Ships and *Champanes* of the *Sangleys*. One Night after having drove from the Shore above 200 Vessels, burnt some large ones, and sunk others, he stay'd in the Middle of the River *Passo*, to observe the *Sangleys*. Between eleven and twelve, he perceiv'd that one of the Rebels was swimming over to the City, and the Darkness causing him to mistake, he lighted upon Brother *Antony's* Galliot. He having seen him before, the *Indian* Servants had the Opportunity of laying hold of him, drew him by the Hair into the Galliot, and carry'd him to the Governour. He was put to the Rack, and there confess'd, That he came to acquaint the *Sangleys* of the *Passo*, that the next Day those

Brother Antony Flores, a brave Man.

Does good Service.

Takes a Spy.

on the other Side wou'd cross the River, and then they would all together with the Engines they had provided, attack the Wall, put all the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and make themselves Masters of the Islands. The Governour having this Intelligence, took the necessary Precautions for the next Day, and Brother *Antony* return'd to his Monastery, where he furnish'd himself with Meal and other Provisions for his Galliot. He carry'd two Muskets for himself, and drew his Vessel into a Creek the River makes, that runs by the Walls of *Manila*, among abundance of *Mangians*, which are Trees growing in any watrey Land, and so thick, that Men may easily be hid among them, without being perceiv'd. There Brother *Antony* lay in Ambush, supposing, or knowing, that the *Sangleyes* must of Necessity pass that Way, as being the narrowest in the River, and nearest to the Wall. Nor was he deceiv'd in his Expectation, for they came very early in the Morning, and were passing over in great Numbers from the first Peep of Day, till very late. The Fryer had put above 200 Bullets into two Pouches, and kept firing the two Muskets from before five in the Morning, at break of Day till five in the Evening, cooling them with Vinegar; nor did he ever see a less than a Company of 20 or 30 *Sangleyes*, that no Shot might be lost. It was concluded for certain, that he alone that Day kill'd above 600 of those Barbarians. The Governour afterwards sent him in pursuit of those that remain'd, with a thousand *Indians*, and he slew above 3000 *Sangleyes*, putting to flight the small Remains of them.

He alone  
kills 600  
Chineses.

Desperate  
Sangleyes  
kill'd from  
the Wall.

Opium  
gives  
Courage.

Japoneses  
and Indians  
fight  
the Chi-  
neses.

Fight of  
Spaniards  
and Chi-  
neses.

At this Time many of the *Sangleyes* that had cross'd the River, appear'd in the Streets of the *Pavian*, who standing in Sight of the Walls, with their own, or the Weapons they had taken from the *Spaniards* they slew, call'd upon those who defended the City, whence they made several Muskets Shot at them, wounding and killing many, for they came with in good Aim, after a desperate Manner. It was reported, they had taken their *Asion*, that is, a Composition of *Opium*, as the *Turks* do, and is also us'd by the People of the *Moluccos*, when they are to give Bartels; for it do's: and gives them a brutal Courage. A Piece of Cannon was planted on the Gate of the *Pavian*, and did considerable Execution, and no Man would have suspected that any had been there. Some *Japoneses* and Natives of the *Philippines* sall'y'd out upon the *Sangleyes*, with good Success; for they kill'd many of them, and particularly such as had been wounded by the small Shot, and Brass Guns on the Wall. They thinking the *Pavian* was a Shelter for Cowards, set Fire to it, and went out to fight the *Japoneses* and *Indians*. The *Sangleyes* from the Houses, where they lay conceal'd, kill'd a *Portuguese* Captain, and wounded three others, with small Shot. One of them was *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeyra*, Commander in Chief of the *Moluccos*. The *Sangleyes* remov'd to the Monastery of *Candelaria*, that is, of *Candelinas*, whence they sall'y'd more furiously than from the *Pavian*.

On *Tuesday* in the Morning, Captain *Gallinato* march'd towards the *Candelaria*, with about 500 *Spaniards*, and some *Japoneses*. The Enemy refus'd not the Engagement, but came out above 4000 strong. Our Men made themselves Masters of a Bridge, whence they pour'd some Volleys upon them. Perceiving the Loss they sustain'd, they fell back, to draw the *Spaniards* into open Field, and serve them as they had done *Don Lewis*;

but

but tho' some Soldiers were so bold as to go into the Church, and plunder Part of what the *Sangleys* had robb'd in the *Parian*, yet some of them retir'd hastily to the Bridge, with the Loss of three *Spaniards*, and five *Japoneses*, besides the wounded, the Enemy charging them in a Body. Of the *Chineses* 460 of the boldest were kill'd, which made them flinch with Fear. The same Day in the Evening, a Party of them came up to assault the Wall, where it was lowest, bringing scaling Ladders, and other Necessaries, cover'd with Silk; but the Cannon play'd so smartly on them, that they lost their Ladders, and many of them their Lives. This same Afternoon there was an Engagement on the Side of the *Parian*, where the Enemy brought on two great Machines, like Carts, made the Night before, with Wheels, and stuff'd with Quilts, Blankets, and such Materials, to defend them against the Cannon, and small Shot. The Governour was apprehensive that they had some Fire-works, they being great Masters at them; but was soon satisfy'd, for having fir'd at them with the Piece that was over the Gate of the *Parian*, where one of his Servants was Gunner, it carry'd away a considerable Part of the foremost Machine, and with it a good Number of the *Sangleys* that crept underneath, and were on it. However they advanc'd boldly, till the Gun tore others in Pieces, and they retir'd, abandoning the *Machins*. Still the Fight grew hot about the River, and several Men went out in Boats, and others did Execution thro' the Loop-Holes. The Ensign *John Guerra de Caspantes*, sent out the *Japonese* and Native Soldiers, and they drew near to the *Parian*, under the Shelter of the Cannon on the Walls, so courageously, that they set fire to the best of it, being the Houses of the *Anbeyes*; which quite discourag'd those that were in them, especially when they observ'd they had secur'd the River, and the Boats, and taken their Musquetiers. It was judg'd that above 2500 *Sangleys* perish'd this Day by Fire and Sword, besides those at the *Candelaria*, and other Straglers. Having lost the Shelter of the *Parian*, they took up in the Church of the *Candelaria*, but the next Morning none of them appear'd. They cross'd the River on *Wednesday*, and some of our Men were drowned pursuing them too eagerly. They took the Way to the Village call'd *Tabuco*, 5 Leagues from *Manila*, which is very populous, and plentiful. Here Captain *Don Lewis de Velasco* found them fortify'd, and defended with Doors and Boards, towards the Lake *Pa*; whence he ply'd them with small Shot, and kill'd many, they no longer able to endure the Damage they receiv'd, kindled many Fires in the Night, to prevent being observ'd, and march'd away towards *S. Paul's*, a Village 16 Leagues from *Manila*, where they came so thin, that they were not above 6000, having lost very many in the Way to *Tabuco*. There *Don Lewis* fell upon them again; and pursuing them a ter they quitted the Village, was so hot, that they kill'd him four Soldiers, and two bare-foot Fryers, the one a Priest, the other a Lay-Brother.

They made a Halt at *S. Paul's*, intending to reap the Rice, which was then almost Ripe, because that is a forwarder Country than *Tampagna*. Before they came to *S. Paul's*, a Detachment of 1500 of them turn'd off from the main Body towards the Mountains of *Paco*. The *Spaniards* and Natives overtook them, and tho' they stood to it, our Men play'd their Parts so well, that they cut them all off, and recover'd Part of their Booty.

Slaughter of the Lat-ter.

Their Ma-chine de-stroy'd.

The Spaniards fire the *Parian*.

Kill 2500 Chineses.

They fly.

And are pursu'd with great Slaughter.

Capt. Velasco kill'd.

Another Slaughter of Chineses.

Rebels de-  
sign to  
build  
Ships.

The Re-  
bels  
preſt'd.

Pampanga  
de-  
ſcrib'd.

Service  
done by  
the Al-  
cayde of  
Pampanga.

The Fort the *Sangleyes* had rais'd at *S. Paul's* was of Palm-Trees, whence they made Excursions to fight, reap the Rice, and savage the Country. They thought it convenient to divide themselves into two equal Bodies; the one stay'd in the Fort, the other went away to *Vatangas*, seven Leagues distant towards the Sea-Coast, with a Design, as was thought, to build Ships, for which Purpose they carry'd Carpenters, Labourers, Tools, Nails, and all other Necessaries. The Governour reflecting on their Design, sent some vigilant Persons towards the Bay of *Vatangas*, to secure the Vessels on the Coast, that the Enemy might not make use of them, and get over to other Islands, which would have been of ill Consequence.

The Governour believing the Design of the *Sangleyes* was to gain Time, and perhaps to expect some Supplies from *China*, which might be promis'd by the *Mandarines*, before they went away; he thought it requisite to bring the War to a speedy Conclusion, because the Enemy fortify'd themselves daily, and made Excursions from their Forts, to scour the Country, and gather in the Rice; perswading the Natives to joyn with them; tho' they were so far from complying, that they kill'd all they could meet with. There were several other Reasons which prov'd that the greatest Safety consisted in Expedition, and therefore abundance of *Spaniards* and Natives, by the Governour's Order, were always in Quest of the straggling *Chineses*. However it was judg'd expedient to press them yet nearer, and not allow them Time, as they wish'd, till the Rice was ripe, since Hunger must prove their greatest Enemy. To this Purpose it was thought Expedient to make use of trusty neighbouring People.

*Pampangua* is a Province ten Leagues from *Manila*, beyond the Town of *Tondo*, over the River *Pasig*, on which the Citizens have convenient small Vessels. The Country is subject to be overflow'd, by reason of the many Rivers, and because the Natives draw Trenches from them, to water the Rice, and other Grain. The whole District is of twelve Leagues, all inhabited, and has seven Churches, belonging to the Order of *S. Augustin*. The Natives are Brave, Docible and Loyal, receive the Christian Faith, and are stead'ast in it; and richer than those of other Parts of the Island. Captain *Ferdinand de Avalos* was *Alcalde mayor*, or chief Governour of *Pampangua*, and the Governour General having acquainted him by Letter with the Rebellion of the *Sangleyes*, requiring him to send Provisions and Arms for the War, and not to leave any Enemies behind, he perform'd both Things, with extraordinary Care. He furnish'd him with great Store of Rice, Palm-Wine, and a considerable Number of Cows and Calves; and took above 400 *Sangleyes*, who being carry'd to a Creek in the River, bound two and two, and deliver'd to the *Japoneses*, they slew them all. *F. James de Guevara* of the Order of *S. Augustin*, Prior of *Manila*, who writ this Relation, preach'd to them first, and only five of them forsook their Idolatry, and were baptiz'd. At the same Time he sent the Governour 4000 *Pampanguos*, arm'd after their Country Fashion, with Bows, Arrows, Half-Pikes, Shields, and long broad Poniards. They came to *Manila* with great Shouts, and as if sure of Victory, fell upon the Enemy, who increas'd still, the more they were destroy'd.

This oblig'd the Governour, notwithstanding some Opposition, to send a Number of *Spaniards*, and *Japoneses*, with a strong Party of the *Pampangua* Indians,

*Manilas*, well arm'd and provided, under the Command of the Captain and Major *Azcueta*, a brave and vigilant Commander, well acquainted with the Country, ordering him to draw near the Enemy; yet not to engage, because they were a desperate barbarous People in their first Onsets, but to alarm them Day, and Night, on every Side, obstructing their Excursions, that so they might want Provisions, and consequently be oblig'd to dislodge, for if they could remove them but twice, he might cut them off, as it happen'd accordingly. The Major departed *Manila*, with these Orders, by the Way of the River. On Monday the 20th of October, he came in Sight of the Enemy, who was still in the Fort at *S. Paul's*, and there he had some Success. Having cast up some Works, for his greater Security, in the quarters he took up, the Enemy's sally'd out of their Fort, and some of our Men who valur'd themselves on their Bravery advanc'd to fight the *Spaniards* in their Posts, with as much Boldness, as could be expected from Men in Despair, and quite distracted. Thus being cut off from Water, straightly, when alarm'd, never suffer'd to rest, and such as ventur'd out cut off, and dismay'd, and dislodg'd in the Night very silently, marching towards *Batangas*, where their other Body was. However their Departure could not be conceal'd from the Vigilancy of our Men, who march'd after them, *Don de Herrera*, Captain of the Governour's Guard, leading the Van, which consisted of *Spaniards*, and the bravest of the Natives. He overtook the Enemy, and began to fall so hard upon their Rear, that they were forc'd to face about; and after killing above 800 of them as they pass'd a narrow but deep River, our main Body coming up attack'd the rest three several Ways, on an Eminency they had taken, and slew above 1000 more; so that escap'd perishing the next Day, so that only one was taken alive, which the Governour would have had many sav'd to serve in the Gallies; but the *Japanese* and Natives are so bloody, that neither his Orders, nor Major *Azcueta's* Severity, or the other Commanders could curb them. The Men rested that Day, having travel'd above five Leagues over Grounds full of Sedges, and Bogs; and prepar'd to proceed to *Batangas*, to fight the main Body of Rebels, carrying some Fields Pieces. The Major had discover'd the *Japanese*, because they, alledging they were not Soldiers in Pay, could not return to *Manila*. He had only 50 Soldiers left with him, and found the Enemy well fortify'd, and furnish'd with Provisions, as having been Masters of the Country. He spoke to them in peaceable Manner, as he had done before to the other Party, offering good Terms, if they would submit to the Governour; but Obstinacy had stopp'd their Ears, and excluded all Reason, so that they would not admit of any Accommodation. Our Men drew near, three several Ways with their small Shot, and the *Pampanguanians*, who were brave, supported by the *Spaniards*, who led and encourag'd them, attack'd the Fort; but the Defendants behav'd themselves so bravely, that they caus'd them to retire, with the Loss of four or five *Pampanguanians* kill'd, and some wounded. Our Men came on again, and the Captain of the Guards, who Commanded that Attack, with the Men under his Charge, and others that joyn'd him, fell on with such Fury, that they enter'd the Fort, and put them to the Sword. About 600 escap'd of whom they made an End a few Days after. Some few above a Hundred were sav'd, who were carry'd alive to serve in the Gallies. Of our Men eight Natives

*Major Azcueta sent against the Chinese.*

*He cuts off one entire Body of them.*

*Offersthose at Batangas Terms.*

*Destroys them all.*

Natives and six *Japoneses* were kill'd in those two Actions; but never a *Spaniard*, tho' many were wounded, and among them the Captain of the Guards, who had both his Thighs run through across with a Lance. On the 22d *Encan*, otherwise call'd *Baptist*, was executed, being hang'd and quarter'd, his Head set up in the *Parian*, and his Goods confiscated. The following Days the like Justice was executed on other guilty *Chineses*; and had the Laws of their own Country been observ'd, the same Punishment had been inflict'd on their whole Families and Kindred.

Thus was that Conflagration suppress'd, which threaten'd the utter Ruin of the *Philippine* Islands, and thus above 23000 *Chineses* perish'd; few above 500 being left for the Gallies, and all those Isles being restor'd to unexpected Peace. Some affirm, the Number of the *Sangleys* slain was greater, but that the Magistrates conceal'd it, for fear Notice should be taken of their Fault in admitting so many to live in the Country, contrary to the King's Prohibition; yet in vain does Subtily contend with Truth.

*Don Pedro* had receiv'd some Intelligence of his Majesty's approving of the Enterprize on the *Moluccos*; and whilst he expected to see the Effect of that Resolution, writ all the Ways he could; as also through *India*, to sollicit those who were commission'd in that Affair. Being deliver'd of the Trouble of the *Sangleys*, he bent his Mind to provide all Necessaries for the Fleet, against he should be command'd to set out; but the End of this War, was the Beginning of other Difficulties at *Manila*. All Handicrafts ceas'd, Works were lay'd aside, and Provisions grew scarce; which Scarcity made all Things dear; whereas before there was Abundance, all Things laborious being done by the *Sangleys*, by Reason that the Native *Indians* are neither willing, nor industrious at such Affairs. They had quite laid aside tilling the Land; breeding of Fowl, and weaving of Blankets, all which they formerly us'd to do, in the Time of their Infidelity. The *Parian* or *Chinese* Quarter was particularly ruin'd with Fire and Sword. That Place us'd to be so plentiful and advantageous, that when *Don Pedro* came first to *Manila*, he writ concerning it to a Kinsman of his in *Spain*, as follows.

This City is remarkable for stately Buildings, which have astonish'd us. I shall only mention one Particular, which is the chiefest, That it has a Suburb, or Quarter, full of all Sorts of Silks, and Gold, and Mechanick Trades; and 400 Shops full of this Sort, with above 8000 Men generally dealing in them; and at the Time when Fleets come from *China* with Merchandize, which is at this Season there are always above 13 or 14000 Men. They bring extraordinary Things, such as are not in *Europe*. *Don Pedro* was also afraid that the Slaughter lately made would obstruct the Trade, and that the Ships would not come as usual, with Provisions, from *China*. But the greater and more general Apprehension was that instead of Merchants, Ships of War would come to revenge the *Sangleys*. He therefore sent away *F. James de Guevara*, Prior of *Manila*, into *Spain*, by the Way of *India*, with an Account of what had been done, and of his Fears. The many Accidents that befall him in *India*, *Persia*, *Turkey*, and *Italy*, made him spend three Years before he came to Court, where he then found other fresher Intelligence.

At the same Time *Don Pedro* sent Captain *Mark de la Cueva*, with *F. Lewis Ganduilo*, a *Dominican*, to *Macao*, a City in *China*, where the *Portugueses*

*Encan and others Executed.*

*End of the Chinese Rebellion.*

*Ill Effects of the Chinese Rebellion.*

*Wealth of the Parian.*

*F. Guevara sent through India to Spain.*



gives reside, with Letters for the Commander in Chief and Council of that City, giving them an Account of the Rebellion of the *Sangleys*, and the Event of it, that they, upon any Rumour of a Fleet providing in *China*, might send him Notice of it several Ways. They had also Letters for the *Tusos*, or *Tsunas*, *Alyaos*, and Visitors of the Provinces of *Canton*, and *Chincheo*, acquainting them with the Guilt of the *Chineses*, which oblig'd the *Spaniards* to punish them so severely. The Messengers at their Arrival, found all the Country peaceably dispos'd, notwithstanding that some *Sangleys* flying from *Manila* in *Champanes*, had given an Account of their Commotions. The Coming of these *Spaniards* to *Macao* was soon known at *Chincheo*, and presently some of the richest Captains, who us'd *Manila* most, came to visit them; their Names were *Guanfan*, *Sinu*, and *Guachuan*. They being fully inform'd of the Truth of the Fact, took upon them to deliver the Letters *Don Pedro* sent to the *Mandarines*, who receiv'd them by their Means. The Merchants of *Chincheo* took Courage to trade in the *Philippine* Islands, and sail'd in their own Ships from *Macao*, with our Messengers, carrying Abundance of Powder, Saltpeter, and Lead, werewith the publick Magazines were stor'd. In *May* following 13 *Chinese* Ships arriv'd at *Manila*, and many more after them, continuing that Trade.

Message to China.

Chineses trade again at Manila.

Spanish Ship lost.

*Don Pedro* sent the Ships that had brought Supplies from the Islands, to *New Spain*: The Commodore of them was cast away, and not a Man nor a Plank sav'd. He ceas'd not at the same Time to store the City with Provisions and Ammunition, that he might be at Leisure to undertake the Expedition against the *Moluccos*. Now arriv'd Colouel *John de Esquivel*, from *Manila*, with 600 Soldiers, and Intelligence that farther Provision was making in *New Spain* of Men, Stores, Ammunition, and Money, by the King's Order. All came in due Season to *Manila*; and there at that Time arriv'd the Arch-Bishop *Don Miguel de Benavides*, generally lamented by all the Country. The *Chinese* Ships that came again to trade, brought the Governour the Answers to his Letters, contain'd in three others, all to the same Effect, from the *Tuson*, or *Tsunto*, that is, the Viceroy, the *Hayton*, and the Visitor General of the Province of *Chincheo*. Being translated by the Interpreters, they were found to this Effect.

Esquivel with 600 Men at Manila from New Spain.

To the Chief-Commander of *Luzon*. Having understood that the *Chineses* that went to Trade and Traffick in the Kingdom of *Luzon*, have been kill'd by the *Spaniards*, I have inquir'd into the Cause of that Slaughter, and intreated the King to do Justice, on those who had been the Occasion of so much Mischief, that the like may be prevented for the future, and the Merchants enjoy Peace and Quietness. Some years since, before I came hither as Visitor, a *Sangley*, whose Name was *Tioneg*, went over to *Cahia*, in *Luzon*, with three *Mandarines*, and the King's Leave, to seek for Gold and Silver, which was all a Cheat; for he found neither Gold nor Silver, and therefore I beseech'd the King to punish that Deceiver, *Tioneg*, that the World might see how impartially Justice is administer'd in *China*. It was in the Time of the late Viceroy, and Eunuch, that *Tioneg* and his Companion, whose Name was *Yanlion*, told the said Lye. Since then I intreated the King to cause all the Papers relating to *Tioneg's* Case, to be copy'd, and the said *Tioneg*, and the Proceedings against him, to be lay'd before his Majesty, and I my self saw those Papers, and was sensible that all the said *Tioneg* had said was.

Chinese Letter to the Governour.

Discovery of the Cheat of the three Mandarines above.

Chineses  
punish'd  
for Fals-  
hood.

was a Lie. I writ to acquaint the King that the Castillas suspected we intended to make War on them, on Account of the Lyes Tioneg had told, and therefore they had slain above 30000 Chineses at Luzon. The King did what I desir'd, and accordingly punish'd the aforesaid Yanlion, ordering him to be put to Death; and caus'd Tioneg's Head to be cut off, and hung up in a Cage. The Chineses that Dy'd at Luzon were not to blame, and I, and some others have acquainted the King with so much; as also with the coming of two English Ships upon these Coasts of Chincheco, a Thing very dangerous for China, that the King may resolve what is to be done in two Affairs of such Consequence. We also Writ to the King, to order two Sangleyes to be punish'd, for having shown the Harbour to the English. And after having Writ as aforesaid to the King, he answer'd, What did the English Ships come into China for? Whether they came to Rob? That they should be order'd to depart thence immediately to Luzon; and to tell those of Luzon that they should not give Credit to the wicked and lying Persons among the Chineses; and that they should immediately kill the two Sangleyes. As for the rest we writ to him about, he answer'd that we should do our Wills. The Viceroy, the Eunuch and I, after receiving this Order, do now send these our Letters to the Governour of Luzon, that his Lordship may be acquainted with the Grandeur of the King of China; for he is so Great that he governs all the Sun and Moon shine on; as also that the Governour of Luzon may know how well this so large Kingdom is govern'd, whose King none has dar'd to offend this long Time. And tho' the Japoneses have attempt'd to disturb Corea, which belongs to the Government of China, that have not succeeded; but have been expell'd thence, and Corea has remain'd very peaceable and quiet, as is well known by Fame to the People of Luzon.

Japoneses  
expell'd  
Corea.

Spaniards  
chang'd  
with the  
Slaughter  
of the  
Chineses.

The last Year, when we were inform'd, that so many Chineses were slain at Luzon, on the Account of Tioneg's falsehood, we met many Mandarines of us to agree to propose to the King, that he would revenge so great a Slaughter. We said, that the Land of Luzon is poor, of no Value, and that formerly it was the Habitation of none but Devils and Snakes; and that so many Sangleyes having of late Years gone to Trade with the Castillas, they are now grown so great; the said Sangleyes having labour'd so much there, building Walls, and Houses, making Gardens, and other Things very Advantageous to the Castillas. And since this is so, why had not the Castillas consider'd these Things, nor been grateful for these good Turns, but on the contrary so cruelly destroy'd so many Men? And tho' we, two or three Times, Writ to the King as above, he being Angry for the aforesaid Things, answer'd us, That it was not convenient to take Revenge, nor make War on the People of Luzon, for three Reasons. First, Because the Castillas have for many Years past, been Friends to the Chineses. Secondly, Because it could not be known, whether the Victory would fall to the Castillas, or the Chineses. Thirdly, and lastly, Because the People kill'd by the Castillas were bast, and ungrateful to their Native Country of China, their Parents and Kindred, since they had not return'd to China in so many Years; which People the King said he did not much value, for the aforesaid Reasons; and he only order'd the Viceroy, the Eunuch, and me to Write this Letter by the Embassador; that the People of Luzon may know the King of China has a

great Soul is very Patient and Merciful, since he has not order'd War to be made on the Inhabitants of Luzon. And his Justice will appear, by his causing the Falshood of Tioneg to be punish'd. And since the Spaniards are a discreet People, how can they not be troubled for having kill'd so many Men; and repent of it, and be kind to the Chineses that are left. For if the Castillas bear the Chineses good Will, and restore the Sangleyes that have remain'd of the War, and pay the Money that is due, and restore the Goods taken from the Sangleyes, there will be Amity betwixt this Kingdom, and that, and Trading Ships shall go every Year; otherwise the King will not give Leave for any Ships to trade; but on the contrary will cause 1000 Ships of War to be built, with Soldiers, and Kindred of the slain, and with other Nations, and Kingdoms that pay Homage to China, and will make War with those People that pay Acknowledgements to China. The Visitor General's Letter was writ on the 12th of the second Month, which, according to our Reckning, is *March*; the Eunuchs on the 16th, and the Viceroy's on the 22d of the same Month and Year.

Mandarin's Threats:

The Governour return'd an Answer to these Letters by the same Messengers, in Terms full of Civility, and Authority. He gave an Account of the Rebellion of the Sangleyes from its first Rise; justifying the Spaniards for their natural Defence, and the Punishment they had inflicted on the Criminals. He tells them, no State can subsist without punishing the Wicked, or rewarding the Good; and therefore he does not repent that Execution, because it was to suppress those that would have destroy'd us. That the Visitor ought to consider what he would do, in Case the like had happen'd to him in *China*. That the only Thing which troubled him was, that he could not save some Sangley Merchants *Andayes*, who dy'd among the guilty; but that it was not possible to prevent it, because the severity of War will not allow the killing of some, and exempting of others; especially, they not being known by the Soldiers in the Heat of Action. That using Mercy towards those that were taken alive, he condemn'd them to row in the Gallies, the Punishment substituted among the *Castillas* for such as deserve Death. Yet if it should be thought in *China* that it ought to be moderated, they shall be set at Liberty. But let it be consider'd, said *Don Pedro*, that the not punishing of so heinous an Offence, may be the Occasion of their falling into it again, which would exclude all Mercy. The Goods of the *Chineses* that were kill'd are safe laid up, and to show I had no other Motive, but the Execution of Justice, I will order them to be immediately deliver'd to their Heirs, or to such Persons, as they of Right belong to. Nothing but Justice inclines me to any of these Things. Your saying, that unless I release the Prisoners, there will be Leave granted in *China* to the Kindred of the slain in the Rebellion, to come in Arms to *Manila*, does not move me in the least; because I take the *Chineses* to be so wise, that they will not go upon such Undertakings upon a slight Occasion; especially, when no Provocation has been given them on our Side. And in Case they should be of another Mind there, we *Spaniards* are Men that know how to defend our Right, our Religion, and our Territories. Let not the *Chineses* think they are Lords of the World, as they pretend; for we *Castillas*, who have measur'd every Foot of it, very well know the Lands of the *Chineses*; and therefore

The Governour's Answer, to the Mandarines.

they ought to understand, that the King of Spain maintains Wars with Kings as powerful as theirs, and checks, and gives them much Trouble. Nor is it any Thing new with us, when our Enemies think they have brought us under, to be wasting and destroying their Lands, and never give over till we have cast them out of their Thrones, and writted their Scepters out of their Hands. I should be very sorry the Commerce should be interrupted; but at the same Time, believe the *Chineses* are not willing to lose it, since it is so advantageous to them, for they carry Home our Silver, which never wastes, in Exchange for their Commodities, which are slight Things, soon spoil'd. It was discreetly done, not to admit the *English* Ships that appear'd upon the Coast, for they are not *Spaniards*, but their Enemies, and Pyrates; for which Reason they should have been punish'd, had they come to *Manila*. To conclude, for as much as we *Spaniards* always justify our Proceedings, and value our selves upon the Worlds not being able to say, we Usurp the Right of others, or make War on our Friends, what is here promis'd shall be perform'd. And the *Chineses* may take Notice, for the future, that we never do any Thing out of Fear, or on Account of our Enemies Threats. *Don Pedro* concludes, offering the Continuation of Friendship, upon new Assurances of Peace, with the Kingdom of *China*; saying, he would, at the proper Time, give Liberty to their Prisoners he had in the Gallies; Tho' he design'd first to make Use of them, and did so in his Expedition to the *Moluccos*, which he was then preparing for; and all this was punctually perform'd.

The Em-  
perour of  
Japan's  
Letter.

He receiv'd other Letters at the same Time, from the Emperor of *Japan*, wherein, after returning him Thanks for a Present of Wine of Grapes, which *Don Pedro* had sent him, with other Things of Value, he Encourag'd him to Trade, and desir'd he would not send him any Christian Preachers, without his Consent. For, says he, this Country is call'd *Xincoco*, which signifies, Dedicated to Idols; which have been honour'd with much Commendation by our Fore-Fathers, whose Actions I alone can not reverse, and therefore it is not convenient that your Law be spread abroad, or preach'd in *Japan*; and if your Lordship is willing to entertain Amity with me, and these Kingdoms, do as I would have you. So says the *Japonesse*. *Don Pedro* answer'd and appeas'd him, so that the preaching was continu'd in his Dominions.

Dutch  
Squadron.

This same Year 1604, the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, according to their Custom, fitted out a Squadron of twelve tall Ships, well equip'd, with some smaller Vessels, and, as if they had been Lords of the Winds and of the Seas, set Sail for *India*, the known Way, arriving prosperously, in a short Time, at the Cape of *Good Hops*. All the Captains had been there before, and the Pilots valu'd themselves upon no less Experience. The Admiral was *Stephen Drage*. Beginning to visit their Forts, and Factories, in Order to take some Prizes, as well as Trade, they met with two small Ships, loaden with Ivory, at the Bar of *Mozambique*. They chas'd them, and tho' they fled again, being pursu'd with no less Swiftness, the *Dutch* Robbers overtook, and after a sharp Engagement enter'd them. They burnt the one, and mann'd the other, which was a Reinforcement to prosecute their Robberies. All those Kings, and the Commanders of our Forts, receiv'd them as Friends. In *September*, they came to the Bar of *Goa*; and lay 15 Days at *Bardes*, in as much Security as if they had been at *Amsterdam*, expecting the

Takes two  
Portugues  
Ships.

the *India* Ships. Thence they sent away a Ship to *Canbaya*, to exchange the Ivory they had not long before robb'd our People of, acting not like Pyrates, but Merchants who dispose of the Wealth they pick up by Trade, and succeeded prosperously in all their Undertakings. They sent two more Ships to *Bengula*, with other Commodities; all which return'd in due Time considerably enrich'd. Perceiving that no Power oppos'd them, they sail'd down the Coast of *Malabar*, trading wheresoever they thought fit, and took another *Portuguese* Vessel, call'd a *Foiss*, which had 21 Oars; and after unlading the Booty, they fitted her up their Way, and took her along with them.

And a Foiss.

After this they bent their Thoughts upon greater Matters, to which End they sent an Embassy to the *Zamori*, which Name imports as much as *Cæsar* among us, and he is King of *Calicut*, a Friend and Confederate with the *Dutch*. Having agreed upon an Interview, they fell to Trade, and whilst the rest attended Commerce, and private Gain, the Admiral consulted about State Affairs, concerting to carry on the War against the *Spaniards*, and more particularly the *Portuguese*. They settled the Time, and the Forces they were to joyn for that Effect. Then they diverted themselves with Feasting and Treats. At one of which, by way of Farewel, *Zamori* gave Admiral *Drage* an Emerald, thought to be the largest and beautifullest in the World. They went on, and took some Prizes on the Coast of *Java*, and among them a small Ship, in which were *Don Manuel de Melo*, Commander in Chief of the *Moluccos*, and his Wife, who was oblig'd to fight as well as her Husband, and yet they could not escape Captivity. The nearest they drew to *Ternate*, the more considerable Encounters they had, for in Sight of *Amboyna* they fell in with a Frigate coming from the *Moluccos* to Anchor in that Island, which they took, and in her Captain *Antony Machado*, her Commander. They stay'd at *Amboyna*, hoping to recover what they had lost, either by Treachery, or Force. The Year 1605 had now commenced, and they began their Work on the 23d of *February*.

Zamori signifies Cæsar.

Joins with the Dutch.

They take a Portuguese Frigate at Amboyna.

Eight Ships and six Tenders enter'd the Port, and the Fort was surrender'd to them without much Difficulty, or Opposition. They also possess'd themselves of the *Portuguese* Colony. Those People seeing the *Dutch* so strong in Men and Cannon, durst not, nor could they well oppose them. *Portuguese* took an Oath of Fidelity to the Prince of *Orange's* Bastard Son. They put the Commander in Chief into Irons, and deliver'd the Fort to the *Dutch*, alledging, for an Excuse, that they had not Ammunition to defend themselves. There was another greater Mischiefe, which was, that the Natives favour'd the *Dutch*, as their Deliverers from the *Portuguese* Yoke; and they are well belov'd there, and in all Places where they Trade, because of late they have taken this Course, not to meddle with their Religion, nor so much as mention it, unless, where any will embrace Christianity on their own Accord. They neither wrong'd nor distur'd any Body; and to show they would always maintain them in that Security, within five Days, they fitted out 40 *Cargoas*, to defend the Natives against any Enemy.

Drage takes Amboyna.

Fits out 40 Cargoas.

The Admiral pick'd out three of the Ships, and went himself with them to the Islands of *Banda*, to load Nutmeg, Mace, and Clove, there and at *Amboyna*. The Fame of this Success, and the Hatred conceiv'd against the *Spaniards*, were so favourable to this Nation, that at this Time the People

Indians well affected to the Dutch.

of *Amboyna, Ito, Veranula*, and other Places, had their Embassadors at *Sunda* to expect this Fleet, which came from Home at their Request. Before they set out from *Holland* they had receiv'd Embassadors from the King of *Achem* in *Sumatra*, to the same End. For this Reason the *Dutch* give out, that they come to revenge the Wrongs, the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards* have done to the Natives, and to restore them to their Liberty. The Designs of these perfidious People were no longer a Secret; for the Admiral *Drage* refitted five of his Ships, and sent them to the *Moluccos*, to take the Fort and Kingdom of *Tydore*, the only one that continu'd in Subjection to *Spain*; and it was publickly reported, that the King of *Ternate* would forward the Enterprize with his Ships and Men. The *Dutch* Vice-Admiral sail'd with these Ships stopping by the Way to make his Advantage, take in the Refreshments in their Factories, and lade Pepper, and other Spice. Every Thing succeeded as they could wish, tho' they aspir'd to some Matters which requir'd a greater Power than they brought. They intended to pass by the Streight of *Acapulco*, and there to lie in wait for the Ships belonging to the *Philippines* going and coming, because they knew them to be Rich, and might take them. To this End they delay'd Time, till they could be joyn'd by the two Ships they expected from *Sunda*, laden with Pepper, from that plentiful, and secure Factory of theirs.

*The Dutch  
prosperous.*

*Materials  
for Building  
in  
the Dutch  
Ships.  
Their Design  
against  
Malaca.*

*The English give  
the Spaniards Intelligence.*

*Their just  
Dealing  
after the  
Peace.*

Aboard the eight Ships there was great Store of Bricks, Lime, and squared Stones, Wheels-Barrows, and other Tooles and Materials for Building; all which was to be carry'd from the aforesaid Streight, tho' they had already began to build it at *Amboyna*, and landing a considerable Part of those Materials, they left there 130 Soldiers, to carry on the Works, and Garrison the Fort. At the Heels of this Fleet they expected another to lay Siege to *Malaca*; designing from thence to Govern *India*, as the *Portugueses* have done. In Order to this, they had before confederated with the Kings of *Jor, Achem*, and *Sunda*, with whose Assistance, and that of other Native *Sangiacks*, they were to overthrow the Power of *Portugal*; for they were resolv'd not to quit *India*, and since its Commodities enrich'd them, they would pay for the Expence of the War; besides, that they were already so wealthy, that even in *Flanders* the Soldiers deserted from the Arch-Duke *Albertus*, to serve them. Notwithstanding this extraordinary Affection, wherewith the *Dutch* are entertain'd in all those Countries, before they came to *Amboyna*, two *English* Ships came to an Anchor near by, and acquainted the Natives that a *Dutch* Squadron was coming to possess itself of the Island; but bid them not to fear, for it had none but poor scoundrel Men; and therefore they should defend themselves, offering them their Assistance, and acquainting them that the Crowns of *Spain* and *England* were then in Amity; and therefore the Subjects of them both ought to be so of Course. They fighting this favourable Opportunity, chose rather to become Subjects to Prince *Maurice*, and undergo the *Dutch* Yoke. The *English* demanded Clove, and offer'd them their own Price for it, and were so just, that they never joyn'd with the *Dutch*. In short, *Amboyna* remain'd in the Enemies Hands. The People dispers'd, many of them went to *Malaca*, and among the rest, the Commander in chief, *Don Emanuel de Melo*, with some *Portugueses*. Others repair'd to the Island of *Cebu*, part of the *Philippines* and

and other-Places, for they had all their Liberty. They all departed *Antoyna* about the middle of *May*, but without their Goods, or Spice; being positively forbid that Trade, the *Dutch* alledging it was all their own.

One of those *English* Ships sailing along those Coasts, and escaping the *They give* Ridges of Rocks, got before-hand to the Port of *Tydore*. They call'd the *Intelli-* Commander-in Chief of the Fort, *Peter Alvarez Abreu*, and inform'd him, *gence of* that they left the *Dutch* Squadron fortifying the strong Holds at *Amboyna*; *the Dutch* and that when they had reduc'd all in those Seas, they would come to fall at *Tydore*. upon *Tydore*. The Commander in Chief return'd Thanks for that friendly Intelligence; and among other Civilities that pass'd between them, desir'd to know the Motive that induc'd them to show such Kindness. Then the *English* told him, That their Kings were Friends, and to convince him of it, and the Danger he was in, offer'd him as much Ammunition as he stood in need of. They gave him Six Barrels of Powder, 100 Cannon Balls, and a Number of Head-Pieces. This made the *Tydores* and *Portugueses* begin to fortify themselves, and was the Product of the late Peace.

A Month after, four great *Dutch* Ships, and four Tenders, came to the *Iland*, where two of the King's Galleons lay at Anchor, with the *Portuguese* Ships laden with Goods and Provisions. The *Dutch* Admiral lent *Four Dutch Ships at* the King of *Tydore* Word, That if he would deliver him that Fort, and expell the *Portugueses*, he would be his Friend; and desiring he would not start any Difficulties, since he might easily do it, being a peaceable King *Their Mes-* aboard that Squadron, to force them to consent to what they now courte- *sage to the* ously demanded. The King of *Tydore* sent him a Cow, and answer'd, *King.* That he neither could, nor ought to put the *Portugueses* out of their Forts, *His An-* nor to admit of any other Nation in their Place, till they had either volun- *swer.* tarily, or by Force of Arms, abandon'd their Possession. That whilst they two decided the Quarrel, he would look on as Neuter. The *Portuguese* *Bravery of* Commander in Chief, understanding what Messages pass'd, interrupted *the Portu-* them, sending to let the *Dutch* Men know. That it was in vain to *guese Com-* talk of surrendring the Fort, whilst he was alive, and present. That he *mander.* was to treat with him, and the marry'd Men that liv'd in it about that *Affair.*

Being come to this Resolution, the next Morning the *Dutch* Ships re- *Dutch* mov'd, and went to board the *Portugueses* that were at *Tydore*; two Can- *take two* non Shot from the Fort. They fought above two Hours, and so constant *Galleons.* was Fortune to one-Side, that in so short a Time, the *Portugueses* that remain'd alive were fain to throw themselves into the Sea, and their Gal- leons were taken, one of which they immediately burnt. The next Day *Bold An-* another Message was sent to *Tydore*, wherein the *Dutch* directed the King *swer of the* to propose the surrendring of the Fort to the *Portugueses*, and he would *Portugue-* give them the Galleon he had spar'd, to carry them and their Effects, *ses.* wheresoever they should think fit. The *Portugueses* taking Courage, *Dutch and* where others would be dismay'd, answer'd; That the Loss of the Galleons *Ternates* had not daunted them; for they would rather dye all of them, than deliver *joyn and* up the Fort. The *Dutch* durst not batter it alone, but resolv'd to joyn the *burn a* King of *Ternate*, who was already set out with abundance of *Carcoas* to *Town.* that Effect. They met him a League from the Fort, and spending little *Time*

Time in Ceremonies return'd together, burning a Town of *Tydore* by the Way, came the next Morning before the Fort.

Batter the Fort and are repuls'd.

The Fort burnt.

Tydore taken by the Dutch.

They landed 800 *Dutch* and *Ternate* Soldiers, and having made a Trench with Barrels fill'd with Earth, batter'd the Fort for three Days from that Work, with two Pieces of Cannon. At the same Time they play'd upon it from their Ships, firing above 1500 Shot. The third Day they drew nearer; and the fourth in the Morning began to batter more furiously. They kill'd the Constable of the Castle, and in the midst of the Confusion, the King of *Ternate* and the *Dutch*, that were ashore, advanc'd, drawing the Cannon under the very Fort, having surpriz'd the *Portugueses*, and falling on them unexpectedly. They soon recovering themselves, attack'd the *Dutch* afresh, who turning their Backs, behav'd themselves so basely, that they ran into the Water; abandoning the Guns they had ashore. In the Height of this Success, many *Dutch* being slain, and only four *Portugueses*, on a sudden they spy'd all the Fort in a Flame, which roar'd from the Ground to the Tops of the Houses, till a considerable Part was blown up, and almost all the rest consum'd, and lay'd flat. Six and twenty *Portugueses* were burnt, and it could never be discover'd or guess'd, how, or which Way the Powder was set a fire, to cause that mighty Destruction. The *Portugueses*, who just before were joyful for their Victory, having no Walls to shelter them, were forc'd to retire to the City of *Tydore*, and the *Dutch* and *Ternates* rallying, pursu'd them thither. The King receiv'd them in friendly Manner, and he himself went the same Day aboard the *Dutch* Ship that lay at Anchor before it, and calling the *Dutch* Admiral, propos'd to him the Affair of the Fort, and that if those who defended it had Ships allow'd them, they would go away to other Parts. He agreed to it, and though it cost the *Portugueses* all they had, they accepted of three small Tenders, a Galliot that had been the King's, and a *Dutch* Tender to secure them against the *Ternates*. The *Dutch* settled Amity with the King of *Tydore*; that they should continue in his Dominions; and erect Factories, and Trade for Clove, as the *Portugueses* had done. Thus the Conquer'd having bought some Ships dispers'd themselves about those Islands. Many of them went to the *Philippines*, where *Don Pedro*, the Governour, examin'd them, in order to get Information concerning the *Moluccos*.

Dutch design to take the Ships of the Philippines.

Silva gives Intelligence of it.

*Antony de Silva*, a *Portuguese*, was one of them that escap'd from the Fort of *Ternate*, and came to the Town of *Arevalo* in the *Philippines*: Besides being a Soldier, he was also a *Naguarato*, or Interpreter. This Man gave an Authentick Relation of that Affair, and added, That being brought Prisoner from *Amboyna*, the *Dutch* Admiral having a Sea-Chart before him, look'd for *Mindoro*, *Manila*, and for *Cabite*; and being ask'd by *Silva*, why he look'd for it, was inform'd, That his Design was, in Case he did not succeed at the *Moluccos*, to try to take some of the Ships that trade betwixt *New Spain*, and the *Philippines*. *Silva* reply'd, That he had not Time to meet either; because those that come to the *Philippines* arrive about the 10th of *May*, and the others set out on the 10th of *June*. However that was the Design of the *Dutch* Admiral, who intended to get Intelligence at *Mindoro*, thence to sail to *Macao*, send an Embassador into *China*, and revenge the Wrong *Don Pablos de Portugal* had done them



them in those Countries. Then to load Pepper at *Patane*; next at the Streight of *Sinapura*, to endeavour to take the *Chinese* Ships that resort to *Malaca*; and whatever happen'd, to hold on his Voyage to *Holland* that Way, loaden with Treasure. All this the *Dutch* Admiral communcated to *Antony de Silva*, as to one that was to go with him into *Holland*, because he was a Soldier, and able Interpreter in both Languages; and therefore *Stephen Drage* made much of him. This Intelligence was confirm'd by some others, who had fought and escap'd the Slaughter at *Tydore*. *Don Pedro* hearing so much, was concern'd, as a Man zealous for the Church, and for his King; and it griev'd him to consider, that the Crown of *Spain* had not a Foot of Land left it in the *Moluccos*; and that a Rebel was in quiet Possession of them all.

All the  
Moluccos  
lost to  
Spain.

Prosperity having embolden'd, and strengthen'd the *Dutch*, *Don Pedro* assembling his Council of War, order'd that the Captains *Antony Freyle*, Commander of the Squadron belonging to the *Pintados*, *Peter Swil*, *Stephen de Alcazar*, and *Bernardine Alfonso*, should repair to the Forts of the *Pintados*, and other Islands that were in Danger, with their Companies. He refitted the Ships, and prepar'd his Cannon, as being so near a victorious Enemy, who so successfully put in Execution all their Threats. *Antony de Silva* show'd an Original Letter, written by another *Dutch* Admiral at the Island of *Borneo*, to the King of *Ternate*, and sent by *Philip Biffogop*, Captain of a Ship, with a Present of a Quantity of fine *Holland*; Six Bales of several Vessels with Musk; Twelve Bottles of Rose-Water; Six Pounds of *Dutch Anson*, that is, Opium, which, as has been said, disturbs the Senses, and is us'd by those People to encourage them to fight; and six Barrels of Powder. He gave him an Account of *Andrew Fortado's* unfortunate Voyage, the Obstacles, Storms, and Enemies he had met with, since his Departure from *Ternate*, till he came to *Malaca*. He gave him the Title of Most Serene Prince, and Potent King of the *Moluccos*, *Bandas*, *Ambonya*, and innumerable other Islands. He congratulated with him for the Event of his Arrival at the *Moluccos*; promising he would return to *Ternate* with a greater Power, he expected from *Holland*, and take Possession of the Forts, to extirpate the common Enemy, the King of *Spain*; and encourag'd him with these Hopes, to hold out till then. He assur'd him, that he should scour all those Seas from the *Moluccos*, and extend his Dominions as far as *China*, without being hinder'd by the *Philippines* or *Japoneses*. To this End, he desired him to renew his Friendship with *Mindanao*, and to acquaint the King of those Islands, that he was a Friend to the *Dutch*, so to give them Admittance to those Ports, Freedom of Trade, and amicable Entertainment, as was requisite for their Undertakings; this being a Thing most Expedient, above all other Politick Considerations. He added, he might observe, and be assur'd, that nothing was so little regarded in *Spain*, as to contrive that their many Provinces should preserve some Sort of Union. That therefore all those which are very remote, and subject to that Crown, ought to take much Notice of the great Delays there, in coming to a Resolution, and sending Succours from *Spain*; because before they believe, or examine the News brought them in order to believe them, Affairs have taken a new Turn, and consequently neither the *Spanish* Councils, nor their Arms come seasonably. That Experience had

Don Pedro's Precautions.

Dutch Letters and Presents to the King of Ternate.

had made most of these Things known to his Highness, and his Zeal for his Service oblig'd him to mention them. *Antony de Silva*, added, that he was very sure the King of *Ternate* had not omitted doing any Thing of what the *Dutch* Man recommended to him; and that he had already propos'd to his People to go abroad to fight, far from their own Islands. Tho' it was never apprehended he would do so, yet at that Time it much troubled *Don Pedro*, because he was so spent with the Affair of the *Sangleys*, the Want of whom he labour'd so to supply, that no such Mischiefs might happen again, it being so necessary to support the Trade of the *Philippines* another Way, and procure safety at Home in Order to make War, and keep up a Reputation.

*Alon, Mone-  
ney, &c.  
arrive at  
Manila  
from New  
Spain.*

Time, which sometimes gives Hope, and sometimes Dispair, comforted *Don Pedro* in his Affliction, bringing in a few Months after some Ships of private Persons from *New Spain*, and then in due Season the usual Fleet. They arriv'd at *Manila*, on the Eve of *S. Matthias*, and in them the *Spaniards* sent from *Spain*, for the Expedition of *Ternate*, with above 200 more from the *Marquess de Montefclaros*, Viceroy of *New Spain*, as also the other Necessaries, and Money, pursuant to the King's Order. Part of this came committed to Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, who was receiv'd with incredible Joy. He deliver'd all his Letters to the Governour, and immediate Care was taken to quarter the Officers and Soldiers, and to distribute them speedily, so that all Men might believe there was no other Design in their coming, but the Security of the *Philippine* Islands, threaten'd by the Emperor of *Japan*, and the Conspiracies of the *Sangleys*. This Report was industriously so given out, that it might fly and spread abroad without the Kingdom, lest they might receive any Intelligence, who had cause to fear. Besides that, as the Fame of those great Preparations was Advantageous to the *Spaniards* in Point of Reputation, so the Reality of the Power they had, added to the Opinion conceiv'd, prov'd the Defence and Security of them all. In *Japan*, only the News that *Manila* was full of Men, and Ships of War, allay'd, or quite banish'd the Disgust of that King, on Account of *Don Pedro's* refusing him Ship-Wrights. The People of *Cbincheo* also forbore meditating Revenge against an Enemy, whose Victories were back'd with such Succours. *Don Pedro* consider'd all these Particulars, and each of them made him conclude, that he might with Safety be absent for some Time from *Manila*. However the King of *Ternate* overjoy'd that he had shaken off the *Spanish* Yoke, made little Account of all that was told him, concerning its Neighbouring Kingdoms, believing they would never recover their Ancient Possessions. The *Dutch* Commanders, who were rebuilding the burnt Fort at *Tydore*, sent him a considerable Number of heavy Brass Cannon, of *Drakes*, and *Muskets*, and he hired some of the Ingeniers, that came in those Ships, to look to his Fortifications, and reside in them, and in his City. Some accepted of the Habitation, approving of that disorderly, and irreligious Liberty of Life allow'd in that Country; where considering the frequent Resort of Ships from the North, and the many Factories, they reckon'd themselves as good as at Home, since they could often meet with their Kindred or Friends, or at least with their Country-Men. Banish'd *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* arriv'd daily at the Port of *Oson*, in the *Philippine* Islands, among

*Manage-  
ment of  
the Governour.*

among them *Paul de Lima*, a Person of great Experience, and still General of the Artillery at *Tydore*, who, besides the News of the late Destruction, brought an Account of the Joy wherewith the *Dutch* dug up the Guns he endeavour'd to hide, and how much they were increased in Strength and Shipping. He was receiv'd with much Honour, in regard to his Quality, and because he was one of those who had lost Lands and Goods, taken from him by the King of *Ternate*, and his Information, and Counsil were of Use for what afterwards happen'd: All Men attended the Warlike Preparations, in their several Stations, but with equal Zeal; building Ships, and gathering Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition; and *Don Pedro* himself was so diligent and vigilant, that he attended the meanest Employments, giving an Example, and encouraging; so that it may be said, he did every Thing, for he ply'd all Hands.

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*The End of the Ninth Book.*

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I i            T H E

THE  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**DISCOVERY and CONQUEST**  
 OF THE  
*Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.*

BOOK X.

*Want of  
 Political  
 Reflections  
 whence.*

**T**HERE is generally some Moral Instruction, which lies couch'd under the Actions of Men, and which Judicious Writers use to point out in the Relation of Events, as the Advantage of History; but what civil Rules, or Precepts for the forming of the Political Life, can we lay down, in writing the Conquest and Defence of Barbarous Countries, which all depends on Voyages, and reducing of Garrisons; notwithstanding State Craft has somewhat inform'd those Nations? Or what can occur in this Subject, which the Reader may not infer, as a necessary Consequence of the foregoing Discourse? Since then the Matter in Hand does not afford us such Reflection, let us draw to a Conclusion, in Pursuance of our Promise made at the Beginning.

*Yloilo Port  
 the Rendezvous  
 of the Navy.*

*Don Pedro de Acunna*, now Captain General of the Fleet that was assembled in the *Philippine* Islands, at the same time took Care to see it fitted out with Expedition, and to provide for the Security of the Province he was to forsake, that he might go upon that so difficult Undertaking. Some there were, who look'd upon it as Part of *Don Pedro's* good Fortune, that the *Molucco* Islands had been utterly lost, that since he had the more Matter to work upon, his Victory might be the more glorious. He most industriously provided all Things requisite for the Use of War; and even for all the Accidents it might be liable to. The Point, or Promontory of *Yloilo* runs out into the Sea, not far from *Arevalo*, in the Island of *Panay*, forming

forming a Harbour proper and capacious enough to be the Plate of Arms, for the Preparations then in Hand. Here the Fleet rendezvous'd, consisting of Six Tall Ships, Six Gallies, Three Gallies, like those they call *Gallezabras*, belonging to the Crown of Portugal; in one of which was Peter Alvarez de Abreu, Commander in Chief of the Fort of *Tydore*; the other two, under the Command of John Rodriguez Cavelo, Commodore, sent from *Malaca*, by the General Andrew Fustado de Mendoza, to be aiding with his Courage and Conduct, and to carry him an Account of the Successes. One flat bottom'd Galliot, to land the Artillery, and in it 300 Baskets of Rice. Four Foists built purposely for carrying of Provisions. Two *Champanes* of Ten Tun Burden each, with 1600 Baskets of clean Rice. Two Dutch Long-Boats, which carry'd over the Portuguese when the Fort of *Tydore* was lost. Seven Frigats belonging to the King, and Seven more to private Persons, and the like Number of *Champanes*, in all 36 Sail.

Particulars of the Fleet.

Colonel John de Esquivel brought 12 Companies of Spanish Foot; four whereof were rais'd in *Andaluzia*, being his own, and those of the Captains, Paul Garruebo, Peter Sevil, and Luke de Vergara Gavia. Six came from *New Spain*, under the Captains Don Roderick de Mendoza, Son to Don John de Raxza y Castilla, and to Donna Maria de Mendoza, and by her Grandson to the Marquels de Monselaras, and therefore, out of Respect to his Kinman, the Viceroy of *New Spain*, he came out of *Italy* to serve his Majesty in the *Philippine* Islands; the others were Captain Pascual de Alarcon Pacheco, Martin de Esquivel, Bernardino Alfonso, Peter Delgado, and Stephen de Alcazar. Two other Companies commanded by the Captains John Guerra de Cervantes, and Christopher de Villagra, belong'd to the Forces of *Manila*, and the Province of the *Pinaros*. All which, with their Officers, make up 1423 Spaniards. Under the Colonel Don Guillermo, and the Captains Don Francis Palaos, Don John Lit, Don Lewis and Augustin Lour, 344 *Pampangus*, and *Tagalo* Indians; besides 620 others of the same Nations, for the Sea and Land Service, and 649 Rowers. All the Men in the Fleet, besides the General's Household and Family, amount to 3095; with 75 Pieces of Cannon of all Sorts, and all other Perquisites for Sea, Landing, Fight, and Battery.

The Land Forces.

1423 Spaniards.

Don Pedro sail'd from the Port of *Noilo*, with all these Preparations, on the 15th of *January*, 1606, the Weather being unsettled, but he as resolute as at other Times. He arriv'd at the Island *Mindanao*, then in Enmity with the Spaniards, and in Confederacy with the *Tornates*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Caldera*, to water, where the Admiral's Ship, in which the Colonel Esquivel was, began to drag her Anchors, and was forc'd to set her Sails to get off; but perceiving she could not, by so doing, weather a Point, she fired two-Guns, in Token of Distress, at the Time when her Rudder struck. The Gallies made up to tow her off, and broke some Ropes to no Purpose, the Sea and Wind being against them. Captain Villagra was entrusted to save the Men and Provisions that were aboard; and he, tho' a considerable Part belonging to the King and private Men was lost, with incredible Industry sav'd the most of them, and the Goods, as also all the Men, Cannon, Powder, Cables, Rigging, and Sails; and that the People of *Mindanao* might not reap the Benefit of the Wreck, he set

The Fleet sails from Yloilo.

Caldera Port.

Admiral Ship lost.

set Fire to the Vessel, after taking out all the Iron Work. This Accident was much lamented, both for its own Consequence, and because the Men, who are often vainly Superstitious, put an ill Construction upon it; but the General's Wisdom made amends for all.

*They sail  
from Cal-  
dera.*

From the Port of *Caldera*, the General order'd the Colonel to sail over to that of *Talangame*, which, as has been said, is in the Island of *Ternate*; and bore him Company himself, with the Gallies, till he was out of the Strait of *Sarangani*, which is dangerous by Reason of the Currents, and Ridges of Rocks, wherefore they row'd the Ships, till they were out of Danger, as also because they were becalm'd. The Fleet stood out to Sea; the Gallies coasted along slowly to take in Water enough to last them to *Ternate*, the Men that had been sav'd from aboard the Admiral being distributed among them, and the other Vessels, so that their Burden and Labour was increased. The ablest Pilots in those Seas, had Charge of the Gallies, and yet notwithstanding all their Care, and that of the Captains and expert Mariners, they mistook their Course, and fell in among the Islands of *Celebes*, otherwise call'd of *Marsu*, above 60 Leagues to the Leeward of *Ternate*. The Wind was contrary, and the Error was to be retriev'd by rowing. With very much Labour they reach'd *Ternate*, on the 26th of *Marsu*, being *Esper-Day*. That Day so joyful to all Mankind, made them forget past Toils, and convert them into Pleasure and Delight.

*Through  
Mistake  
fall in with  
Celebes.*

*Arrive at  
Ternate.*

*Superstiti-  
on of Mo-  
lucos as  
to Eclipses.*

They were inform'd, that the Day before, an Eclipse of the Moon had been observ'd at *Ternate*, with the usual Concern. No sooner does the Darkness begin to cover the Body of the Moon, than the People with Sighs and Tears begin also to lament that Planet's Mourning; for they believe it forebodes the Death or Captivity of their King, or of some eminent Person, or some Calamity to the Publick. If the Eclipse passes over without any of these Losses, they Repair to their *Mosque* in Procession, Rank and File. Here the foremost carry large *China* Dishes. Those are follow'd by others with Launces, and Hatchets advanc'd, and Muskets rested. Next them follow three Lamps, carry'd on Men's Shoulders, as common Pictures represent the great Bunch of Grapes carry'd by the Discoverers, who went to view the Holy Land promis'd by God to his People. Next comes a Boy, in Royal Robes, and behind him another holding an Umbrello, made of various Feathers, over the Head of the first. Then follow the Women, set off with Flowers and Palm-Branches, without Order; and thus they celebrate their Thanksgiving, in the Streets and Temples, because the Eclipse pass'd over without any Detriment. The *Dutch* told them, That Eclipses were commonly known in their Country, and throughout all *Europe*; which those People either admir'd or did not believe.

*Dutch  
Ship at Ta-  
langame.*

When our Gallies came to the Port of *Talangame*, *Don Pedro* expected to have found the Colonel with the Fleet in it; but only saw a stately *Dutch* Ship, carrying 30 Pieces of Cannon, and 12 *Pedreroes*. She fought our Ships as they pass'd by, and then drew to the Shore, and defended herself with Part of the Atillery, that was fittest for the Purpose, and being guarded by a great Number of *Ternate* Soldiers, kept close in her Fortification. *Don Pedro* took a View of her, as he pass'd by in the Gallies, tho' she made several Shot at him, and threw 18 Pound Balls into the Ad-  
miral-

initial Galley, where he was. He thought fit, nor to stay, till he heard of the Fleet which was then at *Tydore*, little above two Leagues from that Port, as was known by some Vessels of the Natives, that came up board and board, in sailing by that Harbour. The Gallies directed their Course to *Tydore*, led by the Joy of this good News, which eas'd *Don Pedro* of much Care he was in, knowing there was a Scarcity of Seamen aboard the Fleet, and he fear'd it might have been drove away elsewhere.

*Esquivel* found four Dutch Men at *Tydore*. One of them was the Factor who gather'd the Clove for a Company of his Countrymen, that belong'd to the Factories of *Ternate*, *Ambayna*, *Banda*, *Sunda*, and other Places about them; the other three were Sailers. He examin'd all four, and they gave an Account of the Strength of that Ship, and her Guns, saying, She was loden with Clove; and one of the five that fought the *Portugueses*, when the Fort of *Ternate* blew up. That they expected another Ship, which came with her from *Bantam*, and was parted in foul Weather. That the main Drift of the Agreement made between the King of *Ternate* and the Dutch, was their Assisting him against the *Spaniards*, and *Portugueses*. That there were Orders at *Java* and *Sunda* for the Dutch Ships which pass'd by to enquire there, whether there were any News from the *Moluccos*; and if Need were, that they should leave their Loding there, and go succour the King of *Ternate*.

Dutch  
Men at  
*Tydore*.

Intelli-  
gence they  
give.

Before *Don Pedro* departed *Talanzame*, he consulted with his Officers, whether it were convenient to attack the Dutch Ship before they went upon the Enterprize of *Ternate*. Opinions varied, but it was concluded, that since his Majesties Design was to recover the *Maluccos*, and he had order'd the Fleet to be provided for that Intent, it was not expedient to prefer any other Action. Time is subject to change, and sometimes an Accident overthrows the best concerted Designs. That great Ship, so well stor'd with Guns, and Mann'd, might have sunk some of ours, by which we should have lost our Cannon, and Provisions, or some other Mischief, that could not possibly be foreseen might have happen'd, to the obstructing of the main Design. Besides that the *Ternates* being their Friends, in Case we had master'd the Ship, the Men might fly and save themselves among their Confederates, and thus the Enterprize be rendered more difficult by their Assistance; and it was known by Spyes, that the King already had Dutch Gunners, and Soldiers of Courage and Conduct.

*Ternate* to  
be attack'd  
before the  
Dutch  
Ship.

The King was not at *Tydore* when our Fleet came into his Harbour, being gone to marry a Daughter of the King of *Bachian*; and tho' the Council sent to acquaint him with his Arrival, and to desire he would hasten his Coming, as fearing Delays; yet perceiving the Time slipt away, he set out on the last of *March* for *Ternate*, with his Fleet. When they were at Sea, they heard the new marryed King's Baggpipes, Basons, Trumpets, and Kettle-Drums. He having receiv'd the *Spaniards* Letters, imbark'd, bringing the New Queen along with him, and joy'd them with his *Cavcoas* full of Musick, and Garlands of Flowers. They met with extraordinary Joy, and the King of *Tydore* express'd it particularly for seeing of *Don Pedro de Acunna*, with whom he had before frequent Communication by Letters and Messengers. He show'd much Concern for the Streights he had been reduc'd to by the King of *Ternate*, with the Assistance of the Dutch. *Don Pedro*

King of  
*Tydore*  
and *Don*  
*Pedro*  
meet at  
Sea.

The History and Growth of

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From



From this Place *Villagra* sent Advice to *Don Pedro*, that the King was come, and would soon be with him. He having receiv'd the News, sent Major *Afuesta* to bid him welcome. He order'd he should be treated with Respect, and that the Major should in secret bid Captain *Villagra* make haste to *Ternate*, because there was much still to do, and it was not proper to lose Time. The Progress of Victory is not to be interrupted. They set out in the Evening for *Ternate*, where they arriv'd late at Night, and therefore went not into the City. The King stood as it were amaz'd when he saw the Place, and heard the Drums, and other Martial Noises; being sensible of the Yoke he had been so averse to bear. However he diverted himself that Night, as a sick Person uses to admit of the Entertainment he receives from those who are in Health. The next Day the General came aboard, whilst the Army was forming into one great Body, and the Companies were marching, that the King might not stay; that Show being provided for him, and the Design that he should be conducted in through the Midst of the Forces. *Don Pedro* order'd, That before he landed, the King of *Tydore*, who attended in the same Harbour, should go visit him. He refus'd to receive him, as long as he could, and the Colonel and all the Captains intreated him to admit of the Visit, which he at length consented to, either being perswaded, or yielding to Importunity. The Galley made towards the King of *Tydore's* Fleet, and as they drew near, the Cannon fir'd. The King of *Tydore* stay'd aboard his Admiral, conceal'd between Curtains of Crimson Damask, and when the two Gallies were come together board and board, after a long Silence, the Curtains were drawn. Both the Kings appear'd in their Vessels, looking at one another, for a considerable Time, without speaking a Word. At length he of *Ternate*, as the conquer'd, call'd to one of his Nephews, to whom kneeling, he deliver'd a Message in his Ear for the King of *Tydore*. The Nephew went over to the *Carcoa*, and having made the *Zumbaya*, according to their Ceremonies, with great Tokens of Submission, kneeling, joining his Hands, and raising them up to his Face, kiss'd the King of *Tydore's* left Foot. Then he deliver'd him his Message with much Deliberation, all the Standers-by observing the knitting of his Brows, and all the other Tokens of Admiration and Sorrow, wherewith he was heard. The Nephew withdrew as soon as he had done speaking; and after the King of *Tydore* had continu'd a while Thoughtful, he call'd another *Cachil*, who was his Favourite, and Kinsman. He spoke to him in the same Manner, and gave him another Message for the King of *Ternate*, with much Deliberation and State. This Messenger paid him the same respectful Ceremonies, and going over to our Galley, when he came into the Presence of the King of *Ternate*, after performing the same *Zumbaya*, bow'd himself down, and deliver'd the Answer. The King receiv'd it with as much Grandeur as he could have done had he been Conqueror. Then he also stood a while musing, and rising went over to the Admiral of *Tydore*, which, as has been said, was grappled with the Galley. The Prince, his Son, and the Commanders attended him. The King of *Tydore* stood up to receive him. When they met, each of them us'd tedious Civilities, and Ceremonies towards the other, about sitting. He of *Ternate* sat first, and the Prince, by his Father's Order, paid him of *Tydore*, the Respect of the *Zumbaya*, kissing

The King brought to Ternate.

The King of Tydore goes to visit him.

Barbarous Ceremonies of the Kings.

Zumbaya Ceremony.

Meeting of the two Kings.

kissing his Foot. He to prevent obliging his Son to repay the like Compliment to the other, before the King of *Ternate* came, had order'd him aboard another Vessel, and to put out to Sea, that he might not be present at the Interview: The two Kings discours'd about several Affairs, and he of *Ternate*, of his Misfortune, tho' in manly Manner.

The two Kings land.

It being now Time for the King of *Ternate* to land, both the Kings began to draw near it, but with different Notions. The General waited in the Fort, and saw the Landing from the Top of it. The King of *Ternate* came ashore between and led by the Colonel, and *Gallinato*. After him follow'd the Prince, conducted by Captain *Villagra*, and the Major. The King march'd thro' a Lane of our Foot, and seem'd pleas'd to see them so gallant, and orderly. Thus he came to the Fort, the ancient Residence of his Predecessors, and not long since his own, *Don Pedro*, the Governour coming down to the Gate to meet him, unarm'd, richly dress'd, and with such Decency as became his Person. He would have kiss'd his Hand, but the King embrac'd him, and they went up Hand in Hand to the Lodgings; in the Stateliest whereof, they found three Chairs, with as many Cushions before them, plac'd on a rich Carpet under the Canopy. The King sat on that in the Middle, the Prince on the next, and the Governour on the third. After a short Silence, the Discourse began, *Don Pedro* telling the King, his Highness ought to bear his present Condition with Resolution, remembering the long Prosperity he had enjoy'd. That he offer'd to intercede, and use his Interest with his Majesty, that he might be restor'd to his Kingdoms; and that the Subject in Hand requiring longer and private Conferences, he for the Present would cut it short, because the settling of weighty Affairs, is not to be groundd on the Noise of Promises.

Don Pedro receives the King.

Comforts him.

The King's Answer.

The King return'd Thanks for the Kindness he show'd, in promising his Restitution, and bewailing his present Condition, concluded, saying, That he took Comfort in him, considering Heaven had reserv'd him to be subdu'd by so great a Commander; in which particular he reckon'd he was much oblig'd to his Fortune; and that he confid'd, he would treat him with such Generosity and Goodness as was due on his own Account, and his being the Minister of so great a Monarch, without calling to mind that his own Pride had been his Ruin. The Governour satisfy'd him as to all Points, and having order'd the best House in *Ternate* to be furnish'd, and sent to it Plate, Household Goods, Linnen, Beds, Pavillions, and all Things answerable to such a Guest, he desir'd the King would be pleas'd to remove thither, and with his leave he would wait on him; and that, with his good liking, a *Spanish* Captain with his Company should guard his Person; lest the Subjects of the Kingdom of *Tidore*, his natural Enemies, who were then very Numerous in the City, seeing him alone, should offer any Rudeness. The King accepted of it, smiling in a heavy Manner, to signify that the Guard was appointed to secure him, and all the other Prisoners, and that he was sensible of the false Gloss they gave it.

A Spanish Company guards the King.

He desires the Company of Captain Villagra.

Captain *Peter Delgado* was order'd with his Company to guard the King's House, and attend him, till reliev'd. That Night the King was very melancholy, being among so many Strangers, and though it was late, would not go to Bed, till he had sent *Sylva*, the *Portuguese* Interpreter, to desire the General, that for some Comfort in his Solitude, this being the Request

Request of a conquer'd Person, he would send him Captain *Villagra*, whom, as the first *Spaniard* he had been acquainted with, he lov'd, call'd him Father and delighted in his Company. The King is reported to have said, that to converse with the Conquerors, is only to hasten being overcome, and make the Change of Fortune Habitual. The Governour was glad he could afford him that Satisfaction; and sending immediately for Captain *Villagra*, desir'd he would go divert the King, and make much of, and entertain him with Art, that he might be comforted. The Captain readily comply'd, and the King express'd singular Satisfaction in his Company. He supp'd, and went to Bed, discoursing all the while with the Captain concerning Martial and Religious Affairs.

Two Days after the Governour directed Colonel *Gallinato* and Captain *Villagra*, together with *Paul de Lima*, to propose to the King to enter into Treaty with him, in his Majesty's Name, for settling Things in a State of Security, and Safety; and to perswade him, that was the Way to deserve well, and put himself into a better Condition. They three went to him, attended by other Persons of Note, and among them some religious Men of the Orders of *S. Augustin*, and *S. Dominick*, and the Society of *Jesuit*, who all behav'd themselves commendably in their Stations. The King did not refuse to capitulate, and after settling the Form, by the Interposition of *Paul de Lima*, and granting some Things he desir'd of the King of *Spain*, the following Articles were drawn and sign'd.

The first Thing requir'd of *Cachil Sulran Zayde*, King of *Ternate*; and of the rest who are Prisoners with his Highness, is that he shall deliver up to his Majesty King *Philip* our Sovereign, the Forts he is now possess'd of, being those of *Gilolo*, *Sabubu*, *Gamocandua*, *Tacome*, those of *Machian*, those of *Sula*, and the Rest. To this he answers, that he will deliver up to his Majesty the aforesaid Forts, and to that Effect, will send the Prince his Son, and his Kinsman *Cachil Amuxa*, with the Persons appointed to take Possession of them, and that they shall be deliver'd up, with all the Cannon, Ammunition, Muskets, and Fire-Arms there are in them.

Secondly, That he shall restore all the Prisoners he has, either Christians, or Infidels, being our Subjects, as well of the Provinces of the *Pintados*, as of the Rest that are subject to the *Spaniards*, in the *Philippine* Islands: He answer'd, that all such as can be found at present shall be deliver'd, and the Rest hereafter as they are discover'd.

Thirdly, That he shall deliver up the *Dutch* he has in his Power. He answer'd, That when he departed the Fort of *Ternate*, 13 or 14 that were with him fled; and he supposes they repair'd to the *Dutch* Ship, because he has not seen them since; but if they shall be found, he will deliver them immediately.

Fourthly, He shall deliver up the *Renegado Spaniards* that were in the Fort of *Ternate*. He answer'd, that there was but one, and he fled as well as the Rest, the Day the Fort was taken; that he knows not where he is, but will cause Search to be made, and deliver him.

Fifthly, That he shall deliver up all the Towns which are in *Batochina*, and is call'd *El Moro*, they having been formerly Christians; as also the Islands of *Maraqay*, and *Herrao*, which were also Christian, with all the Artillery and Ammunition there is in them. He answer'd, he is ready to deliver up all, as he had done his Person.

These

Treaty set  
afoot with  
the King.

Articles  
between  
the General  
and King of  
*Ternate*.  
The King  
to deliver  
up all  
Forts.

To release  
Prisoners.

To deliver  
up the  
*Dutch*.

And *Renegado*  
*Spaniards*.

These Articles *Don Pedro de Acuña*, Governour, and Captain General of the *Philippine* Islands, President of the Royal Court residing in them, and General of this Fleet in the *Moluccos*, committed to the General *John Xuarez Gallinato*, and to Captain *Christopber de Villagra*, who concluded them in the Form as above, by the Interposition of *Paul de Lima*, a *Portuguese* born in these Islands, who serv'd as Interpreter of the Languages. And the said King subscrib'd his Name, after his Manner. Given in the Fort of *Ternate*, on the tenth of *April*, 1606. The said General, and Captain also sign'd it, with the said *Paul de Lima*.

*How it was sign'd.* The King sign'd in *Persian* Characters, with graceful Flourishes, and the *Spaniards* plainly; and this Original Capitulation was brought into *Spain*, with the other authentick Instruments.

*Commanders go to take Possession.* In Pursuance to this Agreement, the Commanders imbark'd to take Possession of the several Places, carrying along with them the King and Prince, and other Prisoners in two Gallies being the Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, with all *Villagra's* Company, and Part of that of *Cervantes*. The first Place taken Possession of was the Fort of *Tacoma*, next that of *Bula*, both in the Island of *Ternate*. Thence they sail'd to the great *Batobina*, where are those of *Gilolo*, formerly a flourishing Kingdom; of *Sababu*, and *Gamocanora*, which we corruptly call *Gran Bocanora*; but in that Country Language, *Gama* signifies Middle, and *Canora* Land, so that *Gamocanora*, altogether signifies, Mid-Land, because it lies in the midst of *Gilolo*; and *Et Moro*. Possession was taken of all these Forts, none landing but *Villagra*, with *Cachil Amuxa*, *Antony de Silva*, and *John de Vega*, who did the Part of a Notary, being appointed, and authoriz'd for that Time. The *Cachil* assembled the People at all the Forts, acquainted them with the Success of *Ternate*, and that all was now subject to the *Spaniards*, by whose Authority that Captain came to take Possession, that so all might pay their Obedience to his Majesty.

*Gamocanora what it signifies.*

*Manner of taking Possession.*

*K. of Tydore recovers his Towns.*

The People having been attentive to what was propos'd to them, knelt down, and raising their Voices made the *Zumbaya*. Then the Captain display'd the Standard advancing it in his Majesty's Name, to denote Possession. Then he commanded the Natives to bring out the Cannon, and draw it down to the Shore, to be imbark'd aboard the Gallies. This was the Method observed at *Gilolo*, and in other Places of less Note.

In the mean while, the King of *Tydore*, making his Advantage of the Victory, sent the Prince his Son with some Troops, to possess himself of the Towns the King of *Ternate* had taken for him, as he actually did. *Don Pedro* being inform'd of it, was offended that an Enterprize should be undertaken without his Order, and thinking the King of *Tydore* had therein given Tokens of Distrust, and Disrespect, had Thoughts of taking such Satisfaction, as he judg'd the Matter deserv'd; but the King of *Tydore* reflecting on his Misbehaviour, and that the Governours Repentment swell'd up to absolute Indignation, he found Means to appease him, excusing himself, and saying, that Invasion had been carry'd on without his Order, or Knowledge; and desisting expected to be restor'd by *Don Pedro*, as we shall soon see.

The Method observ'd at other Forts, could not be followed at that of *Sababu*, where Queen *Celycaya* was, because *Cachil Amuxa* fell sick, or pretended so to do. *Villagra* had regard to the Circumstances of Times. *Cachil Reis*, Sanguack of *Gamocanora*, the King's Nephew, and a brave Soldier, landed

landed instead of the other. The People of that Town imagin'd, that *Villagra* brought considerable Forces, and therefore to secure the Queen, and themselves, they gather'd above 2500 fighting Men, under Pretence they would not suffer *Celceaya* to be taken away. They hid themselves with their Arms, yet not so but that the Captain knew of it. He took no Notice, but coming up to one of the Bastions of the Town, which were both next the River, drew off the Cannon, some few of the Natives, and those Boys helping him; the Rest waiting for more considerable Action, in Arms. Then he disarm'd the other Bastion, assist'd by *Francis Romante*, and *John Rodriguez Bernatez*, Captains of the Gallies. The Town stands on the Bank of a River, up which they had run in their Boats; but returning with the Men that row'd, the Guns were loaded, the *Sangiack Rete* forwarding of it. He finding the People in an Uproar, would not have had the Cannon carry'd away, at that Time. Possession was not taken till afterwards, out of Respect to the Queen, and by Reason of the Mutiny of the People, who escap'd not unchastis'd. The Gallies return'd to *Gamocanora*, and not being able to get into the River, nor to stay out, because of the Flats, where an indifferent Wind may do much Harm, the least Part whereof was the Loss of the Vessels; *Gallinato* therefore considering, that if they should be cast away, the King was in his own Country, whence it would be impossible to get him out again, tho' a greater Power should be gather'd for that End, than what came from the *Philippine* Islands, and having consulted with him about the Method to be us'd to get in to *Gamocanora*, the *Sangiack* of that Place said to him. *Sir, if you have such Confidence in me, as I know you may, and my Advice is of any Force with you, do not go thither with these Gallies, for you will expose them to Shoals, and Winds. Since therefore here are two Carcoas of Tydore, let the Captain Villagra, the Notary, and the Interpreter go aboard them, and I will go along with them to my Country, where the same shall be done, as if the Gallies went in.*

The People of Sabubu in Arms.

Cachil Rete.

His Advice to the Spaniards.

Villagra trusts the *Sangiack*.

He appears his Subjects.

*Gallinato* consulted with *Villagra*, and they approv'd of the Method, setting out in the *Carcoas* on Saturday in the Afternoon, and on Sunday Morning a League short of the River, the *Sangiack* told the Captain, he well knew he had been long from his Country, attending the King, and that his Subjects had no certain Account of him, and therefore, they might then as they us'd to do at other Times, come out to the Mouth of the River with a Fleet, to guard the Entrance. That if it should so happen, he must not be surpris'd, for they should all serve him. The Captain, told him, how much he confided in him, since he had so easily follow'd his Advice, and was come to his Country almost Naked; and that whatsoever happen'd he would not mistrust him. Being come near the Mouth of the River, they saw 7 Vessels come out, and when in the Sea, they drew up in a half-Moon, and made up to enclose the Captain's *Carcoas*. The *Sangiack* seeing them near at Hand, went toward, and calling out, commanded them to be peaceable. As soon as they knew him, they obey'd, drew together their Vessels, and came to speak to him. He enquir'd into the Posture of his Affairs, and ask'd whether his Mother was there. They said she was, and gave him a long Account of all Things. They went before to carry his Mother the News of his Coming, and he order'd them to assemble all the People of the Town, and that none should appear arm'd, for they never us'd to lay aside their *Campilanes*.

*At 12 o'clock*  
*Jan 6 1542*  
*the first*  
*Meeting*  
 Captains: Some time as they found all, and even the Women got together, and embracing again, met the *Sangiack* Mother in the Middle of the River, for their coming down, to see her Son, in a Vessel all full of Women, and of several Sorts of Sails, with high Feathers, and several of them with Spears. Some pulled the Sails, others ply'd the Oars, and others attended near the *Francis* Perch, so that there was not one Man among them.

*Meeting of the Sangiack and his Mother.*  
 The Mother being impatient, advanc'd as soon as ever she came to her Son's Coarcs; but she more nimbly leap'd into that Vessel of Women, and after paying her due Respect to his Mother, there pass'd extraordinary Demonstrations of Love on both Sides, she embracing, and kissing her Son. Thus they all went up the River, against the Stream, till they came to the Town. On both the Banks there appear'd People clad in gay Manner, with Feathers, but *Francis*, and the *Sangiack* having desir'd his Mother to go ashore, all the Frise Men so perswade her leap'd into the Water, and carry'd her in their Arms. The *Sangiack* and *Villagra* came to the Market-Place, in the middle whereof they found an Harbour, or Hut made of Boughs, on Timbers, but *Francis*, and two Chairs, on a Carpet. They set down with the usual Ceremonies, and the *Sangiack* declar'd to his Subjects, that all the Dominions of the King of *Texas*, and their Persons, were then subject to the King of *Spain*, as he was himself. That hereupon follow'd the Obligation of delivering up the Forts to him, and he was possess'd of all the Rest, only that being wanting. That they should so order that Captain *Villagra* might take Possession of it and the Artillery. *Villagra* intreated the *Sangiack* to go see his Wife, and Children, and he would receive the Surrender of the Fort, and Arms, in the Afternoon; but he answer'd, that he came not to rejoice with his Family, but to serve the King of *Spain*. Afterwards he added, If you will have me see them I will make Use of your Leave; and if you refuse it, will embark without seeing them. *Villagra* would not allow of such rigid Nicety, pressing him to take the Satisfaction of his Family, before the Act of Possession, and in the mean while, stay'd himself with *John de Vega*, and *Antony de Sylva*.

*His great Submission to the Spaniards.*  
 As soon as the *Sangiack* came Home, he sent the Captain about 30 *Indians* loaded with Provisions, one after another, but first they brought Tables, Chairs; and Table-Linnen in their great Dishes, and Salvers, and on them the Salts, Knives, drinking Cups, and Ewres, Variety of Fruit, Pulletts roasted and fry'd, Goats Flesh roasted and boil'd, and other Dishes, after the Fashion of their Country. A little before the Dinner was ended they brought a Bed, and Pillows of green Satin, which they laid upon Carpets, to take an Afternoons Nap on. It was not long before the *Sangiack* himself came, follow'd by all the People, leading his Mother, and with them many Men loaded with the Arms he was to deliver up, gather'd from private Men, as also Drakes, Muskets, and other Fire-Arms. *Indians* brought them on their Shoulders, adorn'd with Boughs, in Token of the Satisfaction they had, in delivering them. The same was then done in the Fort, as had been in the others. The *Sangiack* that Night gave the Captain a Supper in the same Manner as the Dinner had been. The next Day they breakfasted, and unloading, return'd where *Gallinato* waited for them

in

tack'd the main Fort, and carry'd it, being themselves the first that enter'd the Gates, but not the first that went up; for as they were running up the Stairs hastily, and just going into the Hall, *Barcla*, and old Soldier, and Corporal to Captain *Cervantes*, thrust by their Side, and getting in, took a gilt Ewre, made in the Shape of an Urn, curiously engrav'd, from off a rich Cupboard, or Side-board there was in the Hall, saying to the Captains, *Gentlemen, I take this in Token that I came in here with you*; and carry'd it away, by their Consent. All the Palace was then expos'd to the Avarice of the Soldiers. *Don Pedro* would have given a check to it; but was not taken Notice of, till almost all was over.

*They attack and take the main Fort.*

*The King's Palace plunder'd.*

The King of *Ternate* had forsaken all, and some of the *Dutch* him, when they saw he was going down; none follow'd him in this Confusion and Flight, but the *Sangiack* of *Mofaquia*, his Kinman, who encourag'd and advis'd him, his Queen *Celicaya*, and some other Women. He embark'd with them all, Prince *Gariolano* his Son, and a few *Dutch*, in great Haste, within the Wall, aboard some *Carcoas* of *Mofaquia*, and plying the Oars, or rather Flying, arriv'd in the Island of *Gilolo*, at a Fort there, built not long before in *Sabugu*. The rest of the *Dutch* got off in other Vessels to their Ship.

*The King &c. fly, to Gilolo.*

The whole Body of the Army now rang'd the Towns and Houses of the Natives, wholly intent upon Plunder, and *Don Pedro* went about, giving Orders, and checking the Soldiers, that they might keep in a Body.

*The Dutch to their Ship.*

The General went on to *S. Paul's* Church, which was unroof'd and profan'd; he order'd it to be cleans'd, and immediately adorn'd with Boughs, and other Ornaments, brought thither by the diligent Soldiers, where they devoutly, with loud Voices, sang the Hymn, *Salve Regina*, which our Church uses to call upon the blessed Virgin. For the completing of this Victory, they still wanted to seize the King, Prince, *Sangiack*, and Commanders that follow'd him. The General took Possession of the Forts, setting up and displaying the Colours, with the Arms of the Crown of *Spain*, and the Name of **PHILIP THE THIRD, OUR SOVEREIGN**, the Musick playing, and Guns firing. He order'd that the next Day Captain *Villagra* should set out in Pursuit of the King of *Ternate*, with 100 Men in two Gallies, and the King of *Tydore*, and the Prince his Son, with their Fleet, consisting of two *Janguas*, and 15 *Carcoas*, in which were 1000 Men.

*Possession taken of the Fort.*

*King of Ternate pursu'd.*

The King and Prince of *Tydore*, with Captain *Villagra*, came to the Fort of *Tacome*, in *Ternate*, on the third of *April*, where they found *Cacbil Anuxa*, the bravest of the Natives of *Ternate*, Cousin German to their King, and his Captain General. *Villagra* sent him a Message by *Antony de Silva*, Interpreter of their Language, and through his Means he surrendered, with some *Dutch*; all whom he carry'd Prisoners to the City. He brought them in very honourable Manner, and they had not the dejected Looks of Men that were overcome. Being come to the City, he deliver'd them to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, who observing the same Generosity, received and treated them courteously, and commended their Valour. There the *Cacbil* and Captain *John de Cubas* knew one another again, remember'd the Wounds they had given and receiv'd, and were good Friends. The *Portuguese* Commanders visited him, and in his Presence, after com-

*Tacome Fort surrender'd to Villagra.*

down again. The Difficulty of this Enterprise was not in the Execution of their Efforts, being in Haven with their heavy and small Munitions, kindly Sort of Fireworks, Bombs, and other Commodities Dutch furnish'd them with; but the Attack was made so forward the Spaniards gave not the King, nor his Men Leisure enough to the old Portuguese Fort, within the Wall; for had they done so, they have defended themselves some Time, and our Men would have oblig'd to batter the Walls with Cannon; and tho' this Fort is but weak in these indolent Times, it would have cost Trouble.

The Place taken with little Loss, for we had but Fifteen Men on our Side, among them was Captain Cervantes, who getting upon the Wall, with a Design to display the King's Standard on it, ran into the Eye with a Lance, by a Barbarian, and others cruelly they threw him down to the Ground, whereof he dy'd the severest death regretted by all Men. He had before said publicly, offering the Charge, *Godless, the God shall not make his Escape on Foot, it cost me my Life*; adding to keeping of him in at the Ball-Port was as good as his Worst both ways, since he dy'd in Prison with his Arms and Legs broken. No Man of any Note, either the Spaniards or Indians escap'd unhurt. Many Terraces and Towers were slain, and some Dutch shed their Blood, like brave or desperate thinking it a Misfortune, as they said, to owe their Lives to our Army, or Mercy.

It was never expected that the Success, would be in all Points as ble to the Justice of the Cause. Don Pedro had design'd to be Fort, wherein he would have met with mighty Difficulties, because Cannon was very heavy, and hard to be drawn to the proper Repository; as also for that there was not Earth to fill the Gabions, Rockiness of the Ground obstructed the throwing up of the Earth which would have occasion'd the Loss of many Men before the Fort could be planted. The Spaniards pursu'd their Success, and put themselves of the Fort, found in it 47 large Brass Guns, about Drakes, and other Arms, besides Ammunition and Provisions.

Cannon found in it.

The Men having enter'd the City, every one fell to plunder, as in Outrages. Don Pedro had made Proclamation, that all taken within four Days should be made Slaves. The Commanders near the ancient Church of S. Paul, which was fortify'd by the with Ramparts for this Service. Opinions vary'd about what was to be done; Some were for securing what was already gain'd; Others pushing on, to gain the main Fort. The Captains Vergara and Villagra were for the Latter, and the Soldiers were so brisk and eager to run any Danger, that one of them, of the Province of *Estremadura*, belonging to the Company of Captain *Scoti*, an *Aragasian*, and notable man, who was also for going on, took up Captain *Villagra*, Arms, and carry'd him above ten Paces, saying, *Good Captain, fall on*; and then set him down. The Captain struck him, for taken him up so rudely, at such a Time; and the Soldier bowing faintly and with a smiling Countenance, said to him, *God is my Witness again; and fell on.* In short, *Vergara* and *Villagra*, with a few Men

Prisoners made Slaves.

Excesses of the Men.

Their attack and the loss of the main Fort.



might be mann'd with Pioneers. Colonel *John de Esquivel* was appointed Esquivel  
Commander in chief, and Governour of all the *Moluccas*. Governour

*Don Pedro*, the Day before his Departure, gave the said Governour his Instructions, which had been maturely weigh'd, and debated, after several private Conferences with him, providing for all Accidents that might happen.

All the Prisoners, being the King and Prince of *Ternate*, and 24 *Sangiacks* and *Cachiles*, were put aboard the Admiral Galley, under the Care of Captain *Villagra*, with particular Orders to convey them to *Manila*. This done they set sail. Our Fleet being departed with the Booty, and Prisoners, the Colonel, *John de Esquivel*, apply'd himself diligently to the Affairs of his Charge, and to hastning on the Fortifications begun in several Parts. Whilst the Conquerors sail'd away, on the fourth of *May*, he order'd the King of *Tydore*, with his Fleet, and in it some *Spaniards*, commanded by the Captains *Pasqual de Aragon*, and *Martin de Esquivel*, to sail for *Sabubu*, to perswade the *Cachiles*, *Sugni* and *Quipati*, to return to the City; because by their Examples the Citizens and Multitude would do the like, they being fled to the Mountains on Account of the War; for so they would quit those Deserts, be encouraged to confide in the Conqueror, and settle in Peace. The King of *Tydore* arriv'd at *Sabubu*, with his Company; sent Messengers to them, who deliver'd what they were commission'd with, adding, that if they requir'd Hostages for their safe coming, they should have the *Spanish* Captains that were in the Fleet deliver'd to them. The Governours were so far from giving Ear to their Message, that they sent to conjure them to depart *Sabubu*. *Esquivel* was concern'd at this mistrustful and rough Behaviour, because the greatest Part of the People of the Island were in that strong Hold, and in *Gilolo*, and that Repulse in the Presence of the Natives that were fled, seem'd to threaten greater Opposition. Whilst he prepar'd to reduce them, he endeavour'd by fair Means to attract the Inhabitants of a Town, call'd *Tacome*, two Leagues from *Ternate*, whither also some of those that had fled were retir'd. He sent them a considerable Quantity of Plunder, plac'd Safeguards in *Tacome* and *Malayo*, to quiet, and defend them against the *Tydores*, their Enemies and Conquerors.

Prisoners  
shipp'd for  
Manila.

King of  
Tydore  
sent to Sa-  
bubu.

The Go-  
vernours  
refuse to  
come.

The King of *Tydore*, and our Commanders, returning without any Effect from *Sabubu*, they sail'd with the Fleet to *Machian*, to recover peaceably that Part of the Island, which the Governour, *Don Pedro*, took from the King of *Ternate*, to restore it to him of *Tydore*. At the same Time two *Dutch* Ships arriv'd there; one of them was the same our Fleet found some Days before in the Fort *Talangame*; which having been a Witness to our Success, rejoyn'd the other, and both of them came together to the *Moluccas*, by Order of the *Dutch* Commander residing at *Ambogna*, to encourage the King of *Ternate* to persist in his Disobedience, and assist him against our Fleet. Our Men sent the Colonel Advice, who order'd our Gallioets to set out, to find, and pursue those Ships, that so their Boats might not offer to move far from them, and to endeavour to obstruct their trading with the Natives. Tho' the Orders were obey'd, the said two Ships appear'd before *Ternate* the third Day after, and holding on their Course, anchor'd at *Gilolo*, where most of the Natives of the *Molucco* Islands, who were fled, had fortify'd themselves. These Guests, according to their Custome, call'd together all

Spanish  
Ships at  
Machian.

two Dutch  
Ships.

the Inhabitants, who were dispers'd about in other Towns, and resolv'd to go over to *Gilolo* and *Sabubu*. They gather'd all their Vessels, and thought, with them, and the *Dutch* Ships, to obstruct the Ravage our Galiots made, and to support their Friends. This new Rebellion was carry'd on in Sight of the *Dutch* Ships lying at Anchor before *Gilolo*, and they secur'd, and defended them against our Squadrons.

Rebellion  
at Gilolo

The Colonel intreated the King of *Tydore*, who was newly return'd from *Machian*, to gather a greater Number of arm'd *Carcoas*, that our Infantry might be carry'd in them, and the Galiots, to attack *Gilolo*, and *Sabubu*, in Order to suppress that Mischiefe in its first Rise, there being other Places for our Vessels to put into, besides the Harbour where the Enemies Ships lay at Anchor. The King of *Tydore* started so many Difficulties, that *Esquivel* could not prevail upon him. Another more effectual Method was found. It being certain, that the Fugitives must bring their Provisions, and particularly Rice, from the Province *del Moro*, and Island of *Moratay*, where there is great Plenty; and that we having burnt the Ships of the *Moluccas*, during that War, they would supply the Want of them from those same Places; the Governour therefore resolv'd, that Major *Vergara*, and the King of *Tydore*, should repair thither with 120 *Spaniards*, to disappoint their Designs, that so Necessity might reduce them to submit.

Methods  
for sup-  
pressing it

120 Spa-  
niards sent  
to Gilolo.

Our Forces arriv'd at the Island *Harochina*, which is the same as *Gilolo*, and where *Sabubu* stands. Leaving the Shore, they march'd over extraordinary wooded Mountains, along the Side of the River *Gabocanora*, to a great Town, the Receiptacle of many of the Fugitives. They met with no Opposition, or other Obstacle in the Way, but only those sharp pointed Stakes they use to drive into the Ground. The Enemy had plac'd their greatest Defence upon the River; but abandon'd it upon the Approach of the *Spaniards*, running up into the Mountains, and leaving their Houses and Vessels. Our Men fell upon both, burnt them, and took such as dur'd stay behind. In fine, they all, dismay'd at the Sight of the Flames and Destruction, embrac'd more submissive methods. The City *Visoa* underwent the same Fate, and the Remains of it sued for Pardon, and comply'd.

They burn  
Towns and  
reduce the  
Island.

Galela de-  
stroy'd.

The King of *Tydore* went away from this Place with eight *Carcoas*, leaving the rest, and the Gallies, with the Major. The City *Manuya*, having made Resistance, was also burnt. Our Men went over in small Vessels to *Galela*, a Town built in a large Lake, which held out till reduc'd by Fire and Sword, the very Children swimming away. *Tolo*, *Chiava*, and *Camaso*, which are three Leagues from *Galela*, and whose Inhabitants had been formerly Christians, prevented Military Execution, by sending Deputies from *Tolo*, the strongest of them, with Boughs of *Boninas* in Blossom, and Green, and White Cloves. They came unarm'd, and with Musick, and express'd much Sorrow for their late Rebellion, for which *Sultan Zeyde* was to blame, and for having forsaken the Christian Religion, which they were there ready to imbrace. The *Spanish* Commander prais'd, and treated them Courteously. Our Men now sickned a pace; for which Reason, as also because the westerly Winds began to grow boisterous, he was oblig'd to defer the subduing of *Moratay*. However he left some Men at *Tolo*, with the small Guns taken at *Gabocanora*, to secure the Towns that

Tolo Chi-  
ava and  
Camaso  
submit.

were

were reduc'd, and defend them against those of *Galala* and *Tabelo*, which are bigger than they. This done he return'd to *Ternate*, but not without Storms, and Dangers, incur'd by giving Credit to a *Molucco* Slave.

The Governour mann'd a Galliot, a Brigantine, and some smaller Vessels with Soldiers, and *Chineses* to row, under the Command of the Ensign *Christophor Suarez*. He sail'd with a fair Wind for the Island *Maseo*, which we call *Celebes*, the nearest Part whereof is 30 Leagues West from *Ternate*, and its Length above 150 Leagues. The furthest Part of it is subject to the King of *Macassar*, a *Mabometan* Prince, with whom the People of *Malaca* have Trade, as also with three other heathen Kings, of whom there was a Report, that they desired to be Christians; but they fell under the Tyranny of the King of *Ternate*, and suffer'd by his Invasions and Burnings. *Esquivel* sent to acquaint them with the King of *Spain's* Victories and Success; and exhorted them to come under his Dominion, but above all to be united to the Church. He made them Presents of *European* Commodities, which are as good as Money with them, and offer'd the Protection of the *Spanish* Power, which had pull'd down that Tyrant, to whom they were Tributary. He said, he sent them Ships and Arms, and that for the Time to come, they might safely repair to trade at the *Moluccos*. These Princes were two Brothers, the one King of *Bool*; the other of *Totoli*. They joyc'd at the coming of the Ambassador *Christophor Suarez*, and he presenting them some Pieces of Velvet, in Token of Friendship, they return'd other Gifts, and Abundance of Provisions, and dismiss'd him, with a Letter to the Governour. *Queen Dongue* of *Causipa*, testify'd to *Esquivel* no less Satisfaction, and Inclination to be united to the King of *Spain* by Vassalage.

Message from Esquivel to the Heathen Kings of Bool, and Totoli.

The Garrisons of the Rebellious Towns were assaulted by the *Spaniards*, and compell'd to submit. The King of *Tydore* made Havock on the Coast of *Batochina*, or *Gilolo*, where he recover'd for his Majesty, and for himself, the Towns and Forts that had been taken from him by the King of *Ternate*. He plunder'd the great Town of *Mira*, in *Morasay*, and made Captives of many that oppos'd him, who had also been Christians. Among the rest he took a *Guimala*, which signifies, a Chief, or Head of a Quarter, or Ward, whom he again set at Liberty, at the Request of our Men, sending him away with two other *Guimalas*, in the Company of Captain *John de la Torre*. The Islands in those Parts were reducing by Degrees, with little Opposition. Those of the *Meaos*, lying to the North-West, towards *Manila*, being among, and full of large Towns, defended themselves, with the Assistance, and Industry of the *Dutch*; but *B. Antony Flores*, a Lay-Brother, of the Order of *S: Augustin*, who fought against the *Sangleyes* of *Manila*, as has been said above, coming thither with the Galleys, they submitted. The Ensign *Lewis de Zuazo* arriv'd after the Business was over, and they being now successful, and understanding that the *Dutch* Ship was sail'd from *Gilolo*, made after her. She was so good a Sailer, that they labour'd in vain; but carry'd on the War at *Gilolo* and *Sabubu*, which made the *Ternate* Governours put up their Complaints, and lay aside their Designs. They writ to the Governour, and he answer'd them, sending a Copy of the Articles, upon which they offer'd to repair to *Ternate*, in peaceable Manner. All our Commanders were dispers'd in several

King of Tydore's Actions.

Meaos Islands subdu'd.

Reduction of other Islands.

ral Places, reducing the Islands of the *Moluccos* that had Rebell'd, either by Force of Arms, or other Methods; and particularly those belonging to the Sultan of *Ternate*, which are few under an hundred; and thus Peace began to be establish'd, which if not Wish'd for, was at least Tolerated, and accepted of with such Appearances as are becoming to make it honourable.

The King  
and Mo-  
lucco  
Prisoners  
attempt to  
escape.

Whilst the *Molucco* Islands submitted by Force to receive the Yoke, the Governour, *Don Pedro de Acunna*, was sailing for *Manila*. Captain *Villagra* was at a Distance from the Fleet, with the King, Prince, and *Sangiacks* that were Prisoners, aboard the Admiral Galley. This made them form a Design to attempt to make their Escape to *Mindanao*, and they had succeeded, if not prevented by the Soldiers that guarded them. Captain *Villagra* either Suspected, or had Information of it, and therefore doubled the Guards, and put eight of the most daring into Chains. Among the most remarkable were *Cachil Amuxa*, the *Sangiack Rete*, and he of *Mofagua*. They all arriv'd at *Manila*, but their Fetters were taken-off before they came thither, after they had worn them ten Days, with much Regret of the King, whom they satisfy'd with Hopes, and acquainting him with some of the Grounds there were to suspect, till the Danger of laying them aside ceas'd. The Hazard at *Mindanao* was, that those Islands are not Tributary, yet they value themselves upon entertaining Friendship with the King of *Ternate*; and it is most certain, that had he attempted to fly, and succeeded in it, they would have supported him there; and *Villagra* had Intelligence given him, that the King either made, or approv'd of the Proposal; tho' there was no want of Care and Vigilancy either in *Don Pedro's* Ship, or the Admiral Galley.

Don Pedro  
de Acunna  
suppos'd to  
be poison'd.

During all this Time we have spoken of, the News of our Success was not brought to the *Philippine* Islands. This long Silence, and Want of Intelligence, became an Argument in those Parts, and particularly at *Manila*, that *Don Pedro* and the Fleet were lost, or at least had met with such ill Success as deserv'd to be generally lamented. Virtue never fail'd of envious Persons to persecute it, and accordingly *Don Pedro* was not without them at *Manila*; but tho' they were well known, in so much that in the general Opinion of all Men, they are suppos'd to have given the Poison, whereof that great Man was thought to have dy'd 22 Days after his Return, we will nevertheless suppress their Names, since it is not the Part of an Author, whose Duty it is to observe an exact Neutrality, and not to be led any Way by Affection, to confirm that Deposition, which, as yet, is no better grounded than on Suspicion. They are all Dead long since, and have been try'd before that great Tribunal, where the least thought cannot pass without being accounted for. These Men gave out, That *Don Pedro* attacking *Ternate*, enter'd it successfully; but that his Men had been too intent upon Plunder, the Enemy rallyed, and falling upon the *Spaniards*, beat them out again, killing most of them. And that the General being ashamed of his ill Conduct, durst not return to *Manila*.

False Re-  
ports a-  
broad.

Indians be-  
gin to Mu-  
rder.

This Report being spread abroad among the *Indians*, did so much Harm, that they began to Mutiny, especially in the Provinces of *Camavines*, and *Pintados*; in so much that the Fryers who attended their Instruction, could not deal with them any longer, for they said, That since the People

of the *Moluccos* were victorious, why should they be still subject to the *Spaniards*, who did not defend them against the *Moors*, and these would now plunder them daily with the Assistance of *Ternate*, and it would be worse for the Future. Nor were they satisfy'd with muttering, but proceeded to confer Notes together, and to contrive putting their Projects in Execution. But all this vanish'd at the Sight of Truth, and the News of it, brought in before the Arrival of the Conquerors, and the Preparations they saw made for their Reception, and triumphant Rejoycings. The Weather was seasonable, and favour'd them in all Respects, and they arriv'd at *Manila* on the ninth of *June*, loaded with Honour and Victory, after they had rested in the Port of *Cabite*, two Leagues distant.

The Captives diverted themselves with our Men, to put off the Remembrance of past Times, whilst rich Garments of several Sorts of Silks were provided for them at the publick Charge, which is the King's Treasury in the *Philippine* Islands. They look'd dejectedly, and with Admiration, on the Harbour, Walls, Forts, and Buildings of the City, the Sight whereof made them call to Mind the last Day on which they fell from their boasted State of Liberty. Our Commanders dropt some courteous Words of Comfort in their Discourse, telling them, that as soon as the News could come to *Spain* of their being reduc'd, and that good Order was taken against falling again into the former Dangers, the King would order them to be restor'd to their Liberty. All these Expressions were not of Force to satisfy those *Indians*, who on the contrary began to complain of the General, because they either suspected, or were told by some of our Men, that he would not observe the safe Conduct, and promise he had made them in the King's Name, and on which they had rely'd; and that in Case *Sultan Zayde* were continu'd in the *Philippine* Islands, it was certain they would send his Son, Prince *Gariolano* into *Europe*, by the Way of *New Spain*. The general being acquainted with these melancholly Reflections of theirs, thought it concern'd the Reputation of the Christian Religion in general, and of the *Spanish* Nation in particular, to dispell those Jealousies, and therefore he writ to them, and directed the Captain, who carry'd the Letters, to perswade the King not to conceive the least Mistrust of the King's Word, and Security he had confided in. This compos'd their Thoughts, and they either did, or pretended to take Comfort.

*Prisoners  
disconsolate.*

The Prisoners came with the Forces to the City, which the Fleet saluted with its Cannon, and were answer'd by the Artillery and small Shot from the Walls and Forts. The King landed in a Garden the Governour had without the Walls, where he repos'd himself that Night, and when Lodgings were provided for him, with the greatest State that could be, and answerably for other Prisoners, according to their Qualities, *Don Pedro* enter'd *Manila* with the Forces, and Ostentation of Captives and Booty. There wanted not Triumphant Arches, with such Inscriptions as are Generally set on them in Honour of Conquerors. The Habit of the Prisoners, in rich Mantles, Turbants and Plumes, was not suitable to their Fortune; as making their Countenances look more haughty, and representing Arrogancy. That King was strong body'd, and his Limbs well Knit; his Neck, and great Part of his Arms he wore naked; his Skin being of the Colour of a Cloud, rather inclin'd to Black than Tawny. The Features of his Face were like

*Don Pedro's Landing into Manila.*

*Description of the King of Ternate.*

an *Europan*. His Eyes large, full, and sparkling, to which they add'd Fierceness of long Eyebrows, thick Beards and Whiskers, and sunk Hair. He always wore his *Camplane*, or Cimeter, and *Cris*, or Dagger; the Hilt of them both resembling the Heads of Snakes gilt. This is affirm'd by Officers that attended, and convers'd with him familiarly, to whom he was obligingly Courteous, and it appears by Relations, and by the Picture drawn to the Life, which the General sent into *Spain* for the King.

*Rejoycings* The Rejoycings for the Victory were continu'd with much Solemnity the *Indians*, who were the principal Subject of them, being present. The King of *Ternate* understanding that Messengers were sending away to *Spain* to carry the News of the Success, and Account of the Prisoners, writ short Letter to the King, intermixt with Commendations of *Don Pedro de Arana* and some other *Spanish* Commanders. He represented the change of his Condition, with somewhat of Submission, but not Humility, or rather Meanness; and intreated his Majesty to extend his Royal Goodness towards the Conquer'd, for his own Magnanimity's sake, and on Account of the perpetual Fidelity, and Vassalage they had sworn to him. This Letter was writ by another Hand, and in *Spanish*. When it was give him to sign, the King turn'd the upside down, and Writ his Name on the white half Page in *Persian* Characters, thinking he had sign'd at the Beginning, or Top of the Letter, as is practis'd by the Princes of those Countries. The *Molucos* being Reduc'd, our Ministers and Preachers went over thither, and the Voice of the Gospel refounded again in the utmost Borders of the Earth.

**F I N I S.**

landed instead of the other. The People of that Town imagin'd, that *Villagra* brought considerable Forces, and therefore to secure the Queen, and themselves, they gather'd above 2500 fighting Men, under Pretence they would not suffer *Celheaya* to be taken away. They hid themselves with their Arms, yet not so but that the Captain knew of it. He took no Notice, but coming up to one of the Bastions of the Town, which were both next the River, drew off the Cannon, some few of the Natives, and those Boys helping him; the Rest waiting for more considerable Action, in Arms. Then he disarm'd the other Bastion, assist'd by *Francis Romando*, and *John Rodriguez Barreto*, Captains of the Gallies. The Town stands on the Bank of a River, up which they had run in their Boats; but returning with the Men that row'd, the Guns were loaded, the *Sangiack Rete* forwarding of it. He finding the People in an Uproar, would not have had the Cannon carry'd away, at that Time. Possession was not taken till afterwards, out of Respect to the Queen, and by Reason of the Mutiny of the People, who escap'd not unchastis'd. The Gallies return'd to *Gamocanora*, and not being able to get into the River, nor to stay out, because of the Flats, where an indifferent Wind may do much Harm, the least Part whereof was the Loss of the Vessels. *Gallinato* therefore considering, that if they should be cast away, the King was in his own Country, whence it would be impossible to get him out again, tho' a greater Power should be gather'd for that End, than what came from the *Philippine* Islands, and having consulted with him about the Method to be us'd to get in to *Gamocanora*, the *Sangiack* of that Place said to him. *Sir, if you have such Confidence in me, as I know you may, and my Advice is of any Force with you, do not go thither with these Gallies, for you will expose them to Shoals, and Winds. Since therefore here are two Queens of Tydore, let the Captain Villagra, the Notary, and the Interpreter go aboard them, and I will go along with them to my Country, where the same shall be done, as if the Gallies went in.*

*The People of Sabubu in Arms.*

Cachil Rete.

*His Advice to the Spaniards.*

*Gallinato* consulted with *Villagra*, and they approv'd of the Method, setting out in the *Carcoas* on Saturday in the Afternoon, and on Sunday Morning a League short of the River, the *Sangiack* told the Captain, he well knew he had been long from his Country, attending the King, and that his Subjects had no certain Account of him, and therefore, they might then as they us'd to do at other Times, come out to the Mouth of the River with a Fleet, to guard the Entrance. That if it should so happen, he must not be surpris'd, for they should all serve him. The Captain told him, how much he confided in him, since he had so easily follow'd his Advice, and was come to his Country almost Naked; and that whatsoever happen'd he would not misstrust him. Being come near the Mouth of the River, they saw 13 Vessels come out, and when in the Sea, they drew up in a half-Moon, and made up to enclose the Captain's *Carcoas*. The *Sangiack* seeing them near at Hand, went forward, and calling out, commanded them to be peaceable: As soon as they knew him, they obey'd, drew together their Vessels, and came to speak to him. He enquir'd into the Posture of his Affairs, and ask'd whether his Mother was there. They said she was, and gave him a long Account of all Things. They went before to carry his Mother the News of his Coming, and he order'd them to assemble all the People of the Town, and that none should appear arm'd, for they never us'd to lay aside their *Campilanes*.

*Villagra trusts the Sangiack*

*He appeales his Subjects.*

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Cachil Sugui, and Cachil Quipat Governours.

that were to be left at *Ternate*, and their friendly Entertainment of them. This Message was deliver'd to the King by *F. Lewis Fernandez*, of the Society of *Jesús*, *Gallinato*, and *Esquivel*. They did it with much Respect, adding, that he was to go to *Manila*, and therefore he should appoint such Persons, as he would have to Govern during his Absence. The King complying, submitted to every Thing, and nam'd *Cachil Sugui*, and *Cachil Quipat*, both of them his Unkles, to be Governours, because they were of a peaceable and honest Disposition.

Solemnity for swearing Fealty.

A Day was appointed for the solemn Act of doing Homage. The great Hall in the Fort was hung with Silk, rich Canopys set up; the Governour took his Seat under the chiefest of them, all the Forces being at Arms; and then he declar'd to the Kings the Occasion of assembling them together, which was to swear Fealty to his Majesty, a Duty that had been so long put off, and at the same Time so much labour'd for by War.

Persons that swore Fealty.

They swore Fealty to our Sovereign Lord King *Philip*, in the Person of the Governour *Don Pedro*. The first was *Cachil Sultan Zyde Buxey*, King of *Ternate*, and *Cachil Sulamp Gariolano*, the Prince, his Son. Then *Cachil Mole*, King of *Tydore*; *Cachil Raxa Laudin*, King of *Bachian*; *Cachil Dink*, King of *Sian*, who had never done it before, but only profess'd Friendship. After them swore the *Sangiacks* and *Cachiles*, *Tulo*, *Codaie*, *Amuxa*, *Rete*, *Als*, *Nayo*, *Quipate*, *Colambaboa*, *Dexetes*, *Pamuza*, *Babada*, *Bareat*, *Sugi*, *Gugu*, *Boleyse*, *Gulila*, *Maleyto*, *Banaba*, all of them Princes, Kinsmen, and Subjects to the *Molucco* King. They promis'd not to admit of the *Dutch*, nor any other Nations, to the Trade of Clove, and to preserve it entirely for his Majesty, and his Subjects; and to be assisting with their Persons, Forces, and Ships, whensoever they should be call'd upon by the Commander of the Fort of *Ternate*, or of the *Philippines*. It was also agreed, that they should not any Way obstruct the Conversion of the Gentils that were inclin'd to embrace Christianity.

Another Fort built at *Tydore*.

They were all satisfy'd with this Beginning of their new Subjection, because the King of *Ternate* oppress'd them, as being the most potent, and supported by the *Dutch*; nor had they any Security against his Tyranny; especially since he caus'd the King of *Tydore's* Father to be treacherously murder'd, the King of *Bachian's* in War, and a Kinsman of his, which they both still resent'd. *Don Pedro* order'd another Fort to be erected at *Tydore*, and a Captain with 50 Men to Garrison it; at the Request of the King, by whose Assistance it was finish'd. It was resolv'd, that for the present, the third Part of the Duties the People of *Ternate* us'd to pay, should be taken off, so to make them easy, that they might reap some Benefit of our Victory, and not be perswaded it tended to increase their Oppression. The old Fort being small, and unfit to make any considerable Defence, it was thought fit to build one on a higher Ground, larger, and stronger. The Plan was laid out, and Orders given for carrying on the Work. The said old Fort was brought into a narrow Compass, whilst the new one was raising, which the Governour, before he departed *Ternate*, saw finish'd, quite enclos'd, and strengthened with Ramparts. Six hundred Men, distributed into six Companies, were left in it, to defend the Island against any Invasion. Six other Captains were reform'd. There were also twelve Gunners, 65 Pioneers, 35 Masons, and two good Brigantines, which, in Case of Necessity,

*Ternate* eas'd of Duties.

Men left at *Ternate*.

might

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- Queen of Ternate incenses the  
*against the Portugueses,*  
*Recovers the King her Son,*  
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*vance,*  
*In Love with the Kings Son,*  
*In Love with the Portuguese Com  
 der,*  
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*Makes Peace with Portugueses,*  
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*Of China,*  
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were reduc'd, and defend them against those of *Galala* and *Tabelo*, which are bigger than they. This done he return'd to *Ternate*, but not without Storms, and Dangers, incurr'd by giving Credit to a *Molucco* Slave.

The Governour mann'd a Galliot, a Brigantine, and some smaller Vessels with Soldiers, and *Chineses* to row, under the Command of the Ensign *Christopher Suarez*. He sail'd with a fair Wind for the Island *Mateo*, which we call *Celebes*, the nearest Part whereof is 30 Leagues West from *Ternate*, and its Length above 150 Leagues. The furthest Part of it is subject to the King of *Macassar*, a *Mahometan* Prince, with whom the People of *Malaca* have Trade, as also with three other heathen Kings, of whom there was a Report, that they desired to be Christians; but they fell under the Tyranny of the King of *Ternate*, and suffer'd by his Invasions and Burnings. *Esquivel* sent to acquaint them with the King of *Spain's* Victories and Success; and exhorted them to come under his Dominion, but above all to be united to the Church. He made them Presents of *European* Commodities, which are as good as Money with them, and offer'd the Protection of the *Spanish* Power, which had pull'd down that Tyrant, to whom they were Tributary. He said, he sent them Ships and Arms, and that for the Time to come, they might safely repair to trade at the *Moluccas*. These Princes were two Brothers, the one King of *Bool*, the other of *Totoli*. They joyc'd at the coming of the Ambassador *Christopher Suarez*, and he presenting them some Pieces of Velvet, in Token of Friendship, they return'd other Gifts, and Abundance of Provisions, and dismiss'd him, with a Letter to the Governour. Queen *Dongue* of *Causipa*, testify'd to *Esquivel* no less Satisfaction, and Inclination to be united to the King of *Spain* by Vassalage.

Message from Esquivel to the Heathen Kings of Bool, and Totoli.

The Garrisons of the Rebellious Towns were assaulted by the *Spaniards*, and compell'd to submit. The King of *Tydore* made Havock on the Coast of *Batobina*, or *Gilolo*, where he recover'd for his Majesty, and for himself, the Towns and Forts that had been taken from him by the King of *Ternate*. He plunder'd the great Town of *Mira*, in *Morotay*, and made Captives of many that oppos'd him, who had also been Christians. Among the rest he took a *Guimala*, which signifies, a Chief, or Head of a Quarter, or Ward, whom he again set at Liberty, at the Request of our Men, sending him away with two other *Guimalas*, in the Company of Captain *John de la Torre*. The Islands in those Parts were reducing by Degrees, with little Opposition. Those of the *Meaos*, lying to the North-West, towards *Manila*, being among, and full of large Towns, defended themselves, with the Assistance, and Industry of the *Dutch*; but *B. Antony Flores*, a Lay-Brother, of the Order of *S. Augustin*, who fought against the *Sangleys* of *Manila*, as has been said above, coming thither with the Gallies, they submitted. The Ensign *Lewis de Zuazo* arriv'd after the Business was over, and they being now successful, and understanding that the *Dutch* Ship was sail'd from *Gilolo*, made after her. She was so good a Sailer, that they labour'd in vain; but carry'd on the War at *Gilolo* and *Sabubu*, which made the *Ternate* Governours put up their Complaints, and lay aside their Designs. They writ to the Governour, and he answer'd them, sending a Copy of the Articles, upon which they offer'd to repair to *Ternate*, in peaceable Manner. All our Commanders were dispers'd in several

King of Tydore's Actions.

Meaos Islands subdu'd.

Reduction of other Islands.

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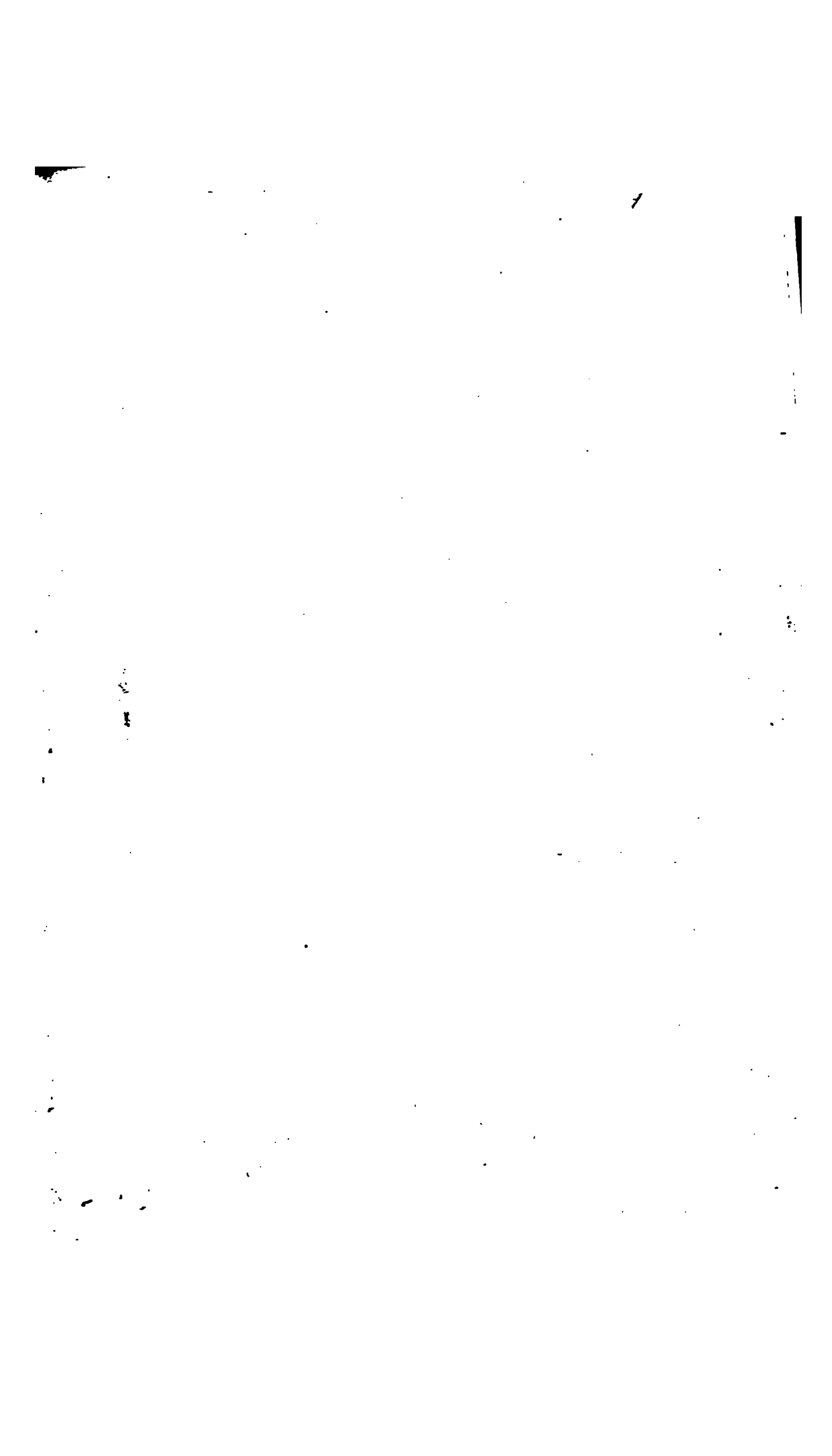
*Directions for placing of the CUTS.*

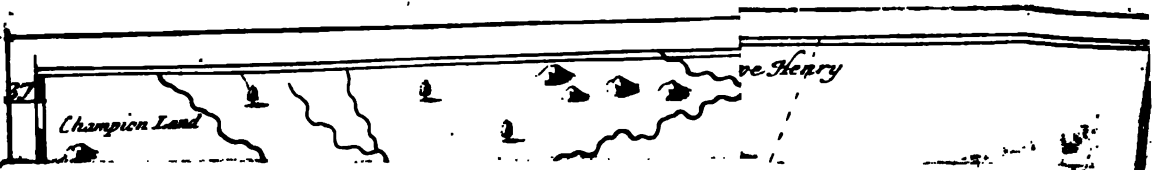
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*Champion Land*

*ve Henry*

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A NEW  
**VOYAGE**  
TO  
**CAROLINA;**  
CONTAINING THE  
*Exact Description and Natural History*  
OF THAT  
**COUNTRY:**

Together with the *Present State* thereof.

AND  
**A JOURNAL**

Of a Thousand Miles, Travel'd thro' several  
Nations of *INDIANS*.

Giving a particular Account of their Customs,  
Manners, &c.

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By **JOHN LAWSON**, Gent. Surveyor-  
General of *North-Carolina*.

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**LONDON:**  
Printed in the Year 1709.



203. h. 117. (2)



ral Places, reducing the Islands of the *Moluccos* that had Rebel'd, either by Force of Arms, or other Methods; and particularly those belonging to the *Sultan of Ternate*, which are few under an hundred; and thus Peace began to be establish'd, which if not Wish'd for, was at least Tolerated, and accepted of with such Appearances as are becoming to make it honourable.

The King  
and Mo-  
lucco  
Prisoners  
attempt to  
escape.

Whilst the *Molucco* Islands submitted by Force to receive the Yoke, the Governour, *Don Pedro de Acunna*, was sailing for *Manila*. Captain *Villagra* was at a Distance from the Fleet, with the King, Prince, and *Sangiacks* that were Prisoners, aboard the Admiral Galley. This made them form a Design to attempt to make their Escape to *Mindanao*, and they had succeeded, if not prevented by the Soldiers that guarded them. Captain *Villagra* either Suspected, or had Information of it, and therefore doubled the Guards, and put eight of the most daring into Chains. Among the most remarkable were *Cachil Anuxa*, the *Sangiacck Rete*, and he of *Mofaquinia*. They all arriv'd at *Manila*, but their Fetters were taken-off before they came thither, after they had worn them ten Days, with much Regret of the King, whom they satisfy'd with Hopes, and acquainting him with some of the Grounds there were to suspect, till the Danger of laying them aside ceas'd. The Hazard at *Mindanao* was, that those Islands are not Tributary, yet they value themselves upon entertaining Friendship with the King of *Ternate*; and it is most certain, that had he attempted to fly, and succeeded in it, they would have supported him there; and *Villagra* had Intelligence given him, that the King either made, or approv'd of the Proposal; tho' there was no want of Care and Vigilancy either in *Don Pedro's* Ship, or the Admiral Galley.

Don Pedro  
de Acunna  
suppos'd to  
be poison'd.

During all this Time we have spoken of, the News of our Success was not brought to the *Philippine* Islands. This long Silence, and Want of Intelligence, became an Argument in those Parts, and particularly at *Manila*, that *Don Pedro* and the Fleet were lost, or at least had met with such ill Success as deserv'd to be generally lamented. Virtue never fail'd of envious Persons to persecute it, and accordingly *Don Pedro* was not without them at *Manila*; but tho' they were well known, in so much that in the general Opinion of all Men, they are suppos'd to have given the Poison, whereof that great Man was thought to have dy'd 22 Days after his Return, we will nevertheless suppress their Names, since it is not the Part of an Author, whose Duty it is to observe an exact Neutrality, and not to be led any Way by Affection, to confirm that Deposition, which, as yet, is no better grounded than on Suspicion. They are all Dead long since, and have been try'd before that great Tribunal, where the least thought cannot pass without being accounted for. These Men gave out, That *Don Pedro* attacking *Ternate*, enter'd it successfully; but that his Men had been too intent upon Plunder, the Enemy rallyed, and falling upon the *Spaniards*, beat them out again, killing most of them. And that the General being asham'd of his ill Conduct, durst not return to *Manila*.

False Re-  
ports a-  
broad.

Indians  
inhabitants

This Report being spread abroad among the *Indians*, did so much Harm, that they began to Mutiny, especially in the Provinces of *Camarines*, and *Pintados*; in so much that the Fryers who attended their Instruction, could not deal with them any longer, for they said, That since the People  
of

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To His Excellency

WILLIAM Lord CRAVEN, Palatine;  
The most Noble, HENRY Duke of BEAUFORT;  
The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> JOHN Lord CARTERET;  
The Hon<sup>ble</sup> MAURICE ASHLEY, Esq;  
SIR JOHN COLLETON, Baronet,  
JOHN DANSON, Esq;

And the rest of the True and Absolute

**LORDS-PROPRIETORS**  
OF THE  
Province of *Carolina* in *America*.

MY LORDS,

**A**S Debts of Gratitude ought most punctually to be paid, so, where the Debtor is incapable of Payment, Acknowledgments ought, at least, to be made. I cannot, in the least, pretend to retaliate *Your Lordships* Favours to me, but must farther intrude on that Goodness of which I have already had so good Experience, by laying these Sheets at *Your Lordships* Feet, where they beg Protection, as having nothing to recommend them, but Truth; a Gift which every Author may be Master of, if he will.

mercies of long by  
He always wore his *Camplane*,  
of them both resembling the Heads of *Spain*,  
Officers that attended, and convers'd with him familiarly,  
obligingly Courteous, and it appears by Relations, and by the Relation  
to the Life, which the General sent into *Spain* for the King.  
The Rejoycings for the Victory were continu'd with much Solemnity,  
the *Indians*, who were the principal Subject of them, being present. The  
King of *Ternate* understanding that Messengers were sending away to *Spain*  
to carry the News of the Success, and Account of the Prisioners, writ a  
short Letter to the King, intermixt with Commendations of *Don Pedro de*  
*Auruna* and some other *Spanish* Commanders. He represented the change  
of his Condition, with somewhat of Submission, but not Humility, or ra-  
ther Meanness; and intreated his Majesty to extend his Royal Goodness  
towards the Conquer'd, for his own Magnanimity's sake, and on Account  
of the perpetual Fidelity, and Vassalage they had sworn to him. This  
Letter was writ by another Hand, and in *Spanish*. When it was given  
him to sign, the King turn'd the upside down, and Writ his Name on the  
white half Page in *Perisian* Characters, thinking he had sign'd at the Be-  
ginning, or Top of the Letter, as is practis'd by the Princes of those Coun-  
tries. The *Moluccos* being Reduc'd, our Ministers and Preachers went  
over thither, and the Voice of the Gospel resounded again in the utmost  
Borders of the Earth.

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F I N I S.

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# PREFACE.

**T**IS a great Misfortune, that most of our Travellers, who go to this vast Continent in America, are Persons of the meaner Sort, and generally of a very slender Education; who being hir'd by the Merchants, to trade amongst the Indians, in which Voyages they often spend several Years, are yet, at their Return, uncapable of giving any reasonable Account of what they met withal in those remote Parts; tho' the Country abounds with Curiosities worthy a nice Observation. In this Point, I think, the French outstrip us.

First, By their Numerous Clergy, their Missionaries being obedient to their Superiors in the highest Degree, and that Obedience being one great Article of their Vow, and strictly observ'd amongst all their Orders.

Secondly, They always send abroad some of their Gentlemen in Company of the Missionaries, who, upon their Arrival, are order'd out into the Wilderness, to make Discoveries, and to acquaint themselves with the Savages of America; and are oblig'd to keep a strict Journal of all the Passages they meet withal, in order to present the same not only to their Governors and Fathers, but likewise to their Friends and Relations in France; which is industriously spread about that Kingdom, to their Advantage. For their Monarch being a very good Judge of Mens Deserts, does not often let Money or Interest make Men of Parts give Place to others of less Worth. This breeds an Honourable Emulation amongst  
them,

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## P R E F A C E.

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*them, to outdo one another, even in Fatigues, and Dangers; whereby they gain a good Correspondence with the Indians, and acquaint themselves with their Speech and Customs; and so make considerable Discoveries in a short time. Witness, their Journals from Canada, to the Missisipi, and its several Branches, where they have effected great Matters, in a few Years.*

*Having spent most of my Time, during my eight Years Abode in Carolina, in travelling, I not only survey'd the Sea-Coast and those Parts which are already inhabited by the Christians, but likewise view'd a spacious Tract of Land, lying betwixt the Inhabitants and the Ledges of Mountains, from whence our noblest Rivers have their Rise, running towards the Ocean, where they water as pleasant a Country as any in Europe; the Discovery of which being never yet made publick, I have, in the following Sheets, given you a faithful Account thereof, wherein I have laid down every thing with Impartiality, and Truth, which is indeed, the Duty of every Author, and preferable to a smooth Stile, accompany'd with Fables and Hyperboles.*

*Great Part of this pleasant and healthful Country is inhabited by none but Savages, who covet a Christian Neighbourhood, for the Advantage of Trade, and enjoy all the Comforts of Life, free from Care and Want.*

*But not to amuse my Readers any longer with the Encomium of Carolina, I refer 'em to my Journal, and other more particuler Description of that Country and its Inhabitants, which they will find after the Natural History thereof, in which I have been very exact, and for Method's sake, rang'd each Species under its distinct and proper Head.*

INTRO

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tering-Place, a *French* Man of War, who had on Board Men and Necessaries to make a Colony, and was intended for the *Mississippi* River, there to settle. The Country of *New-York* is very pleasant in Summer, but in the Winter very cold, as all the *Northern* Plantations are. Their chief Commodities are Provisions, Bread, Beer, Lumber, and Fish in abundance; all which are very good, and some Skins and Furrs are hence exported. The City is govern'd by a Mayor, (as in *England*), is seated on an Island, and lies very convenient for Trade and Defence, having a regular Fort, and well mounted with Guns. The Buildings are generally of a smaller Sort of *Flamish* Brick, and of the *Dutch* Fashion, (excepting some few Houses :) They are all very firm and good Work, and conveniently plac'd, as is likewise the Town, which gives a very pleasant Prospect of the neighbouring Islands and Rivers. A good Part of the Inhabitants are *Dutch*, in whose Hands this Colony once was. After a Fort-night's Stay here, we put out from *Sandyhook*, and in 14 Days after, arriv'd at *Charles-Town*, the Metropolis of *South-Carolina*, which is situate in 32, 45 *North* Latitude, and admits of large Ships to come over their Bar up to the Town, where is a very commodious Harbour, about 5 Miles distant from the Inlet, and stands on a Point very convenient for Trade, being seated between two pleasant and navigable Rivers. The Town has very regular and fair Streets, in which are good Buildings of Brick and Wood, and since my coming thence, has had great Additions of beautiful, large Brick-buildings, besides a strong Fort, and regular Fortifications made to defend the Town. The Inhabitants, by their wise Management and Industry, have much improv'd the Country, which is in as thriving Circumstances at this Time, as any Colony on the Continent of *English America*, and is of more Advantage to the Crown of *Great Britain*, than any of the other more *Northerly* Plantations, (*Virginia* and *Maryland* excepted.) This Colony was at first planted by a genteel Sort of People, that were well acquainted with Trade, and had either Money or Parts, to make good Use of the Advantages that offer'd, as most of them have done, by raising themselves to great Estates, and considerable Places of Trust, and Posts of Honour,

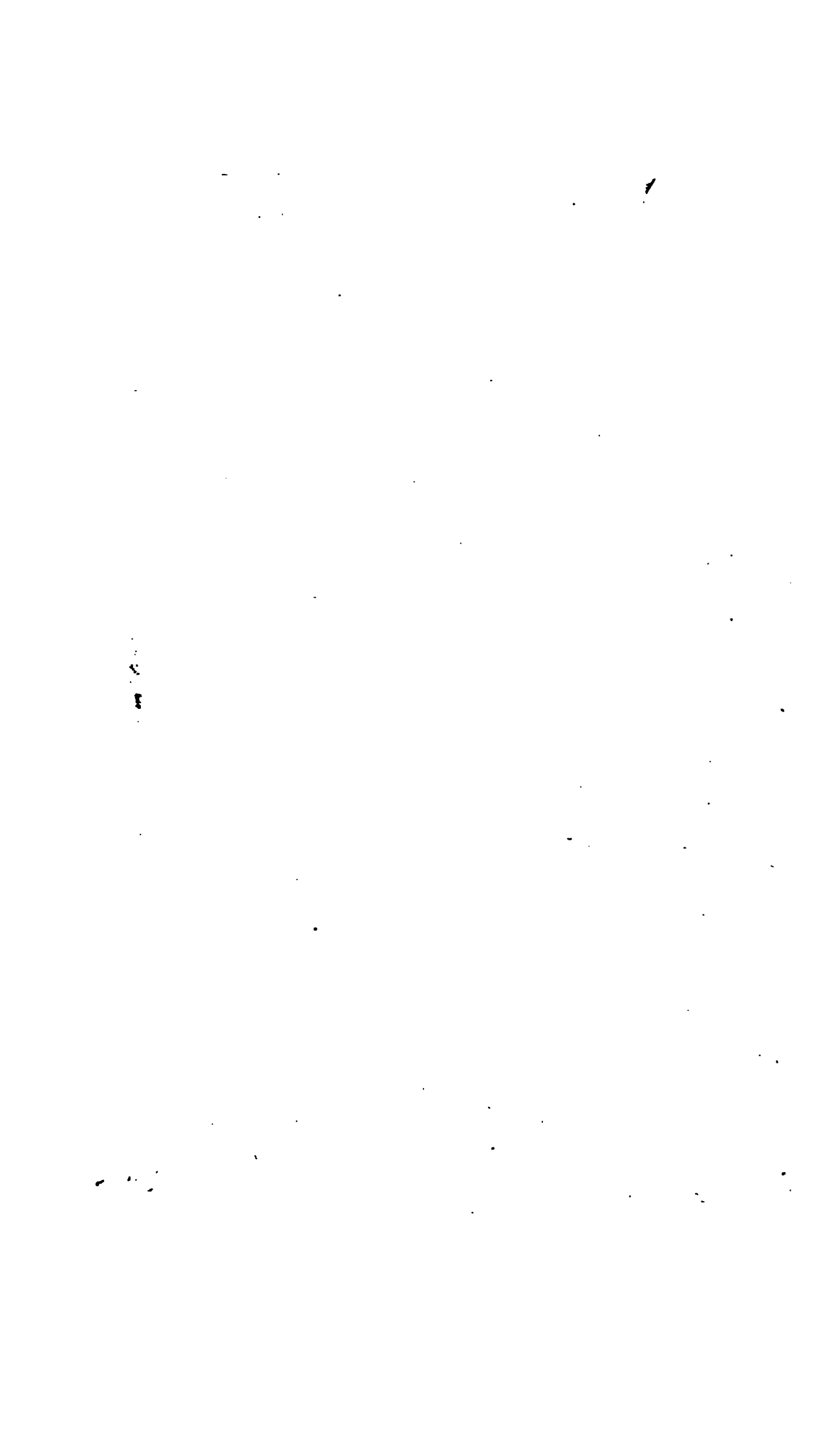
# I N D E X.

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many Encounters and Engagements, in which they have defeated them, too tedious to relate here. What the *French* got by their Attempt against *South Carolina*, will hardly ever be rank'd amongst their Victories, their Admiral *Morville* being glad to leave the Enterprize, and run away, after he had suffer'd all the Loss and Disgrace he was capable of receiving. They are absolute Masters over the *Indians*, and carry so strict a Hand over such as are within the Circle of their Trade, that none does the least Injury to any of the *English*, but he is presently sent for, and punish'd with Death, or otherwise, according to the Nature of the Fault. They have an entire Friendship with the neighbouring *Indians* of several Nations, which are a very warlike People, ever faithful to the *English*, and have prov'd themselves brave and true on all Occasions; and are a great Help and Strength to this Colony. The Chief of the savage Nations have heretofore groan'd under the *Spanish* Yoke, and having experienc'd their Cruelty, are become such mortal Enemies to that People, that they never give a *Spaniard* Quarter; but generally, when they take any Prisoners, (if the *English* be not near to prevent it) sculp them, that is, to take their Hair and Skin off their Heads, which they often flea away, whilst the Wretch is alive. Notwithstanding the *English* have us'd all their Endeavours, yet they could never bring them to leave this Barbarity to the *Spaniards*, who, as they alledge, use to murder them and their Relations, and make Slaves of them to build their Forts and Towns.

This Place is more plentiful in Money, than most, or indeed any of the Plantations on the Continent; besides, they build a considerable Number of Vessels of Cedar, and other Wood, with which they trade to *Girassan*, and the *West Indies*, from one they bring Money, and from the other the Produce of their Islands, which yields a necessary Supply of both to the Colony. Their Stocks of Cattle are incredible, being from one to two thousand Head in one Man's Possession: These feed in the *Savannas*, and other Grounds, and need no Fodder in the Winter. Their Mutton and Veal is good, and their Pork is not inferior to any in *America*. As for Pitch and Tar, none of the Plantations are comparable for affording



A  
**JOURNAL**

O F

*A thousand Miles Travel among the  
 Indians, from South to North  
 Carolina.*

*Saturday.*



N. December the 28th, 1700, I began my Voyage (for North Carolina) from Charles-Town, being six English-men in Company, with three Indian-men, and one Woman, Wife to our Indian-Guide, having five Miles from the Town to the Breach we went down in a large Canoe, that we had provided for our Voyage thither, having the Tide of Ebb along with us; which was so far spent by that Time we got down, that we had not Water enough for our Craft to go over, although we drew but two Foot, or thereabouts. This Breach is a Passage through a Marsh lying to the Northward of Sullivans Island, the Pilot's having a Look out thereon, lying very commodious for Mariners. (on that Coast) making a good Land-Mark in so level a Country, this Bar being difficult to hit, where an Observation hath been wanting for a Day or two; North East Winds bringing great Fogs, Mists, and Rains; which, towards the cool Months of October, November, and until the latter End of March, often appear in these Parts. There are three Pilots to attend, and conduct Ships over the Bar. The Harbour where the Vessels generally ride, is against the Town on Cooper's River, lying within a Point which parts that and Abley-River, they being Land-lock'd almost on all Sides.

As



Septem. 5. 1700. who, with above an hundred Men then on Board her, were every Soul drown'd in that terrible Gust which then happen'd; most of the Corps being taken up, were carefully interr'd by Mr. *Graham*, their Lieutenant, who happily was on Shore during the Tempest.

After Dinner, we left out *Scotch* Landlord, and went that Night to the *North East* Point of the Island: It being dark ere we got there, our Canoe struck on a Sand near the Breakers, and were in great Danger of our Lives, but (by God's Blessing) got off safe to the Shore, where we lay all Night.

Monday. In the Morning we set forwards on our intended Voyage. About two a Clock we got to *Bulls* Island, which is about thirty Miles long, and hath a great Number of both Cattel and Hogs upon it; the Cattel being very wild, and the Hogs very lean. These two last Islands belong to one Colonel *Cary*, an Inhabitant of *South Carolina*. Although it were Winter, yet we found such Swarms of Musketoes, and other troublesome Insects, that we got but little Rest that Night.

Tuesday. The next Day we intended for a small Island on the other Side of *Seven Bay*, which joining to these Islands, Shipping might come to victual or careen; but there being such a Burden of those Flies, that few or none cares to settle there; so the Stock thereon are run wild. We were gotten about half Way to *Bacon* Island, when there sprung up a tart Gale at *N. W.* which put us in some Danger of being cast away, the Bay being rough, and there running great Seas between the two Islands, which are better than four Leagues asunder, a strong Current of a Tide setting in and out, which made us turn Tail to it, and got our Canoe right before the Wind, and came safe into a Creek that is joining to the *North* End of *Bulls* Island. We sent our *Indians* to hunt, who brought us two Deers, which were very poor, and their Maws full of large Grubs.

Wednesday. On the Morrow we went and visited the *Eastermost* Side of this Island, it joining to the Ocean, having very fair sandy Beaches, pav'd with innumerable Sorts of curious pretty Shells, very pleasant to the Eye. Amongst the rest, we found the *Spanish* Oyster-Shell, whence come the Pearls. They are very large, and of a different Form from other Oysters; their Colour

Colour much resembles the Tortoise-Shell, when it is dress'd. There was left by the Tide several strange Species of a muciliginous slimy Substance, though living, and very aptly mov'd at their first Appearance; yet, being left on the dry Sand, (by the Beams of the Sun) soon exhale and vanish.

At our Return to our Quarters, the *Indians* had kill'd two more Deer, two wild Hogs, and three Racoons, all very lean, except the Racoons. We had great Store of Oysters, Conks, and Clams, a large Sort of Cockles. These Parts being very well furnish'd with Shell-Fish, Turtle of several Sorts, but few or none of the green, with other Sorts of Salt-water Fish, and in the Season; good Plenty of Fowl, as Curleus, Gulls, Gannets, and Pellicans, besides Duck and Mallard, Geese, Swans, Teal, Widgeon, &c.

On *Thursday* Morning we left *Bulls* Island, and went thro' the Creeks, which lie between the Bay and the main Land. At Noon we went on Shore, and got our Dinner near a Plantation, on a Creek having the full Prospect of *Sewee*-Bay: We sent up to the House, but found none at Home, but a Negro, of whom our Messenger purchas'd some small Quantity of Tobacco and Rice. We came to a deserted *Indian* Residence, call'd *Avendaugh-bough*, where we rested that Night.

The next Day we enter'd *Santes*-River's Mouth, where is fresh Water, occasion'd by the extraordinary Current that comes down continually. With hard Rowing, we got two Leagues up the River, lying all Night in a swampy Piece of Ground, the Weather being so cold all that Time, we were almost frozen ere Morning, leaving the Impressions of our Bodies on the wet Ground. We set forward very early in the Morning, to seek some better Quarters.

As we row'd up the River, we found the Land towards the Mouth, and for about sixteen Miles up it, scarce any Thing but Swamp and Percoarson, affording vast *Ciprus*-Trees, of which the *French* make Canoes, that will carry fifty or sixty Barrels. After the Tree is moulded and dug, they saw them in two Pieces, and so put a Plank between, and a small Keel, to preserve them from the Oyster-Banks, which are innumerable in the Creeks and Bays betwixt the *French* Settlement and *Charles-Town*. They carry two Masts, and Bermudas Sails,

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## DEDICATION.

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I here present *Your Lordships* with a Description of your own Country, for the most part, in her Natural Dress, and therefore less viated with Fraud and Luxury. A Country, whose Inhabitants may enjoy a Life of the greatest Ease and Satisfaction, and pass away their Hours in solid Contentment.

Those Charms of *Liberty* and *Right*, the Darlings of an *English* Nature, which *Your Lordships* grant and maintain, make you appear Noble Patrons in the Eyes of all Men, and we a happy People in a Foreign Country; which nothing less than Ingratitude and Baseness can make us disown.

As Heaven has been liberal in its Gifts, so are *Your Lordships* favourable Promoters of whatever may make us an easy People; which, I hope, *Your Lordships* will continue to us and our Posterity; and that we and they may always acknowledge such Favours, by banishing from among us every Principle which renders Men factious and unjust, which is the hearty Prayer of,

MY LORDS,

*Your Lordships* most obliged,

most humble,

and most devoted Servant,

JOHN LAWSON.

repeated Applications, have deserted the Patient as incurable; God having furnish'd every Country with specifick Remedies for their pecuiliar Diseases.

Rum, a Liquor now so much in Use with them, that they will part with the dearest Thing they have, to purchase it; and when they have got a little in their Heads, are the impatient Creatures living, till they have enough to make 'em quite drunk; and the most miserable Spectacles when they are so, some falling into the Fires, burn their Legs or Arms, contracting the Sinews, and become Cripples all their Life-time; others from Precipices break their Bones and Joints, with a abundance of Instances, yet none are so great to deter them from that accur'd Practice of Drunkenness, though sensible how many of them (are by it) hurry'd into the other World before their Time. as themselves oftentimes will confesse. The *Indians*, I was now speaking of, were not content with the common Enemies that lessen and destroy their Country-men, but invented an infallible Stratagem to purge their Tribe, and reduce their Multitude into far less Numbers. Their Contrivance was thus, as a Trader amongst them inform'd me.

They seeing several Ships coming in, to bring the *English* Supplies from *Old England*, one chief Part of their Cargo being for a Trade with the *Indians*, some of the craftiest of them had observ'd, that the Ships came always in at one Place, which made them very confident that Way was the exact Road to *England*; and seeing so many Ships come thence, they believ'd it could not be far thither, esteeming the *English* that were among them, no better than Cheats, and thought, if they could carry the Skins and Furs they got, themselves to *England*, which were inhabited with a better Sort of People than those sent amongst them, that then they should purchase twenty times the Value for every Pelt they sold Abroad, in Consideration of what Rates they sold for at Home. The intended Barter was exceeding well approv'd of, and after a general Consultation of the ablest Heads amongst them, it was, *Nemo Contradicente*, agreed upon, immediately to make an Addition of their Fleet, by building more Canoes, and these to be of the best Sort, and biggest Size, as fit for their intended Discovery. Some *Indians* were employ'd about making



They never bearing more of their Fleet.

king the Canoes, others to hunting, every one to the Post he was most fit for, all Endeavours tending towards an able Fleet and Cargo for *Europe*. The Affair was carry'd on with a great deal of Secrecy and Expedition, so as in a small Time they had gotten a Navy, Loading, Provisions, and Hands ready to set sail, leaving only the Old, Impotent, and Minors at Home, 'till their successful Return. The Wind presenting, they set up their Mat-Sails, and were scarce out of Sight, when there rose a Tempest, which it's suppos'd carry'd one Part of these *Indian* Merchants, by Way of the other World, whilst the others were taken up at Sea by an *English* Ship, and sold for Slaves to the Islands. The Remainder are better satisfy'd with their Imbecilities in such an Undertaking, nothing affronting them more, than to rehearse their Voyage to *England*.

There being a strong Current in *Santee*-River, caus'd us to make small Way with our Oars. With hard Rowing, we got that Night to *Monf. Eugee's* House, which stands about fifteen Miles up the River, being the first Christian dwelling we met withal in that Settlement, and were very courteously receiv'd by him and his Wife.

Many of the *French* follow a Trade with the *Indians*, living very conveniently for that Interest. There is about seventy Families seated on this River, who live as decently and happily, as any Planters in these *Southward* Parts of *America*. The *French* being a temperate industrious People, some of them bringing very little of Effects, yet by their Endeavours and mutual Assistance amongst themselves, (which is highly to be commended) have out-stript our *English*, who brought with 'em larger Fortunes, though (as it seems) less endeavour to manage their Talent to the best Advantage. 'Tis admirable to see what Time and Industry will (with God's Blessing) effect. *Carolina* affording many strange Revolutions in the Age of a Man, daily Instances presenting themselves to our View, of so many, from despicable Beginnings, which in a short Time arrive to very splended Conditions. Here Propriety hath a large Scope, there being no strict Laws to bind our Privileges. A Quest after Game, being as freely and peremptorily enjoy'd by the meanest Planter, as he that is the highest in Dignity,

city, or wealthiest in the Province. Deer, and other Game that are naturally wild, being not immur'd, or preserv'd within Boundaries, to satisfy the Appetite of the Rich alone. A poor Labourer, that is Master of his Gun, &c. hath as good a Claim to have continu'd Courses of Delicacies crouded upon his Table, as he that is Master of a greater Purse.

We lay all that Night at Mons. *Fugee's*, and the next Morning set out farther, to go the Remainder of our Voyage by Land: At ten a Clock we pass'd over a narrow, deep Swamp, having left the three *Indian* Men and one Woman, that had piloted the Canoe from *Abby-River*, having hir'd a *Seneca-Indian*, a tall, lusty Fellow, who carry'd a Pack of our Cloaths, of great Weight, notwithstanding his Burden, we had much to do to keep pace with him. At Noon we came up with several *French* Plantations, meeting with several Creeks by the Way, the *French* were very officious in assisting with their small Dories to pass over these Waters, (whom we met coming from their Church) being all of them very clean and decent in their Apparel; their Houses and Plantations suitable in Neatness and Contrivance. They are all of the same Opinion with the Church of *Geneva*, there being no Difference amongst them concerning the *Punctilio's* of their Christian Faith; which Union hath propagated a happy and delightful Concord in all other Matters throughout the whole Neighbourhood; living amongst themselves as one Tribe, or Kindred, every one making it his Business to be assistant to the Wants of his Country-man, preserving his Estate and Reputation with the same Exactness and Concern as he does his own; all seeming to share in the Misfortunes, and joyce at the Advance, and Rise, of their Brethren.

Towards the Afternoon, we came to Mons. *L. Jandro*, where we got our Dinner; there coming some *French* Ladies whilst we were there, who were lately come from *England*, and Mons. *de Grand*, a worthy *Norman*, who hath been a great Sufferer in his Estate, by the Persecution in *France*, against those of the Protestant Religion: This Gentleman very kindly invited us to make our Stay with him all Night, but we being intended farther that Day, took our Leaves, returning Acknowledgments of their Favours.

About

About 4 in the Afternoon, we pass'd over a large *Carron* in a small Canoe; the *French* Doctor sent his Negro to guide us over the Head of a large Swamp; so we got that Night to *Monf. Gallian's* the elder, who lives in a very curious contriv'd House, built of Brick and Stone, which is gotten near that Place. Near here comes in the Road from *Charles-Town*, and the rest of the *English* Settlement, it being a very good Way by Land, and not above 36 Miles, altho' more than 100 by Water; and I think the most difficult Way I ever saw, occasion'd by Reason of the multitude of Creeks lying along the Main, keeping their Course thro' the Marshes, turning and winding like a Labyrinth, having the Tide of Ebb and Flood twenty Times in less than three Leagues going.

Monday.

The next Morning very early, we ferry'd over a Creek that runs near the House; and, after an Hour's Travel in the Woods, we came to the River-side, where we stay'd for the *Santee Indian*, who was our Guide, and was gone round by Water in a small Canoe, to meet us at that Place where we rested. He came after a small Time, and ferry'd us in that little Vessel over *Santee River* 4 Miles, and 84 Miles in the Woods, which the overflowing of the Freshes, which then came down, had made a perfect Sea of, there running an incredible Current in the River, which had cast our small Craft, and us, away, had we not had this *Santee Indian* with us; who are excellent Artists in managing these small Canoes.

*Santee River*, at this Time, (from the usual Depth of Water) was risen perpendicular 36 Foot, always making a Breach from her banks, about this Season of the Year: The general Opinion of the Cause thereof, is suppos'd to proceed from the overflowing of fresh Water-Lakes that lie near the Head of this River, and others, upon the same Continent: But my Opinion is, that these vast Inundations proceed from the great and repeated Quantities of Snow that falls upon the Mountains, which lie at so great a Distance from the Sea, therefore they have no Help of being dissolv'd by those saline, piercing Particles, as other adjacent Parts near the Ocean receive, and therefore lies and increases to a vast Bulk, until some mild *Southerly* Breezes coming on a sudden, continue to unlock these frozen Bodies, congeal'd by the *North-West* Wind, dissipating

ting them in Liquids; and coming down with Impetuosity, fills those Branches that feed these Rivers, and causes this strange Deluge, which oft-times lays under Water the adjacent Parts on both Sides this Current, for several Miles distant from her Banks; tho' the *French* and *Indians* affirm'd to me, they never knew such an extraordinary Flood there before.

We all, by God's Blessing, and the Endeavours of our *Indian*-Pilot, pass'd safe over the River, but was lost in the Woods, which seem'd like some great Lake, except here and there a Knoll of high Land, which appear'd above Water.

We intended for *Monf. Galliar's* Jun', but was lost, none of us knowing the Way at that Time, altho' the *Indian* was born in that Country; it having receiv'd so strange a *Metamorphosis*. We were in several Opinions concerning the right Way, the *Indian* and my self, suppos'd the House to bear one Way, the rest thought to the contrary; we differing, it was agreed on amongst us, that one half should go with the *Indian* to find the House, and the other part to stay upon one of these dry Spots, until some of them return'd to us, and inform'd us where it lay.

My self and two more were left behind, by Reason the Canoe would not carry us all; we had but one Gun amongst us, one Load of Ammunition, and no Provision. Had our Men in the Canoe miscarri'd, we must (in all Probability) there have perish'd.

In about six Hours Time, from our Mens Departure, the *Indian* came back to us in the same Canoe he went in, being half drunk; which assur'd us they had found some Place of Refreshment. He took us three into the Canoe, telling us all was well: Paddling our Vessel several Miles thro' the Woods, being often half full of Water; but at length we got safe to the Place we sought for, which prov'd to lie the same Way the *Indian* and I guess'd it did.

When we got to the House, we found our Comrades in the same Trim the *Indian* was in, and several of the *French* Inhabitants with them, who treated us very courteously, wondering at our undertaking such a Voyage, thro' a Country inhabited by none but Savages, and them of so different Nations and Tongues.

After we had refresh'd our selves, we parted from a very kind,

kind, loving, and affable People, who wish'd us a safe and prosperous Voyage.

Hearing of a Camp of *Santee Indians* not far off, we set out intending to take up our Quarters with them that Night. There being a deep Run of Water in the Way, one of our Company being top-heavy, and there being nothing but a small Pole for a Bridge, over a Creek, fell into the Water up to the Chin; my self laughing at the Accident, and not taking good Heed to my Steps, came to the same Misfortune; All our Bedding was wet. The Wind being at *N.W.* it froze very hard, which prepar'd such a Night's Lodging for me, that I never desire to have the like again; the wet Bedding and freezing Air had so qualify'd our Bodies, that in the Morning when we awak'd, we were nigh frozen to Death, until we had recruited our selves before a large Fire of the *Indians*.

Tuesday.

Tuesday Morning we set towards the *Congerees*, leaving the *Indian Guide Scipio* drunk amongst the *Santee-Indians*. We went ten Miles out of our Way, to head a great Swamp, the Freshes having fill'd them all with such great Quantities of Water, that the usual Paths were render'd unpassable. We met in our Way with an *Indian Hut*, where we were entertain'd with a fat, boil'd Goose, Venison, Raccoon, and ground Nuts. We made but little Stay; about Noon, we pass'd by several large Savannah's, wherein is curious Ranges for Cattel, being green all the Year; they were plentifully stor'd with Cranes, Geese, &c. and the adjacent Woods with great Flocks of Turkeys. This Day we travell'd about 30 Miles, and lay all Night at a House which was built for the *Indian Trade*, the Master thereof we had parted with at the *French Town*, who gave us Leave to make use of his Mansion. Such Houses are common in these Parts, and especially where there is *Indian Towns*, and Plantations near at hand, which this Place is well furnish'd withal.

These *Santee-Indians* are a well-humour'd and affable People; and living near the *English*, are become very tractable. They make themselves Cribs after a very curious Manner, wherein they secure their Corn from Vermin; which are more frequent in these warm Climates, than Countries more distant from the Sun. These pretty Fabricks are commonly  
sup-

supported with eight Feet or Posts, about seven Foot high from the Ground, well daub'd within and without upon Laths, with Loom or Clay, which makes them tight, and fit to keep out the smallest Insect, there being a small Door at the gable End, which is made of the same Composition, and to be remov'd at Pleasure, being no bigger, than that a slender Man may creep in at, cementing the Door up with the same Earth, when they take Corn out of the Crib, and are going from Home, always finding their Granaries in the same Posture they left them, Theft to each other being altogether unpractis'd, never receiving Spoils but from Foreigners.

Hereabouts the Ground is something higher than about Charles-Town, there being found some Quarries of brown free Stone, which I have seen made Use of for Building, and hath prov'd very durable and good. The Earth here is mix'd with white Gravel, which is rare, there being nothing like a Stone to be found, of the natural Produce, near to *Abby-River*.

The next Day about Noon we came to the Side of a great Swamp, where we were forc'd to strip our selves to get over it, which, with much Difficulty, we effected. Hereabouts the late Gust of Wind, which happen'd in *September* last, had torn the large Cyprus-Trees and Timbers up by the Roots, they lying confusedly in their Branches, did block up the Way, making the Passage very difficult.

This Night we got to one *Scipio's* Hutt, a famous Hunter: There was no Body at Home, but we having (in our Company) one that had us'd to trade amongst them, we made our selves welcome to what his Cabin afforded, (which is a Thing common) the *Indians* allowing it practicable to the *English* Traders, to take out of their Houses what they need in their Absence, in Lieu whereof they most commonly leave some small Gratiuity of Tobaco, Paint, Beads, &c. We found great Store of *Indian* Peas, (a very good Pulse) Beans, Oyl, Thinkapin Nuts, Corn, barbac'd Peaches, and Peach-Bread; which Peaches being made into a Quiddony, and so made up into Loves like Barley-Cakes, these cut into thin Slices, and dissolv'd in Water, makes a very grateful Acid, and extraordinary beneficial in Fevers, as hath often been try'd, and approv'd on by our *English* Practitioners. The Wind being at

Wednesday  
Septem. 5.  
1700.

*N.W.* with cold Weather, made us make a large Fire in the *Indian's* Cabin; being very intent upon our Cookery, we set the Dwelling on Fire, and with much ado, put it out, tho' with the Loss of Part of the Roof.

*Thursday.*

The next Day we travell'd on our Way, and about Noon came up with a Settlement of *Santee Indians*; there being Plantations lying scattering here and there, for a great many Miles. They came out to meet us, being acquainted with one of our Company, and made us very welcome with fat barbecu'd Venison, which the Woman of the Cabin took and tore in Pieces with her Teeth, so put it into a Mortar, beating it to Rags, afterwards stews it with Water, and other Ingredients, which makes a very savoury Dish.

At these Cabins came to visit us the King of the *Santee* Nation. He brought with him their chief Doctor or Physician, who was warmly and neatly clad with a Match-Coat, made of *Turkies* Feathers, which makes a pretty Shew, seeming as if it was a Garment of the deepest silk Shag. This Doctor had the Misfortune to lose his Nose by the Pox, which Disease the *Indians* often get by the *English* Traders that use amongst them; not but the Natives of *America* have for many Ages (by their own Confession) been afflicted with a Distemper much like the *Eues Venerea*, which hath all the Symptoms of the Pox, being different in this only; for I never could learn, that this Country-Distemper, or *Yaws*, is begun or continu'd with a *Gonorrhœa*; yet is attended with nocturnal Pains in the Limbs, and commonly makes such a Progress, as to vent Part of the Matter by Botches, and several Ulcers in the Body, and other Parts; oftentimes Death ensuing. I have known mercurial Unguents and Remedies work a Cure, following the same Methods as in the Pox; several white People, but chiefly the *Criolo's*, losing their Palates and Noses by this devouring Vulture.

It is epidemical, visiting these Parts of *America*, which is often occasion'd thro' the immoderate drinking of Rum, by those that commonly drink Water at other Times, cold Nights Lodging, and bad open Houses, and more chiefly by often wetting the Feet, and eating such Quantities of Pork as they do, which is a gross Food, and a great Propagator of such  
Juices

Juices as it often meets withal in human Bodies, once tainted with this Malady; which may differently, (in some Respects) act its Tragedy; the Change being occasion'd by the Difference of Climates and Bodies, as in *Europe*. We being well enough assur'd that the Pox had its first Rise (known to us) in this new World; it being caught of the *Indian* Women, by the *Spanish* Soldiers that follow'd *Columbus* in one of his Expeditions to *America*; who after their Arrival in *Old Spain*, were hasten'd to the Relief of *Naples*, at that Time besieg'd by the *French*. Provisions growing scarce, the useles People were turn'd out of the City, to lessen the Mouths; amongst these, the *Curtesans* were one Part, who had frequently embrac'd the *Spaniards*, being well fraught with Riches by their new Discovery. The Leager Ladies had no sooner lost their *Spanish* Dons, but found themselves as well entertain'd by the *French*, whose Camp they traded in, giving the Mounseurs as large a Share of the pocky Spoils within their own Lines, as the *Spaniards* had, who took the Pains to bring it in their Breeches as far as from *America*; the large Supplies of Swines Flesh, which that Army was chiefly victuall'd withal, made it rage. The Siege was rais'd; the *French* and *Spaniards* retreating to *Flanders*, which was a Parrade of all Nations, by which Means, this filthy Distemper crowded it self into most Nations of the known World.

Now to return to our Doctor, who in the Time of his Affliction withdrew himself (with one that labour'd under the same Distemper) into the Woods. These two perfected their Cures by proper Vegetables, &c. of which they have Plenty, and are well acquainted with their specifick Virtue.

I have seen such admirable Cures perform'd by these Savages, which would puzzle a great many graduate Practitioners to trace their Steps in Healing, with the same Expedition, Ease, and Success; using no racking Instruments in their Chirurgery, nor nice Rules of Diet and Physick, to verify the Saying, *qui Medice vivit, misere vivit*. In Wounds which penetrate deep, and seem mortal, they order a spare Diet, with drinking Fountain-water; if they perceive a white Matter, or Pus to arise, they let the Patient more at large, and presently cure him.



After these two had perform'd their Cures at no easier Rate than the Expence of both their Noses, coming again amongst their old Acquaintance so disfigur'd, the *Indians* admir'd to see them metamorphos'd after that manner; enquir'd of them where they had been all that Time, and what were become of their Noses? They made Answer; That they had been conversing with the white Man above, (meaning God Almighty) how they were very kindly entertain'd by that Great Being; he being much pleas'd with their Ways, and had promis'd to make their Capacities equal with the white People in making Guns, Ammunition, &c. in Retaliation of which, they had given him their Noses. The Verity of which, they yet hold, the *Indians* being an easy, credulous People, and most notoriously cheated by their Priests and Conjurers, both Trades meeting ever in one Person, and most commonly a Spice of Quackship added to the other two Ingredients, which renders that cunning Knave the Impostor to be more rely'd upon; thence a fitter Instrument to cheat these ignorant People, the Priest and Conjurers being never admitted to their Practice, 'till Years and the Experience of repeated Services hath wrought their Esteem amongst the Nations they belong to.

The *Santee* King, who was in Company with this *Nonos'd* Doctor, is the most absolute *Indian* Ruler in these Parts, although he is Head but of a small People, in Respect to some other Nations of *Indians*, that I have seen: He can put any of his People to Death that hath committed any Fault which he judges worthy of so great a Punishment. This Authority is rarely found amongst these Savages, for they act not (commonly) by a determinative Voice in their Laws, towards any one that hath committed Murder, or such other great Crime, but take this Method; him to whom the Injury was done, or if dead, the nearest of his Kindred prosecutes by Way of an actual Revenge, being himself; if Opportunity serves his Intent, both Judge and Executioner, performing so much Mischief on the Offender, or his nearest Relation, until such Time that he is fully satisfy'd: Yet this Reyenge is not so infallible, but it may be bought off with Beads, Tobacco, and such like Commodities that are useful.

useful amongst them, though it were the most sable Villany that could be acted by Mankind.

Some that attended the King, presented me with an odoriferous, balsamick Root, of a fragrant Smell and Taste, the Name I know not; they chew it in the Mouth, and by that simple Application, heal desperate Wounds, both green and old; that small Quantity I had, was given inwardly to those troubl'd with the Belly-ach, which Remedy fail'd not to give present Help, the Pain leaving the Patient soon after they had taken the Root.

Near to these Cabins are several Tombs made after the manner of these *Indians*; the largest and the chiefest of them was the Sepulchre of the late *Indian King* of the *Santees*, a Man of great Power, not only amongst his own Subjects, but dreaded by the neighbouring Nations for his great Valour and Conduct, having as large a Prerogative in his Way of Ruling, as the present King I now spoke of.

The manner of their Interment, is thus: A Mole or Pyramid of Earth is rais'd, the Mould thereof being work'd very smooth and even, sometimes higher or lower, according to the Dignity of the Person whose Monument it is. On the Top thereof is an Umbrella, made Ridge-ways, like the Roof of an House; this is supported by nine Stakes, or small Posts, the Grave being about six or eight Foot in Length, and four Foot in Breadth; about it is hung Gourds Feathers, and other such like Trophies, plac'd there by the dead Man's Relations, in Respect to him in the Grave. The other Part of the Funeral-Rites are thus, As soon as the Party is dead, they lay the Corps upon a Piece of Bark in the Sun, seasoning or embalming it with a small Root beaten to Powder, which looks as red as Vermilion; the same is mix'd with Bear's Oil, to beautify the Hair, and preserve their Heads from being lousy, it growing plentifully in these Parts of *America*. After the Carcass has laid a Day or two in the Sun, they remove and lay it upon Crotches cut on purpose for the Support thereof from the Earth; then they anoint it all over with the fore-mention'd Ingredients of the Powder of this Root, and Bear's Oil. When it is done, they cover it very exactly over with Bark of the *Rine* or *Cyprus Tree*, to prevent any Rain to fall upon it, sweeping.

sweeping the Ground very clean all about it. Some of his nearest of Kin brings all the temporal Estate he was possess'd of at his Death, as Guns, Bows, and Arrows, Beads, Feathers, Match-coat, &c. This Relation is the chief Mourner, being clad in Moss, and a Stick in his Hand, keeping a mournful Ditty for three or four Days, his Face being black with the Smoak of Pitch, Pine, mingl'd with Bear's Oil. All the while he tells the dead Man's Relations, and the rest of the Spectators, who that dead Person was, and of the great Feats perform'd in his Life-time; all what he speaks, tending to the Praise of the Defunct. As soon as the Flesh grows mellow, and will cleave from the Bone, they get it off, and burn it, making all the Bones very clean, then anoint them with the Ingredients afore said, wrapping up the Skull (very carefully) in a Cloath artificially woven of Possums Hair. (These *Indians* make Girdles, Sashes, Garters, &c. after the same Manner.) The Bones they carefully preserve in a wooden Box, every Year oiling and cleansing them: By these Means preserve them for many Ages, that you may see an *Indian* in Possession of the Bones of his Grand-father, or some of his Relations of a larger Antiquity. They have other Sorts of Tombs, as where an *Indian* is slain, in that very Place they make a Heap of Stones, (or Sticks, where Stones are not to be found;) to this Memorial, every *Indian* that passes by, adds a Stone, to augment the Heap, in Respect to the deceas'd Hero.

We had a very large Swamp to pass over near the House, and would have hir'd our Landlord to have been our Guide, but he seem'd unwilling; so we press'd him no farther about it. He was the tallest *Indian* I ever saw, being seven Foot high, and a very strait compleat Person, esteem'd on by the King for his great Art in Hunting, always carrying with him an artificial Head to hunt withal: They are made of the Head of a Buck, the back Part of the Horns being scrap'd and hollow, for Lightness of Carriage. The Skin is left to the setting on of the Shoulders, which is lin'd all round with small Hoops, and flat Sort of Laths, to hold it open for the Arm to go in. They have a Way to preserve the Eyes, as if living. The Hunter puts on a Match-coat made of Deer's Skin, with the Hair on, and a Piece of the white Part of a Deer's Skin,  
that

that grows on the Breast, which is fasten'd to the Neck-End of this stalking Head, so hangs down. In these Habillments an *Indian* will go as near a Deer as he pleases, the exact Motions and Behaviour of a Deer being so well counterfeited by him, that several Times it hath been known for two Hunters to come up with a stalking Head together, and unknown to each other, so that they have kill'd an *Indian* instead of a Deer, which hath happen'd sometimes to be a Brother, or some dear Friend; for which Reason they allow not of that Sort of Practice, where the Nation is populous.

Within half a Mile of the House, we pass'd over a prodigious wide and deep Swamp, being forc'd to strip stark-naked, and much a-do to save our selves from drowning in this Fatigue. We, with much a-do, got thro', going that Day about Six Miles farther, and came to three more *Indian* Cabins, built in the *Indian* Tongue, *Hickoran*, by the *English* Traders, the black House, being pleasantly seated on a high Bank, by a Branch of *Santee*-River. One of our Company, that had traded amongst these *Indians*, told us, That one of the Cabins was his Father's-in-Law; he call'd him so, by Reason the old Man had given him a young *Indian* Girl, that was his Daughter, to lie with him, make Bread, and to be necessary in what she was capable to assist him in, during his Abode amongst them.

When we came thither first, there was no Body at Home, so the Son made bold to search his Father's Granary for Corn, and other Provisions. He brought us some *Indian* Maiz and Peas, which are of a reddish Colour, and eat well, yet colour the Liquor they are boil'd in, as if it were a *Lixivium* of red Tartar. After we had been about an Hour in the House, where was Millions of Fleas, the *Indian* Cabins being often fuller of such Vermin, than any Dog-Kennel, the old Man came in to us, and seem'd very glad to see his Son-in-Law.

This *Indian* is a great Conjuror, as appears by the Sequel. The *Serette* or *Santee* *Indians* were gone to War against the *Books* and *Backbooks* Nations, living near the Mouth of *Winyan* River. Those that were left at Home, (which are commonly old People and Children) had heard no News a long Time of their Men at Arms. This Man, at the Entreaty of  
these

these People, (being held to be a great Sorcerer amongst 'em) went to know what Posture their fighting Men were in. His Exorcism was carry'd on thus: He dress'd himself in a clean white dress'd Deer-Skin; a great Fire being made in the Middle of the Plantation, the *Indians* sitting all round it, the Conjurer was blind-folded, then he surrounded the Fire several Times, I think thrice; leaving the Company; he went into the Woods, where he stay'd about half an Hour, returning to them, surrounded the Fire as before; leaving them, went the second Time into the Woods; at which Time there came a huge Swarm of Flies, very large, they flying about the Fire several Times, at last fell all into it, and were visibly consum'd. Immediately after the *Indian*-Conjurer made a huge Lillaloo, and howling very frightfully, presently an *Indian* went and caught hold of him, leading him to the Fire. The old Wizard was so feeble and weak, being not able to stand alone, and all over in a Sweat, and as wet as if he had fallen into the River. After some Time he recover'd his Strength, assuring them, that their Men were near a River, and could not pass over it till so many Days, but would, in such a Time, return all in Safety, to their Nation. All which prov'd true at the *Indians* Return, which was not long after. This Story the *English*-man, his Son-in-Law, affirm'd to me.

The old Man stay'd with us about two Hours, and told us we were welcome to stay there all Night, and take what his Cabin afforded; then leaving us, went into the Woods, to some Hunting-Quarter not far off.

Friday.

The next Morning early we pursu'd our Voyage, finding the Land to improve it self in Pleasantness and Richness of Soil. When we had gone about ten Miles, one of our Company tir'd, being not able to travel any farther; so we went forward, leaving the poor dejected Traveller with Tears in his Eyes, to return to *Charles-Town*, and travel back again over so much bad Way, we having pass'd thro' the worst of our Journey, the Land here being high and dry, very few Swamps, and those dry, and a little Way through. We travell'd about twenty Miles, lying near a Savanna that was over-flown with Water; where we were very short of Victuals, but finding the Woods newly burnt, and on fire in many Places, which gave us great Hopes that *Indians* were not far off. Next

Next Morning very early, we waded thro' the Savanna, *Saturday*  
 the Path lying there; and about ten a Clock came to a hunt- *20 Miles.*  
 ing Quarter, of a great many *Santees*; they made us all wel-  
 come; shewing a great deal of Joy at our coming, giving us  
 barbecu'd Turkeys, Bear's Oil, and Venison.

Here we hir'd *Santee Jack* (a good Hunter, and a well-hu-  
 mour'd Fellow) to be our Pilot to the *Congeree Indians*; we  
 gave him a Stroud-water-Blew, to make his Wife an *Indian*  
 Petticoat, who went with her Husband. After two Hours Re-  
 freshment, we went on, and got that Day about twenty Miles;  
 we lay by a small swift Run of Water, which was pav'd at  
 the Bottom with a Sort of Stone much like to Tripoli, and  
 so light, that I fancy'd it would precipitate in no Stream,  
 but where it naturally grew. The Weather was very cold,  
 the Winds holding *Northerly*. We made our selves as merry as  
 we could, having a good Supper with the Scraps of the Veni-  
 son we had given us by the *Indians*, having kill'd 3 Teal and a  
 Possum; which Medly all together made a curious Ragoo.

This Day all of us had a Mind to have rested, but the *Indian* *Sunday 15*  
~~was~~ much against it, alledging, That the Place we lay at, was *Miles.*  
 not good to hunt in; telling us, if we would go on, by Noon,  
 he would bring us to a more convenient Place; so we mov'd  
 forwards, and about twelve a Clock came to the most amazing  
 Prospect I had seen since I had been in *Carolina*; we travell'd  
 by a Swamp-side, which Swamp I believe to be no less than  
 twenty Miles over, the other Side being as far as I could well  
 discern, there appearing great Ridges of Mountains, bearing  
 from us *W. N. W.* One Alp with a Top like a Sugar-loaf, ad-  
 vanc'd its Head above all the rest very considerably; the Day  
 was very serene, which gave us the Advantage of seeing a long  
 Way; these Mountains were cloth'd all over with Trees, which  
 seem'd to us to be very large Timbers.

At the Sight of this fair Prospect, we stay'd all Night; our  
*Indian* going about half an Hour before us, had provided three  
 fat Turkeys e'er we got up to him.

The Swamp I now spoke of, is not a miry Bog, as others  
 generally are, but you go down to it thro' a steep Bank, at the  
 Foot of which, begins this Valley, where you may go dry  
 for perhaps 200 Yards, then you meet with a small Brook  
 or,

or Run of Water, about 2 or 3 Foot deep, then dry Land for such another Space, so another Brook, thus continuing. The Land in this Percoarson, or Valley, being extraordinary rich, and the Runs of Water well stor'd with Fowl. It is the Head of one of the Branches of *Santee-River*; but a farther Discovery Timewould not permit; only one Thing is very remarkable, there growing all over this Swamp, a tall, lofty Bay-tree, but is not the same as in *England*, these being in their Verdure all the Winter long; which appears here, when you stand on the Ridge, (where our Path lay) as if it were one pleasant, green Field, and as even as a Bowling-green to the Eye of the Beholder; being hemm'd in on one Side with these Ledges of vast high Mountains.

Viewing the Land here, we found an extraordinary rich, black Mould, and some of a Copper-colour, both Sorts very good; the Land in some Places is much burthen'd with Iron, Stone, here being great Store of it, seemingly very good: The eviling Springs, which are many in these Parts, issuing out of the Rocks, which Water we drank of, it colouring the Excrements of Travellers (by its chalybid Quality) as black as a Coal. When we were all asleep, in the Beginning of the Night, we were awaken'd with the dismall't and most hideous Noise that ever pierc'd my Ears: This sudden Surprizal incapacitated us of guessing what this threating Noise might proceed from; but our *Indian* Pilot (who knew these Parts very well) acquainted us, that it was customary to hear such Music along that Swamp-side, there being endless Numbers of Panthers, Tygers, Wolves, and other Beasts of Prey, which take this Swamp for their Abode in the Day, coming in whole Drovers to hunt the Deer in the Night, making this frightful Ditty 'till Day appears, then all is still as in other Places.

*Mondy.* The next Day it prov'd a small drisly Rain, which is rare, there happening not the tenth Part of Foggy-falling Weather towards these Mountains, as visits those Parts. Near the Sea-board, the *Indian* kill'd 15 Turkeys this Day, there coming out of the Swamp, (about Sun-rising) Flocks of these Fowl, containing several hundreds in a Gang, who feed upon the Acorns, it being most Oak that grow in these Woods. There are but very few Pines in those Quarters.

Early

—Early the next Morning, we set forward for the *Congeree-Indians*, parting with that delicious Prospect. By the Way, our Guide kill'd more Turkeys, and two Polcats, which he eat, esteeming them before fat Turkeys. Some of the Turkeys which we eat, whilst we stay'd there, I believe, weigh'd no less than 40 Pounds.

The Land we pass'd over this Day, was most of it good, and the worst passable. At Night we kill'd a Possum, being cloy'd with Turkeys, made a Dish of that, which tasted much between young Pork and Veal; their Fat being as white as any I ever saw.

Our *Indian* having this Day kill'd good Store of Provision with his Gun, he always shot with a single Ball, missing but two Shoots in above forty; they being curious Artists in managing a Gun, to make it carry either Ball, or Shot, true. When they have bought a Piece, and find it to shoot any Ways crooked, they take the Barrel out of the Stock, cutting a Notch in a Tree, wherein they set it streight, sometimes shooting away above 100 Loads of Ammunition, before they bring the Gun to shoot according to their Mind. We took up our Quarters by a Filling-pond-side; the Pits in the Woods that stand full of Water, naturally breed Fish in them, in great Quantities. We cook'd our Supper, but having neither Bread, or Salt, our fat Turkeys began to be loathsome to us, altho' we were never wanting of a good Appetite, yet a Continuance of one Diet, made us weary.

The next Morning, *Santee Jack* told us, we should reach the *Indian* Settlement betimes that Day; about Noon, we pass'd by several fair Savanna's, very rich and dry; seeing great Copfes of many Acres that bore nothing but Bushes, about the Bigness of Box-trees; which (in the Season) afford great Quantities of small Black-berries, very pleasant Fruit, and much like to our Blues, or Huckle-berries, that grow on Heaths in *England*. Hard by the Savanna's we found the Town, where we halted; there was not above one Man left with the Women, the rest being gone a Hunting for a Feast. The Women were very busily engag'd in Gaming: The Name or Grounds of it, I could not learn, tho' I look'd on above two Hours. Their Arithmetick was kept with a Heap of *Indian* Grain.



Grain. When their Play was ended, the King, or *Cassetta's* Wife, invited us into her Cabin. The *Indian* Kings always entertaining Travellers, either *English*, or *Indian*; taking it as a great Affront, if they pass by their Cabins, and take up their Quarters at any other *Indian's* House. The Queen set Victuals before us, which good Compliment they use generally as soon as you come under their Roof.

The Town consists not of above a dozen Houses, they having other stragling Plantations up and down the Country, and are seated upon a small Branch of *Santee-River*. Their Place hath curious dry Marshes, and Savanna's adjoining to it, and would prove an exceeding thriving Range for Cattle, and Hogs, provided the *English* were seated thereon. Besides, the Land is good for Plantations.

These *Indians* are a small People, having lost much of their former Numbers, by intestine Broils; but most by the Small-pox, which hath often visited them, sweeping away whole Towns; occasion'd by the immoderate Government of themselves in their Sickness; as I have mention'd before, treating of the *Sewees*. Neither do I know any Savages that have traded with the *English*, but what have been great Losers by this Distemper.

We found here good Store of Chinkapin-Nuts, which they gather in Winter great Quantities of, drying them; so keep these Nuts in great Baskets for their Use; likewise Hickerie Nuts, which they beat betwixt two great Stones, then sift them, so thicken their Venison-Broath therewith; the small Shells precipitating to the Bottom of the Pot, whilst the Kernel in Form of Flower, mixes it with the Liquor. Both these Nuts made into Meal, makes a curious Soop, either with clear Water, or in any Meat-Broth.

From the Nation of *Indians*, until such Time as you come to the *Turkeiruros* in *North Carolina*, you will see no long Moss upon the Trees; which Space of Ground contains above five hundred Miles. This seeming Miracle in *Nature*, is occasion'd by the Highness of the Land, it being dry and healthful; for tho' this moss bears a Seed in a Sort of a small *Cod*, yet it is generated in or near low swampy Grounds.

The

The *Congerees* are kind and affable to the *English*, the Queen being very kind, giving us what Rarities her Cabin afforded, as Loblolly made with *Indian* Corn, and dry'd Peaches. These *Congerees* have abundance of Storks and Cranes in their *Savannas*. They take them before they can fly, and breed 'em as tame and familiar as a Dung-hill Fowl. They had a tame Crane at one of these Cabins, that was scarce less than six Foot in Height, his Head being round, with a shining natural Crimson Hue, which they all have. These are a very comely Sort of *Indians*, there being a strange Difference in the Proportion and Beauty of these Heathens. Altho' their Tribes or Nations border one upon another, yet you may discern as great an Alteration in their Features and Dispositions, as you can in their Speech, which generally proves quite different from each other, though their Nations be not above 10 or 20 Miles in Distance. The Women here being as handsome as most I have met withal; being several fine-finger'd Brunetto's amongst them. These Lasses stick not upon Hand long, for they marry when very young, as at 12 or 14 Years of Age. The *English* Traders are seldom without an *Indian* Female for his Bed-fellow, alledging these Reasons as sufficient to allow of such a Familiarity. First, They being remote from any white People, that it preserves their Friendship with the Heathens, they esteeming a white Man's Child much above one of their getting, the *Indian* Mistress ever securing her white Friend Provisions whilst he stays amongst them. And lastly, This Correspondence makes them learn the *Indian* Tongue much the sooner, they being of the *French*-man's Opinion, how that an *English* Wife teaches her Husband more *English* in one Night, than a School-master can in a Week.

We saw at the *Cassetta's* Cabin the strangest Spectacle of Antiquity I ever knew; it being an old *Indian* Squah, that had I been to have guess'd at her Age by her Aspect, old *Parr's* Head (the *Welch Methusalem*) was a Face in Swadling-Clouts to hers. Her Skin hung in Reaves like a Bag of Tripe. By a fair Computation, one might have justly thought it would have contain'd three such Carcasses as hers then was. She had one of her Hands contracted by some Accident in the Fire, they sleeping

sleeping always by it, and often fall into sad Disasters, especially in their drunken Moods. I made the strictest Enquiry that was possible, and by what I could gather, she was considerably above 100 Years old, notwithstanding she smoak'd Tobacco, and eat her Victuals, to all Appearance, as heartily as one of 18. One of our Company spoke some of their Language, and having not quite forgotten his former Intrigues with the *Indian* Lasses, would fain have been dealing with some of the young Female Fry; but they refus'd him, he having nothing that these Girls esteem'd. At Night we were laid in the King's Cabin, where the Queen and the old Squah pig'd in with us: The former was very much disfigur'd with Tettars, and very reserv'd, which disappointed our fellow Traveller in his Intrigues.

The Women smoak much Tobacco, (as most *Indians* do.) They have Pipes, whose Heads are cut out of Stone, and will hold an Ounce of Tobacco, and some much less. They have large wooden Spoons, as big as small Ladles, which they make little Use of, lading the Meat out of the Bowls with their Fingers.

*Thursday.* In the Morning we rose before Day, having hir'd a Guide over Night to conduct us on our Way; but it was too soon for him to stir out, the *Indians* never setting forward 'till the Sun is an Hour or two high, and hath exhall'd the Dew from the Earth. The Queen got us a good Breakfast before we left her; she had a young Child, which was much afflicted with the Cholick; for which Distemper she infus'd a Root in Water, which was held in a Goard; this she took into her Mouth, and spurted it into the Infant's, which gave it ease. After we had eaten, we set out (with our new Guide) for the *Waterie Indians*. We went over a great deal of indifferent Land this Day. Here begins to appear very good Marble, which continues more and less for the Space of 500 Miles. We lay all Night by a Run of Water, as we always do, (if possible) for the Convenience of it. The Weather was very cold. We went this Day about 30 Miles from the *Gongerees*.

*Friday.* In the Morning we made no Stay to get our Breakfast, but hasten'd on our Voyage, the Land increasing in Marble and Richness

**Richness of Soil.** At Noon we halted, getting our Dinner upon a Marble-Stone, that rose it self half a Foot above the Surface of the Earth, and might contain the Compass of a Quarter of an Acre of Land, being very even, there growing upon it in some Places a small red Berry, like a Salmon-Spaw, there boiling out of the main Rock curious Springs of a delicious Water, as ever I drank in any Parts I ever travel'd in.

These Parts likewise affords good free Stone, fit for Building, and of several Sorts. The Land here is pleasantly feated, with pretty little Hills and Valleys, the rising Sun at once shewing his glorious reflecting Rays on a great many of these little Mountains. We went this Day about 20 Miles, our Guide walking like a Horse, till we had sadd'd him with a good heavy Pack of some Part of our Cloaths and Bedding; by which Means we kept Pace with him.

This Night we lay by a Run-side, where I found a fine yellow Earth, the same with Brussels-Sand, which Goldsmiths use to cast withal, giving a good Price in *England*, and other Parts. Here is likewise the true Blood-Stone, and considerable Quantities of Fullers-Earth, which I took a Proof of, by scouring great Spots out of Woollen, and it prov'd very good.

As we were on our Road this Morning, our *Indian* met at a *Saturday* *Hyger*, that cross'd the Way, he being a great Distance from us. I believe he did him no Harm, because he sat on his Breech afterwards; and look'd upon us. I suppose he expected to have had a Spaniel Bitch, that I had with me, for his Breakfast, who run towards him, but in the Midway stop't her Career, and came sneaking back to us with her Tail betwixt her Legs.

We saw in the Path a great many Trees blown up by the Roots; at the Bottom whereof stuck great Quantities of fine red Bole; I believe nothing inferior to that of *Venice* or *Lombardy*. We found some Holes in the Earth, which were full of Water as black as Ink. I thought that Tincture might proceed from some Mineral, but had not Time to make a farther Discovery. About Noon we pass'd over a pleasant stony

Stony Brook, whose Water was of a bluish Cast, as it is for several hundreds of Miles toward's the Heads of the Rivers, I suppose occasion'd by the vast Quantities of Marble lying in the Bowels of the Earth. The Springs that feed these Rivulets, lick up some Portions of the Stones in the Brooks; which Dissolution gives this Tincture, as appears in all, or most of the Rivers and Brooks of this Country, whose rapid Streams are like those in *Yorkshire*, and other *Northern* Counties of *Engl.md.* The *Indians* talk of many Sorts of Fish which they afford, but we had not Time to discover their Species.

I saw here had been some *Indian* Plantations formerly, there being several pleasant Fields of clear'd Ground, and excellent Soil, now well spread with fine bladed Grass, and Strawberry-Vines.

The Mould here is excessive rich, and a Country very pleasing to the Eye, had it the Convenience of a navigable River, as all new Colonies (of Necessity) require. It would make a delightful Settlement.

We went eight Miles farther, and came to the *Waters Chickamee Indians*. The Land holds good, there being not a Spot of bad Land to be seen in several Days going.

The People of this Nation are likely tall Persons, and great Pilferers, stealing from us any Thing they could lay their Hands on, though very respectful in giving us what Victuals we wanted. We lay in their Cabins all Night, being dark smoaky Holes, as ever I saw any *Indians* dwell in. This Nation is much more populous than the *Congerees*, and their Neighbours, yet understand not one another's Speech. They are very poor in *English* Effects, several of them having no Guns, making Use of Bows and Arrows, being a lazy idle People, a Quality incident to most *Indians*, but none to that Degree as these, as I ever met withal.

Their Country is wholly free from Swamps and Quagmires, being high dry Land, and consequently healthful, producing large Corn-Stalks, and fair Grain.

Next

Next Morning, we took off our Beards with a Razor, the *Sunday*. *Indians*: looking on with a great deal of Admiration. They told us, they had never seen the like before, and that our knives cut far better than those that came amongst the *Indians*. They would fain have borrow'd our Razors, as they had our Knives, Scissors, and Tobacco-Tongs, the day before, being as ingenious at picking of Pockets, as any, I believe, the World affords; for they will steal with their Feet. Yesterday, one of our Company, not walking so fast as the rest, was left behind. He being out of Sight before we mis'd him, and not coming up to us, tho' we staid a considerable time on the Road for him, we stuck up Sticks in the Ground, and left other Tokens to direct him which way we were gone: as he came not to us that Night, which gave us Occasion to surmise some of the Heathens had kill'd him, for his Cloaths, or the Savage Beasts had devour'd him in the Wilderness, he leaving nothing about him to strike Fire withal. As we were debating which way we should send to know what was become of him, he overtook us, having a *Waxsaw Indian* for his Guide. He told us, he had mis'd the Path, and got to another Nation of *Indians*, but 3 Miles off, who at that time held great Feasting. They had entertain'd him very respectfully, and sent that *Indian* to invite us amongst them, ordering that we would not take up our Quarters with them, but make our Abode with such a poor Sort of *Indians*, that were not capable of entertaining us according to our Deserts: We receiv'd the Messenger with a great many Ceremonies, acceptable to those sort of Creatures. Bidding our *Waterree* King adieu, we set forth towards the *Waxsaws*, going along clear'd Ground all the Way. Upon our Arrival, we were led into a very large and lightsome Cabin, the like I have not met withal. They laid Furs and Deer-Skins upon three Benches for us to sit or lie upon, bringing (immediately) bewed Peaches and green Corn, that is preserv'd in their Cans before it is ripe, and sodden and boil'd when they use it, which is a pretty sort of Food, and a great Increaser of the Blood.

These *Indians* are of an extraordinary Stature, and call'd by their Neighbours flat Heads, which seems a very suitable Name for them. In their Infancy, their Nurses lay the Back-part of their Children's Heads on a Bag of Sand, (such

as Engravers use to rest their Plates upon.) They use a Roll, which is placed upon the Babe's Forehead, it being laid with its Back on a flat Board, and swaddled hard down thereon, from one End of this Engine, to the other. This Method makes the Child's Body and Limbs as straight as an Arrow. There being some young *Indians* that are perhaps crookedly inclin'd, at their first coming into the World, who are made perfectly straight by this Method. I never saw an *Indian* of a mature Age, that was any ways crooked, except by Accident, and that way seldom, for they cure and prevent Deformities of the Limbs, and Body, very exactly. The Instrument I spoke of before, being a sort of a Press, that is let out and in, more or less, according to the Discretion of the Nurse, in which they make the Child's Head flat, it makes the Eyes stand a prodigious Way asunder, and the Hair hang over the Forehead like the Eves of a House, which seems very frightful: They being ask'd the Reason why they practise this Method, reply'd, the *Indian's* Sight was much strengthened and quicker, thereby, to discern the Game in hunting at larger Distance, and so never miss'd of becoming expert Hunters, the Perfection of which they all aim at, as we do to become experienced Soldiers, learned School-Men, or Artists in Mechanicks: He that is a good Hunter never misses of being a Favourite amongst the Women; the prettiest Girls being always bestow'd upon the chiefest Sportsmen, and those of a grosser Mould, upon the useless *Lubbers*. Thus they have a Graduation amongst them, as well as other Nations. As for the Solemnity of Marriages amongst them, kept with so much Ceremony as divers Authors affirm, it never appear'd amongst those many Nations I have been withal, any otherwise than in the Manner I have mention'd hereafter.

The Girls at 12 or 13 Years of Age, as soon as Nature prompts them, freely bestow their Maidenheads on some Youth about the same Age, continuing her Favours on whom she most affects, changing her Mate very often, few or none of them being constant to one, till a greater Number of Years has made her capable of managing domestick Affairs, and she hath try'd the Vigour of most of the Nation she belongs to; Multiplicity of Gallants never being a Stain to a Female's Reputation, or the least Hindrance of her Advancement,

vancement, but the more *Whorish*, the more *Honourable*, and they of all most coveted, by those of the first Rank, to make a *Wife* of. The *Flos Virginis*, so much coveted by the *Europeans*, is never valued by these Savages. When a Man and Woman have gone through their Degrees, (there being a certain Graduation amongst them) and are allow'd to be House-keepers, which is not till they arrive at such an Age, and have past the Ceremonies practis'd by their Nation, almost in all Kingdoms differing in the Progress thereof, then it is that the Man makes his Addresses to some one of these thoroughbred Girls, or other, whom he likes best. When she is won, the Parents of both Parties, (with Advice of the King) agree about the Matter, making a Promise of their Daughter, to the Man, that requires her, it often happening that they converse and travel together, for several Moons before the Marriage is publish'd openly; After this, at the least Dislike the Man may turn her away, and take another; or if she disapproves of his Company, a Price is set upon her, and if the Man that seeks to get her, will pay the Fine to her Husband, she becomes free from Him: Likewise some of their War Captains, and great Men, very often will retain 3 or 4 Girls at a time for their own Use, when at the same time, he is so impotent and old, as to be incapable of making Use of one of them; so that he seldom misses of wearing greater Horns than the Game he kills. The Husband is never so enrag'd as to put his Adulterers to Death; if she is caught in the Fact, the Rival becomes Debtor to the cornuted Husband, in a certain Quantity of Trifles valuable amongst them, which he pays as soon as discharg'd, and then all Animosity is laid aside bewixt the Husband, and his Wife's Gallant. The Man proves often so good humour'd as to please his Neighbour and gratify his Wife's Inclinations, by letting her out for a Night or two, to the Embraces of some other, which perhaps she has a greater Liking to, tho' this is not commonly practis'd.

They set apart the youngest and prettiest Faces for trading Girls; these are remarkable by their Hair, having a particular Tonsure by which they are known, and distinguish'd from those engag'd to Husbands. They are mercenary, and whoever makes Use of them, first hires them, the greatest Share of the Gain going to the King's Purse, who is the chief Bawd, exercising his Perogative over all the Stews of his Nation, and



his own Cabin (very often) being the chiefest Brothel-House. As they grow in Years, the hot Assaults of Love grow cooler; and then they commonly are so staid, as to engage themselves with more Constancy to each other. I have seen several Couples amongst them, that have been so reserv'd, as to live together for many Years, faithful to each other, admitting none to their Beds but such as they own'd for their Wife or Husband: So continuing to their Life's end.

At our *Waxfaw* Landlord's Cabin, was a Woman employ'd in no other Business than Cookery; it being a House of great Resort. The Fire was surrounded with Roast-meat, or *Barbakues*, and the Pots continually boiling full of Meat, from Morning till Night. This She-Cook was the cleanliest I ever saw amongst the Heathens of *America*, washing her Hands before she undertook to do any Cookery; and repeated this unusual Decency very often in a day. She made us White-Bread as any *English* could have done, and was full neat, and expeditious, in her Affairs. It happen'd to be one of their great Feasts, when we were there: The first day that we came amongst them, arriv'd an Ambassador from the King of *Sapona*, to treat with these *Indians* about some important Affairs. He was painted with Vermillion all over his Face, having a very large Cutlass stuck in his Girdle, and a Fuscé in his Hand. At Night, the Revels began where the Foreign *Indian* was admitted; the King, and War Captain, inviting us to see their Masquerade: This Feast was held in Commemoration of the plentiful Harvest of Corn they had reap'd the Summer before, with an united Supplication for the like plentiful Produce the Year ensuing. These Revels are carried on in a House made for that purpose, it being done round with white Benches of fine Canes, joining along the Wall; and a place for the Door being left, which is so low, that a Man must stoop very much to enter therein. This Edifice resembles a large Hay-Rick; its Top being Pyramidal, and much bigger than their other Dwellings, and at the Building whereof, every one assists till it is finish'd. All their Dwelling-Houses are cover'd with Bark, but this differs very much; for, it is very artificially thatch'd with Sedge and Rushes: As soon as finish'd, they place some one of their chiefest Men to dwell therein, charging him with the diligent Preservation thereof, as a Prince commits the Charge and

and Government of a Fort or Castle, to some Subject he thinks worthy of that Trust. In these State-Houses is transacted all Publick and Private Business, relating to the Affairs of the Government, as the Audience of Foreign Ambassadors from other *Indian* Rulers, Consultation of waging and making War, Proposals of their Trade with neighbouring *Indians*, or the *English*, who happen to come amongst them. In this Theater, the most Aged and Wisest meet, determining what to Act, and what may be most convenient to Omit, Old Age being held in as great Veneration amongst these Heathens, as amongst any People you shall meet withal in any Part of the World.

Whensoever an Aged Man is speaking, none ever interrupts him, (the contrary Practice the *English*, and other *Europeans*, too much use) the Company yielding a great deal of Attention to his Tale, with a continued Silence, and an exact Demeanour, during the Oration. Indeed, the *Indians* are a People that never interrupt one another in their Discourse; no Man so much as offering to open his Mouth, till the Speaker has utter'd his Intent: When an *English*-Man comes amongst them, perhaps every one is acquainted with him, yet, first, the King bids him Welcome, after him the War-Captain, so on gradually from High to Low; not one of all these speaking to the White Guest, till his Superiour has ended his Salutation. Amongst Women, it seems impossible to find a Scold; if they are provok'd, or affronted, by their Husbands, or some other, they resent the Indignity offer'd them in silent Tears, or by refusing their Meat. Would some of our *European* Daughters of Thunder set these *Indians* for a Pattern, there might be more quiet Families found amongst them, occasion'd by that unruly Member, the Tongue.

*Festination* proceeds from the Devil, (*says a Learned Doctor*) a Passion the *Indians* seem wholly free from; they determining no Business of Moment, without a great deal of Deliberation and Wariness. None of their Affairs appear to be attended with Impetuosity, or Haste, being more content with the common Accidents incident to humane Nature, (as Losses, contrary Winds, bad Weather, and Poverty) than those of more civilized Countries.

Now, to return to our State-House, whither we were invited by the *Grandees*: As soon as we came into it, they plac'd  
our

our *Englishmen* near the King; it being my Fortune to sit next him, having his great General, or War-Captain, on my other Hand. The House is as dark as a Dungeon, and as hot as one of the *Dutch-Stoves* in *Holland*. They had made a circular Fire of split Canes in the middle of the House. It was one Man's Employment to add more split Reeds to the one end as it consum'd at the other, there being a small Vacancy left to supply it with Fewel. They brought in great store of Loblolly, and other Medleys, made of *Indian* Grain, stewed Peaches, Bear-Venison, &c. every one bringing some Offering to enlarge the Banquet, according to his Degree and Quality. When all the *Viands* were brought in, the first Figure began with kicking out the Dogs, which are seemingly Wolves, made tame with starving and beating; they being the worst Dog-Masters in the World; so that it is an infallible Cure for Sore-Eyes, ever to see an *Indian's* Dog fat. They are of a quite contrary Disposition to Horses; some of their Kings having gotten, by great chance, a Jade, stolen by some neighbouring *Indian*, and transported farther into the Country, and sold; or bought sometimes of a *Christian*, that trades amongst them. These Creatures they continually cram, and feed with Maiz, and what the Horse will eat, till he is as fat as a Hog; never making any farther use of him than to fetch a Deer home, that is killed somewhere near the *Indian's* Plantation.

After the Dogs had fled the Room, the Company was summon'd by Beat of Drum; the Musick being made of a dress'd Deer's Skin, tied hard upon an Earthen Porridge-Pot. Presently in came fine Men dress'd up with Feathers, their Faces being covered with Vizards made of Gourds; round their Ancles and Knees, were hung Bells of several sorts, having Wooden Falchions in their Hands, (such as Stage-Fencers commonly use;) in this Dress they danced about an Hour, shewing many strange Gestures, and brandishing their Wooden Weapons, as if they were going to fight each other; oftentimes walking very nimbly round the Room, without making the least Noise with their Bells, (a thing I much admired at;) again, turning their Bodies, Arms and Legs, into such frightful Postures, that you would have guess'd they had been quite raving mad: At last, they cut two or three high Capers, and left the Room. In their stead, came in a parcel

cel of Women and Girls, to the Number of Thirty odd; every one taking place according to her Degree of Stature, the tallest leading the Dance, and the least of all being plac'd last; with these they made a circular Dance, like a Ring, representing the Shape of the Fire they danced about: Many of these had great Horse-Bells about their Legs, and small Hawk's Bells about their Necks. They had Musicians, who were two Old Men, one of whom beat a Drum, while the other rattled with a Gourd, that had Corn in it, to make a Noise withal: To these Instruments, they both sung a mournful Ditty; the Burthen of their Song was, in Remembrance of their former Greatness, and Numbers of their Nation, the famous Exploits of their Renowned Ancestors, and all Actions of Moment that had (in former Days) been perform'd by their Forefathers. At these Festivals it is, that they give a Traditional Relation of what hath pass'd amongst them, to the younger Fry. These verbal Deliveries being always publish'd in their most Publick Assemblies, serve instead of our Traditional Notes, by the use of Letters. Some *Indians*, that I have met withal, have given me a very curious Description of the great Deluge, the Immortality of the Soul, with a pithy Account of the Reward of good and wicked Deeds in the Life to come; having found, amongst some of them, great Observers of Moral Rules, and the Law of Nature; indeed, a worthy Foundation to build Christianity upon, were a true Method found out, and practis'd, for the Performance thereof.

Their way of Dancing, is nothing but a sort of stamping Motion, much like the treading upon Founders Bellows. This Female-Gang held their Dance for above six Hours, being all of them of a white Lather, like a Running Horse that has just come in from his Race. My Landlady was the Ring-leader of the *Amazons*, who, when in her own House, behav'd herself very discreetly, and warily, in her Domestick Affairs; yet, Custom had so infatuated her, as to almost break her Heart with Dancing amongst such a confused Rabble. During this Dancing, the Spectators do not neglect their Business, in working the Loblolly-Pots, and the other Meat that was brought thither; more or less of them being continually Eating, whilst the others were Dancing. When the Dancing was ended, every Youth that was so disposed, catch'd hold.

hold of the Girl he liked best, and took her that Night for his Bed-Fellow, making as short Courtship and expeditious Weddings, as the Foot-Guards us'd to do with the *Trulls* in *Salisbury-Court*.

Next we shall treat of the Land hereabouts, which is a Marl as red as Blood, and will lather like Soap. The Town stands on this Land, which holds considerably farther in the Country, and is in my Opinion, so durable that no Labour of Man, in one or two Ages, could make it poor. I have formerly seen the like in *Leicestershire*, bordering upon *Rutland*. Here were Corn-Stalks in their Fields as thick as the Small of a Man's Leg, and they are ordinarily to be seen.

We lay with these *Indians* one Night, there being by my Bed-side one of the largest Iron Pots I had ever seen in *America*, which I much wondred at, because I thought there might be no navigable Stream near that Place. I ask'd them, where they got that Pot? They laugh'd at my Demand, and would give me no Answer, which makes me guess it came from some Wreck, and that we were nearer the Ocean, or some great River, than I thought.

*Monday.*

The next day about Noon, we accidentally met with a *Southward Indian*, amongst those that us'd to trade backwards and forwards, and spoke a little *English*, whom we hir'd to go with us to the *Eswa Indians*, a very large Nation containing many thousand People. In the Afternoon we set forward, taking our Leaves of the *Wisack Indians*, and leaving them some Trifles. On our Way, we met with several Towns of *Indians*, each Town having its Theater or State House, such Houses being found all along the Road, till you come to *Sapona*, and then no more of those Buildings, it being about 170 Miles. We reach'd 10 Miles this day, lying at another Town of the *Wisacks*. The Man of the House offer'd us Skins to sell, but they were too heavy Burdens for our long Voyage.

*Tuesday.*

Next Morning we set out early, breaking the Ice we met withal, in the stony Runs, which were many. We pass'd by several Cottages, and about 8 of the Clock came to a pretty big Town, where we took up our Quarters, in one of their State Houses, the Men being all out, hunting in the Woods, and none but Women at home. Our Fellow Traveller of whom I spoke before at the *Congerees*, having a great Mind for an *Indian* Lads, for his Bed-Fellow that Night, spoke

spoke to our Guide, who soon got a Couple, reserving one for himself. That which fell to our Companion's Share, was a pretty young Girl. Tho' they could not understand one Word of what each other spoke, yet the Female *Indian*, being no Novice at her Game, but understanding what she came thither for, acted her Part dexterously enough with her Cally, to make him sensible of what she wanted; which was to pay the Hire, before he rode the Hackney. He shew'd her all the Treasure he was possess'd of, as Beads, Red Cadis, &c. which she lik'd very well, and permitted him to put them into his Pocket again, endearing him with all the Charms, which one of a better Education than Dame Nature had bestow'd upon her, could have made use of, to render her Consort a surer Captive. After they had us'd this Sort of Courtship a small time, the Match was confirm'd by both Parties, with the Approbation of as many *Indian* Women, as came to the House, to celebrate our *Winchester-Wedding*. Every one of the Bride-Maids were as great Whores, as Mrs. Bride, tho' not quite so handsome. Our happy Couple went to Bed together before us all, and with as little Blushing, as if they had been Man and Wife for 7 Years. The rest of the Company being weary with travelling, had more Mind to take their Rest; than add more Weddings to that hopeful one already consummated; so that tho' the other Virgins offer'd their Service to us, we gave them their Answer, and went to sleep. About an Hour before day, I awak'd, and saw somebody walking up and down the Room in a seemingly deep Melancholy. I call'd out to know who it was, and it prov'd to be Mr. Bridegroom, who in less than 12 Hours, was Batchelor, Husband, and Widdower, his dear Spouse having pick'd his Pocket of the Beads, Cadis, and what else should have gratified the *Indians* for the Victuals we receiv'd of them. However that did not serve her turn, but she had also got his Shoes away, which he had made the Night before, of a drest Buck-Skin. Thus dearly did our Spark already repent his new Bargain, walking bare-foot, in his Penitentials, like some poor Pilgrim to *Loretto*.

After the *Indians* had laugh'd their Sides sore at the Figure Mr. Bridegroom made, with much ado, we muster'd up another Pair of Shoes, or *Moggisons*, and set forward on our intended Voyage, the Company (all the way) lifting up their

G

Pray-

Wefnes-  
day.

Prayers for the new married Couple, whose Wedding had made away with that, which should have purchas'd our Food. Relying wholly on Providence, we march'd on, now and then paying our Respects to the new-married Man. The Land held rich and good; in many Places there were great Quantities of Marble. The Water was still of a wheyish Colour. About 10 of the Clock, we waded thro' a River, (about the Signess of *Derwent*, in *Torkshire*) which I take to be one of the Branches of *Winjow* River. We saw several Flocks of Pigeons, Field-Fares, and Thrushes, much like those of *Europe*. The *Indians* of these Parts use Sweating very much: If any Pain seize their Limbs, or Body, immediately they take Reeds, or small Wands, and bend them Umbrella-Fashion, covering them with Skins and Matchcoats: They have a large Fire not far off, wherein they heat Stones, or (where they are wanting) Bark, putting it into this Stove, which casts an extraordinary Heat: There is a Pot of Water in the *Bagnio*, in which is put a Bunch of an Herb, bearing a Silver Tassel, not much unlike the *Aurea Virga*. With this Vegetable they rub the Head, Temples, and other Parts, which is reckon'd a Preserver of the Sight and Strengtheners of the Brain. We went, this day, about 12 Miles, one of our Company being lame of his Knee. We pass'd over an exceeding rich Tract of Land, affording Plenty of great free Stones, and marble Rocks, and abounding in many pleasant and delightful Rivulets. At Noon, we stay'd and refresh'd ourselves at a Cabin, where we met with one of their War-Captains, a Man of great Esteem among them. At his Departure from the Cabin, the Man of the House scratch'd this War-Captain on the Shoulder, which is look'd upon as a very great Compliment among them. The Captain went two or three Miles on our way, with us, to direct us in our Path. One of our Company gave him a Belt, which he took very kindly, bidding us call at his House, (which was in our Road) and stay till the lame Traveller was well, and speaking to the *Indian*, to order his Servant to make us welcome. Thus we parted, he being on his Journey to the *Congerees*, and *Savannas*, a famous, warlike, friendly Nation of *Indians*, living to the South-End of *Ashty* River. He had a Man-Slave with him, who was loaded with *European* Goods, his Wife and Daughter being in Company. He told us, at his Departure, that *James* had sent Knots to all the *Indians* thereabouts, for every

every Town to send in 10 Skins, meaning Captain *Marr*, then Governour of *South-Carolina*. The Towns being very thick hereabouts, at Night we took up our Quarters at one of the chief Mens Houses, which was one of the Theaters I spoke of before. There ran, hard-by this Town, a pleasant River, not very large, but, as the *Indians* told us, well stor'd with Fish. We being now among the powerful Nation of *Sims*, our Landlord entertain'd us very courteously, shewing us, that Night, a pair of Leather-Gloves, which he had made; and comparing them with ours, they prov'd to be very ingeniously done, considering it was the first Tryal.

In the Morning, he desired to see the lame Man's affected *Thursday* Part, to the end he might do something, which (he believ'd) would give him Ease. After he had view'd it accordingly, he pull'd out an Instrument, somewhat like a Comb, which was made of a split Reed, with 15 Teeth of Rattle-Snakes set at much the same distance, as in a large Horn-Comb: With these he scratch'd the place where the Lameness chiefly lay, till the Blood came, bathing it, both before and after the Operation, with warm Water; spurted out of his Mouth. This done, he ran into his Plantation, and got some *Sassafras* Root, (which grows here in great plenty) dry'd it in the Embers, scrap'd off the outward Rind, and having heat it betwixt two Stones, apply'd it to the Part afflicted, binding it up well. Thus, in a day or two, the Patient became sound. This day, we pass'd through a great many Towns, and Settlements, that belong to the *Sugree-Indians*, no barren Land being found amongst them, but great plenty of Free-Stone, and good Timber. About three in the Afternoon, we reach'd the *Kadapan* King's House; where we met with one *John Stewart*, a *Scot*, then an Inhabitant of *James-River* in *Virginia*, who had traded there for many Years. Being alone, and hearing that the *Sinnagers* (*Indians* from *Canada*) were abroad in that Country, he durst not venture homewards, till he saw us, having heard that we were coming, above 20 days before. It is very odd, that News should fly so swiftly among these People. Mr. *Stewart* had left *Virginia* ever since the *October* before, and had lost a day of the Week, of which we inform'd him. He had brought seven Horses along with him, loaded with *English* Goods for the *Indians*; and having sold most of his Cargo, told



told us, if we would stay two Nights, he would go along with us. Company being very acceptable, we accepted the Proposal.

*Friday.* The next day, we were preparing for our Voyage, and baked some Bread to take along with us. Our Landlord was King of the *Kadapau Indians*, and always kept two or three trading Girls in his Cabin. Offering one of these to some of our Company, who refus'd his Kindness, his Majesty flew into a violent Passion, to be thus slighted, telling the *Englishmen*, they were good for nothing. Our old Gamester, particularly, hung his Ears at the Proposal, having too lately been a Loser by that sort of Merchandize. It was observable, that we did not see one Partridge from the *Westerres* to this place, tho' my Spaniel-Bitch, which I had with me in this Voyage, had put up a great many before.

*Saturday.* On *Saturday* Morning, we all set out for *Sapona*, killing, in these Creeks, several Ducks of a strange Kind, having a red Circle about their Eyes, like some Pigeons that I have seen, a Top-knot reaching from the Crown of their Heads, almost to the middle of their Backs, and abundance of Feathers of pretty Shades and Colours. They prov'd excellent Meat. Likewise, here is good store of Woodcocks, not so big as those in *England*, the Feathers of the Breast being of a Carnation-Colour, exceeding ours for Delicacy of Food. The Marble here is of different Colours, some or other of the Rocks representing most Mixtures, but chiefly the white having black and blue Veins in it, and some that are red. This day, we met with seven heaps of Stones, being the Monuments of seven *Indians*, that were slain in that place by the *Sinnagers*, or *Troquois*. Our *Indian* Guide added a Stone to each heap. We took up our Lodgings near a Brook-side, where the *Virginia* Man's Horses got away; and went back to the *Kadapau's*.

*Sunday.* This day, one of our Company, with a *Sapona Indian*, who attended *Stewart*, went back for the Horses. In the mean time, we went to shoot Pigeons, which were so numerous in these Parts, that you might see many Millions in a Flock; they sometimes split off the Limbs of stout Oaks, and other Trees, upon which they roost o' Nights. You may find several *Indian* Towns, of not above 17 Houses, that have more than 100 Gallons of Pigeons Oil, or Fat; they using it with Pulse,

Pulse, or Bread, as we do Butter, and making the Ground  
 as white as a Sheet with their Dung. The *Indians* take a  
 Night, and go among them in the Night, and bring away  
 some thousands, killing them with long Poles, as they roost  
 in the Trees. At this time of the Year, the Flocks, as they  
 pass by, in great measure, obstruct the Light of the day.

On *Monday*, we went about 25 Miles, travelling through *Monday*.  
 a pleasant, dry Country, and took up our Lodgings by a Hill-  
 side, that was one entire Rock, out of which gush'd out plea-  
 sant Fountains of well-tasted Water.

The next day, still passing along such Land as we had done *Tuesday*.  
 for many days before, which was, Hills and Vallies, about  
 at a Clock we reach'd the Top of one of these Mountains,  
 which yielded us a fine Prospect of a very level Country,  
 holding so, on all sides, farther than we could discern. When  
 we came to travel through it, we found it very stiff and  
 rich, being a sort of Marl. This Valley afforded as large  
 Timber as any I ever met withal, especially of Chesnut-Oaks,  
 which render it an excellent Country for raising great Herds  
 of Swine. Indeed, were it cultivated, we might have good  
 hopes of as pleasant and fertile a Valley, as any our *English*  
 in *America* can afford. At Night, we lay by a swift Cur-  
 rent, where we saw plenty of Turkeys, but perch'd upon  
 such lofty Oaks, that our Guns would not kill them, tho' we  
 shot very often, and our Guns were very good. Some of our  
 Company shot several times, at one Turkey, before he would  
 fly away, the Pieces being loaded with large Goose-shot.

Next Morning, we got our Breakfasts; roasted Acorns be- *Wednes-*  
 ing one of the Dishes. The *Indians* beat them into Meal, and *day*.  
 thicken their Venison-Broth with them; and oftentimes  
 make a palatable Soup. They are used instead of Bread,  
 boiling them till the Oil swims on the top of the Water,  
 which they preserve for use, eating the Acorns with Flesh-  
 meat. We travell'd, this day, about 25 Miles, over plea-  
 sant *Savanna* Ground, high, and dry, having very few  
 Trees upon it, and those standing at a great distance. The  
 Land was very good, and free from Grubs or Underwood.  
 A Man near *Sapona* may more easily clear 10 Acres of Ground,  
 than in some places he can one; there being much loose Stone  
 upon the Land, lying very convenient for making of dry  
 Walls, or any other sort of durable Fence. This Country  
 abounds

and Government of a Fort or Castle, to some Subject he thinks worthy of that Trust. In these State-Houses is transacted all Publick and Private Business, relating to the Affairs of the Government, as the Audience of Foreign Ambassadors from other *Indian* Rulers, Consultation of waging and making War, Proposals of their Trade with neighbouring *Indians*, or the *English*, who happen to come amongst them. In this Theater, the most Aged and Wisest meet, determining what to Act, and what may be most convenient to Omit, Old Age being held in as great Veneration amongst these Heathens, as amongst any People you shall meet withal in any Part of the World.

Whensoever an Aged Man is speaking, none ever interrupts him, (the contrary Practice the *English*, and other *Europeans*, too much use) the Company yielding a great deal of Attention to his Tale, with a continued Silence, and an exact Demeanour, during the Oration. Indeed, the *Indians* are a People that never interrupt one another in their Discourse; no Man so much as offering to open his Mouth, till the Speaker has utter'd his Intent: When an *English*-Man comes amongst them, perhaps every one is acquainted with him, yet, first, the King bids him Welcome, after him the War-Captain, so on gradually from High to Low; not one of all these speaking to the White Guest, till his Superiour has ended his Salutation. Amongst Women, it seems impossible to find a Scold; if they are provok'd, or affronted, by their Husbands, or some other, they resent the Indignity offer'd them in silent Tears, or by refusing their Meat. Would some of our *European* Daughters of Thunder set these *Indians* for a Pattern, there might be more quiet Families found amongst them, occasion'd by that unruly Member, the Tongue.

*Feftination* proceeds from the Devil, (*says a Learned Doctor*) a Passion the *Indians* seem wholly free from; they determining no Business of Moment, without a great deal of Deliberation and Wariness. None of their Affairs appear to be attended with Impetuosity, or Haste, being more content with the common Accidents incident to humane Nature, (as Losses, contrary Winds, bad Weather, and Poverty) than those of more civilized Countries.

Now, to return to our State-House, whither we were invited by the Grandees: As soon as we came into it, they plac'd  
our

*Toteros*, *Saponas*, and the *Keyaumees*, 3 small Nations, were going to live together, by which they thought they should strengthen themselves, and become formidable to their Enemies. The Reasons offer'd by the *Toteros* being heard, the *Sapona* King, with the Consent of his Counsellors, deliver'd the *Sinnagers* up to the *Toteros*, to conduct them home.

*Friday.*

*Friday* Morning, the old King having shew'd us 2 of his Horses, that were as fat, as if they had belong'd to the *Dutch* Troopers, left us, and went to look after his Bever-Traps, there being abundance of those amphibious Animals in this River, and the Creeks adjoining. Taken with the Pleasantness of the Place, we walk'd along the River-side, where we found a very delightful Island, made by the River, and a Branch; there being several such Plots of Ground environ'd with this Silver Stream, which are fit Pastures for Sheep, and free from any offensive Vermin. Nor can any thing be desired by a contented Mind, as to a pleasant Situation, but what may here be found; Every Step presenting some new Object, which still adds Invitation to the Traveller in these Parts. Our *Indian* King and his Wife entertain'd us very respectfully.

*Saturday.*  
*Jan. 31.*

On *Saturday*, the *Indians* brought in some Swans, and Geese, which we had our Share of. One of their Doctors took me to his Cabin, and shew'd me a great Quantity of medicinal Drugs; the Produce of those Parts; Relating their Qualities as to the Emunctories they work'd by, and what great Maladies he had heal'd by them. This Evening, came to us the Horses, with the Remainder of our Company, their *Indian* Guide (who was a Youth of this Nation) having kill'd, in their Way, a very fat Doe, Part of which they brought to us.

*Sunday.*

This day, the King sent out all his able Hunters, to kill Game for a great Feast, that was to be kept at their Departure, from the Town, which they offer'd to sell me for a small matter. That Piece of Ground, with a little Trouble, would make an *Englishman* a most curious Settlement, containing above a Mile square of rich Land. This Evening, came down some *Toteros*, tall, likely Men, having great Plenty of Buffelos, Elks, and Bears, with other sort of Deer amongst them, which strong Food makes large, robust Bodies. Enquiring of them, if they never got any of the Be-

our Stone, and giving them a Description how it was found, the *Indians* told me, they had great plenty of it; and ask'd me, What use I could make of it? I answer'd them, That the white Men us'd it in Physick, and that I would buy some of them, if they would get it against I came that way again. Thereupon, one of them pull'd out a Leather-Pouch, wherein was some of it in Powder; he was a notable Hunter, and affirm'd to me, That that Powder, blown into the Eyes, strengthen'd the Sight and Brain exceedingly, that being the most common Use they made of it. I bought, for 2 or 3 Flints, a large Peach-Loaf, made up with a pleasant sort of Seed; and this did us a singular Kindness, in our Journey. Near the Town, within their clear'd Land, are several *Bagnies*, or Sweating-Houses, made of Stone, in Shape like a large Oven. These they make much Use of; especially, for any Pains in the Joints, got by Cold, or Travelling. At Night, as we lay in our Beds, there arose the most violent N. W. Wind I ever knew. The first Puff blew down all the *Palisadoes* that fortify'd the Town; and I thought it would have blown us all into the River, together with the Houses. Our one-ey'd King, who pretends much to the Art of Conjuratur, ran out in the most violent Hurry, and in the Middle of the Town, fell to his Necromantick Practice; tho' I thought he would have been blown away or kill'd, before the *Devil* and he could have exchange'd half a dozen Words; but in two Minutes, the Wind was ceas'd, and it became as great a Calm, as ever I knew in my Life. As I much admir'd at that sudden Alteration, the old Man told me, the *Devil* was very angry, and had done thus, because they had not put the *Sinnagers* to Death.

On Monday Morning, our whole Company, with the *Hornet*, set out from the *Sapona-Indian* Town, after having seen some of the Locust, which is gotten thereabouts, the same Sort that bears Honey. Going over several Creeks, very convenient for Water-Mills, about 8 Miles from the Town, we pass'd over a very pretty River, call'd Rocky River, a fit Name, having a Ridge of high Mountains running from its Banks, to the Eastward; and disgorging itself into *Sapona-River*; so that there is a most pleasant and convenient Neck of Land, betwixt both Rivers, lying upon a Point, where many thousand Acres may be fenced in, without

much Cost or Labour. You can scarce go a Mile, without meeting with one of these small swift Currents, here being no Swamps to be found, but pleasant, dry Roads all over the Country. The Way that we went this day, was as full of Stones, as any which *Craven*, in the West of *Yorkshire*, could afford, and having nothing but *Moggifons* on my Feet. I was so lam'd by this stony Way, that I thought I must have taken up some Stay in those Parts. We went, this day, above 15 or 20 Miles. After we had supp'd, and all lay down to sleep, there came a Wolf close to the Fire-side, where my Spaniel soon discover'd him, at which, one of our Company fir'd a Gun at the Beast; but, I believe, there was a Mistake in the loading of it, for it did him no Harm. The Wolf stay'd till he had almost loaded again, but the Bitch making a great Noise, at last left us and went aside. We had no sooner laid down, but he approach'd us again, yet was more shy, so that we could not get a Shot at him.

Tuesday.

Next day, we had 15 Miles farther to the *Keyauwoes*. The Land is more mountainous, but extremely pleasant, and an excellent Place for the breeding Sheep, Goats, and Horses; Mules, if the *English* were once brought to the Experience of the Usefulness of those Creatures. The Valleys are here very rich. At Noon, we pass'd over such another stony River, as that eight Miles from *Sapona*. This is call'd *Heighwaree*, and affords as good blue Stone for Mill-Stones, as that from *Cologne*, good Rags, some Hones, and large Pebbles, in great abundance, besides Free-Stone of several Sorts, all very useful. I knew one of these Hones made use of by an Acquaintance of mine, and it prov'd rather better than any from *Old Spain*, or elsewhere. The Veins of Marble are very large and curious on this River, and the Banks thereof.

Five Miles from this River, to the N. W. stands the *Keyauwoes* Town. They are fortify'd in, with wooden Puncaceous, like *Sapona*, being a People much of the same Number. Nature hath so fortify'd this Town, with Mountains, that were it a Seat of War, it might easily be made impregnable; having large Corn-Fields joining to their Cabins, and a *Savanna* near the Town, at the Foot of these Mountains, that is capable of keeping some hundred Heads of Cattle. And all this environ'd round with very high Mountains, so that no hard Wind ever troubles these Inhabitants. Those high Cliffs

Clifts have no Grafs growing on them, and very few Trees, which are very short, and stand at a great Distance one from another. The Earth is of a red Colour, and seems to me to be wholly design'd by Nature for the Production of Minerals, being of too hot a Quality, to suffer any Verdure upon its Surface. These *Indians* make use of Lead-Ore, to paint their Faces withal, which they get in the neighbouring Mountains. As for the refining of Metals, the *Indians* are wholly ignorant of it, being content with the *Realgar*. But if it be my Chance, once more to visit these Hilly Parts, I shall make a longer Stay amongst them: For were a good Vein of Lead found out, and work'd by an ingenious Hand, it might be of no small Advantage to the Undertaker, there being great Convenience for smelting, either by Bellows or Reverberation; and the Working of these Mines might discover some that are much richer.

At the Top of one of these Mountains, is a Cave that 100 Men may sit very conveniently to dine in; whether natural, or artificial, I could not learn. There is a fine Bole between this Place, and the *Saps*. These Valleys thus hemm'd in with Mountains, would (doubtless) prove a good place for propagating some sort of Fruits, that our Easterly Winds commonly blast. The Vine could not miss of thriving well here; but we of the Northern Climate are neither Artists, nor curious, in propagating that pleasant and profitable Vegetable. Near the Town, is such another Current, as *Heighwaree*. We being six in Company, divided ourselves into Two Parties; and it was my Lot to be at the House of *Keyauwees Jack*, who is King of that People. He is a *Congeree-Indian*, and ran away when he was a Boy. He got this Government by Marriage with the Queen; the Female Issue carrying the Heritage, for fear of Impostors; the Savages well knowing, how much Frailty possesses the *Indian* Women, betwixt the Garters and the Girdle.

The next day, having some occasion to write, the *Indian* *Wed. ef.* King, who saw me, believ'd that he could write as well *day.* as I. Whereupon, I wrote a Word, and gave it him to copy, which he did with more Exactness, than any *European* could have done, that was illiterate. It was so well, that he who could read mine, might have done the same by his. Afterwards, he took great Delight in making Fish-hooks of his

own Invention, which would have been a good Piece for an Antiquary to have pezzied his Brains withal, in tracing out the Characters of all the Oriental Tongues. He sent for several *Indians* to his Cabin, to look at his Handy-work, and both he and they thought, I could read his Writing as well as I could my own. I had a Manual in my Pocket, that had King *David's* Picture in it, in one of his private Retirements. The *Indian* ask'd me, Who that Figure represented? I told him, It was the Picture of a good King, that liv'd according to the Rules of Morality, doing to all as he would be done by, ordering all his Life to the Service of the Creator of all things; and being now above us all, in Heaven, with God Almighty, who had rewarded him with all the delightful Pleasures imaginable in the other World, for his Obedience to him in this; I concluded, with telling them, that we received nothing here below, as Food, Raiment, &c. but what came from that Omnipotent Being. They listned to my Discourse with a profound Silence, assuring me, that they believ'd what I said to be true. No Man living will ever be able to make these *Heavens* sensible of the Happiness of future State, except he now and then mentions some lively carnal Representation, which may quicken their Apprehensions, and make them thirst after such a gainful Exchange; for, were the best Lecture that ever was preach'd by Man, given to an ignorant sort of People, in a more learned Style, than their mean Capacities are able to understand, the Intent would prove ineffectual, and the Hearers would be left in a greater Labyrinth than their Teacher found them in. But dispense the Precepts of our Faith according to the Pupil's Capacity, and there is nothing in our Religion, but what an indifferent Reason is, in some measure, able to comprehend; tho' a *New-England* Minister blames the *French* Jesuits for this way of Proceeding, as being quite contrary to a true Christian Practice, and affirms it to be no ready, or true Method, to establish a lively Representation of our Christian Belief amongst these Infidels.

All the *Indians* hereabouts carefully preserve the Bones of the Flesh they eat, and burn them, as being of Opinion, that if they omitted that Custom, the Game would leave their Country, and they should not be able to maintain themselves by their Hunting. Most of these *Indians* wear Mustachoes or Whiskers, which is rare; by reason the *Indians* are a Pec



ple that commonly pull the Hair of their Faces, and other Parts, up by the Roots, and suffer none to grow. Here is plenty of Chefnuts, which are rarely found in *Carolina*, and never near the Sea, or Salt-Water; tho' they are frequently in such Places in *Virginia*.

At the other House, where our Fellow-Travellers lay, they had provided a Dish, in great Fashion amongst the *Indians*, which was Two young Fawns, taken out of the Doe's Bellies, and boil'd in the same slimy Bags Nature had plac'd them in, and one of the Country-Hares, stew'd with the Guts in her Belly, and her Skin with the Hair on. This new-fashion'd Cookery wrought Abstinence in our Fellow-Travellers, which I somewhat wonder'd at, because one of them made nothing of eating *Allegators*, as heartily as if it had been Pork and Turneps. The *Indians* dress most things after the Wood-cock Fashion, never taking the Guts out. At the House we lay at, there was very good Entertainment of Venison, Turkies, and Bears; and which is customary amongst the *Indians*, the Queen had a Daughter by a former Husband, who was the beautifullest *Indian* I ever saw, and had an Air of Majesty with her, quite contrary to the general Carriage of the *Indians*. She was very kind to the *English*, during our Abode, as well as her Father and Mother.

This Morning, most of our Company having some Inclination to go straight away for *Virginia*, when they left this Place; I and one more took our leaves of them, resolving (with God's Leave) to see *North-Carolina*, one of the *Indians* setting us in our way. The rest being indifferent which way they went, desired us, by all means, to leave a Letter for them, at the *Achonechy-Town*. The *Indian* that put us in our Path, had been a Prisoner amongst the *Sinnagers*; but had out-run them, although they had cut his Toes, and half his Feet away, which is a Practice common amongst them. They first raise the Skin, then cut away half the Feet, and so wrap the Skin over the Stumps, and make a present Cure of the Wounds. This commonly disables them from making their Escape, they being not so good Travellers as before, and the Impression of their Half-Feet making it easy to trace them. However, this Fellow was got clear of them, but had little Heart to go far from home, and carry'd always a Case of Pistols in his Girdle, besides a Cutlass, and a Fuzee.

Leaving.

Leaving the rest of our Company at the *Indian-Town*, we travell'd, that day, about 20 Miles, in very cold, frosty Weather; and pass'd over two pretty Rivers, something bigger than *Heighwaree*, but not quite so stony. We took these two Rivers to make one of the Northward Branches of *Cape-Fair* River, but afterwards found our Mistake.

*Friday.* The next day, we travell'd over very good Land, but full of Free-Stone, and Marble, which pinch'd our Feet severely. We took up our Quarters in a sort of *Savanna*-Ground, that had very few Trees in it. The Land was good, and had several Quarries of Stone, but not loose, as the others us'd to be.

*Saturday.* Next-Morning, we got our Breakfasts of Parch'd Corn, having nothing but that to subsist on for above 100 Miles. All the Pine-Trees were vanish'd, for we had seen none for two days. We pass'd through a delicate rich Soil this day; no great Hills, but pretty Risings, and Levels, which made a beautiful Country. We likewise pass'd over three Rivers this day; the first about the bigness of *Rocky* River, the other not much differing in Size. Then we made not the least Question, but we had pass'd over the North-West Branch of *Cape-Fair*, travelling that day above 30 Miles. We were much taken with the Fertility and Pleasantness of the Neck of Land between these two Branches, and no less pleas'd, that we had pass'd the River, which us'd to frighten Passengers from fording it. At last, determining to rest on the other side of a Hill, which we saw before us; when we were on the Top thereof, there appear'd to us such another delicious, rapid Stream, as that of *Sapona*, having large Stones, about the bigness of an ordinary House, lying up and down the River. As the Wind blew very cold at N. W. and we were very weary, and hungry, the Swift-ness of the Current gave us some cause to fear; but, at last, we concluded to venture over that Night. Accordingly, we stripp'd, and with great Difficulty, (by God's Assistance) got safe to the North-side of the famous *Hau*-River, by some called *Reatkin*; the *Indians* differing in the Names of Places, according to their several Nations. It is call'd *Hau*-River, from the *Sissipabau* *Indians*, who dwell upon this Stream, which is one of the main Branches of *Cape-Fair*, there being rich Land enough to contain some Thousands of  
Fa-

Families; for which Reason, I. hope, in a short time, it will be planted. This River is much such another as *Sapona*; both seeming to run a vast way up the Country. Here is plenty of good Timber, and especially, of a Scaly-bark'd Oak; And as there is Stone enough in both Rivers, and the Land is extraordinary Rich, no Man that will be content within the Bounds of Reason, can have any grounds to dislike it. And they that are otherwise, are the best Neighbours, when farthest off.

As soon as it was day, we set out for the *Achonechy-Sunday*. Town, it being, by Estimation, 20 Miles off, which, I believe, is pretty exact. We were got about half way, (meeting great Gangs of Turkeys) when we saw, at a Distance, 30 loaded Horses, coming on the Road, with four or five Men, on other Jades, driving them. We charg'd our Piece, and went up to them: Enquiring, whence they came from? They told us, from *Virginia*. The leading Man's Name was *Massey*, who was born about *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*. He ask'd, from whence we came? We told him. Then he ask'd again, Whether we wanted any thing that he had? telling us, we should be welcome to it. We accepted of Two Wheaten Biskets, and a little Ammunition. He advised us, by all means, to strike down the Country for *Ronoach*, and not think of *Virginia*, because of the *Sinnagers*, of whom they were afraid, tho' so well arm'd, and numerous. They persuaded us also, to call upon one *Enoe Will*, as we went to *Adshusbeer*, for that he would conduct us safe among the *English*, giving him the Character of a very faithful *Indian*, which we afterwards found true by Experience. The *Virginia*-Men asking our Opinion of the Country we were then in? we told them, it was a very pleasant one. They were all of the same Opinion, and affirm'd, That they had never seen 20 Miles of such extraordinary rich Land, lying all together, like that betwixt *Hau*-River and the *Achonechy* Town. Having taken our Leaves of each other, we set forward; and the Country, thro' which we pass'd, was so delightful, that it gave us a great deal of Satisfaction. About Three a Clock, we reach'd the Town, and the *Indians* presently brought us good fat Bear, and Venison, which was very acceptable at that time. Their Cabins were hung with a good sort of Tapestry, as fat Bear, and barbecued or dried Venison; no *Indians* having greater Plen-

ty of *Peor* does not meet. The *Savages* do, indeed, still possess the *Flower of Carriacou*, the *English* enjoying only the *Flag* of that *Isle*. We had not been in the *Town* 2 Hours, when *Enoe-Wil* came into the *King's Cabin*; which was our *Quarters*. We ask'd him, if he would consent us to the *English*, and what he would have for his *Palis*: he answer'd, he would go along with us, and for what he was to have, he left that to our *Discretion*.

Nov. 11. The next Morning, we set out, with *Enoe-Wil*, towards *Adfusbeer*, leaving the *Virginia Path*, and striking more to the Eastward, for *Russack*. Several *Indians* were in our Company belonging to *Wiss's Nation*, who are the *Seecowies*, mixt with the *Enoe-Indians*, and those of the Nation of *Adfusbeer*. *Enoe-Wil* is their chief Man, and rules as far as the Banks of *Roarbn*. It was a sad stony Way to *Adfusbeer*. We went over a small River by *A:emecy*, and in this 14 Miles, through several other Streams, which empty themselves into the Branches of *Cape-Fair*. The stony Way made me quite lame; so that I was an Hour or two behind the rest; but honest *Wil* would not leave me, but bid me welcome when we came to his House, feasting us with hot Bread, and Bears-Oil; which is wholesome Food for Travel-ers. There runs a pretty Rivulet by this Town. Near the Plantation, I saw a prodigious overgrown Pine-Tree, having not seen any of that Sort of Timber for above 125 Miles: They brought us 2 Cocks, and pull'd their larger Feathers off, never plucking the lesser, but lingeing them off. I took one of these Fowls in my Hand, to make it cleaner than the *Indian* had, pulling out his Guts and Liver, which I laid in a Bason; notwithstanding which, he kept such a Struggling for a considerable time, that I had much ado to hold him in my Hands. The *Indians* laugh'd at me, and told me, that *Enoe-Wil* had taken a Cock of an *Indian* that was not at home, and the Fowl was design'd for another Use. I conjectur'd, that he was design'd for an Offering to their God, who, they say, hurts them, (which is the Devil.) In this Struggling, he bled afresh, and there issued out of his Body more Blood than commonly such Creatures afford. Notwithstanding all this, we cook'd him, and eat him; and if he was design'd for him, cheated the Devil. The *Indians* keep many Cocks, but seldom above one Hen, using very often such wicked Sacrifices, as I mistrusted this Fowl was design'd for.

Our

Our Guide and Landlord *Enoe-Will* was of the best and most agreeable Temper that ever I met with in an *Indian*, being always ready to serve the *English*, not out of Gain, but real Affection; which makes him apprehensive of being poison'd by some wicked *Indians*, and was therefore very earnest with me, to promise him to revenge his Death, if it should so happen. He brought some of his chief Men into his Cabin, and 2 of them having a Drum, and a Rattle, sung by us, as we lay in Bed, and struck up their Musick to serenade and welcome us to their Town. And tho' at last, we fell asleep, yet they continu'd their Confort till Morning. These *Indians* are fortify'd in, as the former, and are much addicted to a Sport they call *Chenco*, which is carry'd on with a Staff and a Bowl made of Stone, which they trundle upon a smooth Place, like a Bowling-Green, made for that Purpose, as I have mention'd before.

Next Morning, we set out, with our Guide, and several *Tuesday* other *Indians*, who intended to go to the *English*, and buy Rum. We design'd for a Nation about 40 Miles from *Adshusbeer*, call'd the Lower Quarter: The first Night, we lay in a rich *Perkison*, or low Ground, that was hard-by a Creek, and good dry Land.

The next day, we went over several Tracts of rich Land, *Wednesday* but mix'd with Pines and other indifferent Soil. In our way, *day* there stood a great Stone about the Size of a large Oven, and hollow; this the *Indians* took great Notice of, putting some Tobacco into the Concavity, and spitting after it. I ask'd them the Reason of their so doing, but they made me no Answer. In the Evening, we pass'd over a pleasant Rivulet, with a fine gravelly Bottom, having come over such another that Morning. On the other side of this River, we found the *Indian* Town, which was a Parcel of nasty smoaky Holes, much like the *Waterrees*; their Town having a great Swamp running directly through the Middle thereof. The Land here begins to abate of its Height, and has some few Swamps. Most of these *Indians* have but one Eye; but what Mischance or Quarrel has bereav'd them of the other I could not learn. They were not so free to us, as most of the other *Indians* had been; Victuals being somewhat scarce among them. However, we got enough to satisfy our Appetites. I saw, among these Men, very long Arrows, headed with Pieces of Glass,

Glass, which they had broken from Bottles. They had shap'd them neatly, like the Head of a Dart; but which way they did it, I can't tell. We had not been at this Town above an Hour, when two of our Company, that had bought a Mare of *John Stewart*, came up to us, having receiv'd a Letter by one of *Will's Indians*, who was very cautious, and asked a great many Questions, to certifie him of the Person, e'er he would deliver the Letter. They had left the Trader, and one that came from *South-Carolina* with us, to go to *Virginia*; these Two being resolv'd to go to *Carolina* with us.

*Thursday.* This Day fell much Rain, so we staid at the *Indian Town*.

*Friday.* This Morning, we set out early, being four *English* Men, besides several *Indians*. We went 10 Miles, and were then stopp'd by the Freshes of *Enoe-River*, which had rais'd it so high, that we could not pass over, till it was fallen. I enquir'd of my Guide, Where this River disgorg'd it self? He said, It was *Enoe-River*, and run into a Place call'd *Enoe-Bay*, near his Country, which he left when he was a Boy; by which I perceiv'd, he was one of the *Cores* by Birth: This being a Branch of *News-River*.

*Saturday.* This Day, our Fellow-Traveller's Mare ran away from him; wherefore, *Will* went back as far as the lower Quarter, and brought her back.

*Sunday.* The next Day, early, came two *Tuskeruro Indians* to the other side of the River, but could not get over. They talk'd much to us, but we understood them not. In the Afternoon, *Will* came with the Mare, and had some Discourse with them; they told him, The *English*, to whom he was going, were very wicked People; and, That they threatned the *Indians* for Hunting near their Plantations. These Two Fellows were going among the *Schoscoces* and *Achonechy Indians*, to sell their Wooden Bowls and Ladles for Raw-Skins, which they make great Advantage of, hating that any of these Westward *Indians* should have any Commerce with the *English*, which would prove a Hindrance to their Gains. Their Stories deterr'd an Old *Indian* and his Son, from going any farther; but *Will* told us, Nothing they had said should frighten him, he believing them to be a couple of Hog-stealers; and that the *English* only sought Restitution of their Losses, by them; and that this was the only ground for their Report. *Will* had a Slave, a *Sissipahan-Indian* by Nation, who killed us several Turkeys, and other Game, on which we feasted.

*Monday.* This River is near as large as *Reatin*; the South-side having curious Tracts of good Land, the Banks high, and Stone-Quarries. The *Tuskeruros* being come to us, we ventur'd over the River, which we found to be a strong Current, and the Water about Breast-high. However, we all got safe to the North-Shore, which is but poor, white, sandy Land, and bears no Timber, but small shrubby Oaks. We went about 10 Miles, and sat down at the Falls of a large Creek, where lay mighty Rocks, the Water making a strange Noise, as if a great many Water-

ter-Mills were going at once. I take this to be the Falls of *Nous-Creek*, called by the *Indians*, *We go Whom*. We lay here all Night. My Guide *Will* desiring to see the Book that I had about me, I lent it him; and as he soon found the Picture of King *David*, he asked me several Questions concerning the Book, and Picture, which I resolv'd him, and invited him to become a Christian. He made me a very sharp Reply, assuring me, That he lov'd the *English* extraordinary well, and did Believe their Ways to be very good for those that had already practis'd them, and had been brought up therein; But as for himself, he was too much in Years to think of a Change, esteeming it not proper for Old People to admit of such an Alteration. However, he told me, If I would take his Son *Tack*, who was then about 14 Years of Age, and teach him to talk in that Book, and make Paper speak, which they call our Way of Writing, he would wholly resign him to my Tuition; telling me, he was of Opinion, I was very well affected to the *Indians*.

The next Morning, we set out early, and I perceiv'd that these *Indians* were in some fear of Enemies; for they had an Old Man with them, who was very cunning and circumspect, wheresoever he saw any Marks of Footing, or of any Fire that had been made; going out of his Way, very often, to look for these Marks. We went, this day, above 30 Miles, over a very level Country, and most Pine Land, yet intermix'd with some Quantities of Marble; a good Range for Cattel, though very indifferent for Swine. We had now lost our rapid Streams, and were come to slow, dead Waters, of a brown Colour, proceeding from the *Swamps*, much like the Sluices in *Holland*, where the *Track-Scots* go along. In the Afternoon, we met two *Tuskeruros*, who told us, That there was a Company of Hunters not far off, and if we walk'd stoutly, we might reach them that Night. But *Will* and He that own'd the Mare, being gone before, and the Old *Indian* tired, we rested; that Night, in the Woods, making a good light Fire, Wood being very plentiful in these Parts.

Next Day, about 10 a Clock, we struck out of the Way, by the *Wednesday* Advice of our Old *Indian*. We had not gone past two Miles, e'er we *day* met with about 500 *Tuskeruros* in one Hunting-Quarter. They had made themselves Streets of Houses, built with Pine-Bark, not with round-Tops, as they commonly use, but Ridge-Fashion, after the manner of most other *Indians*. We got nothing amongst them but Corn, Flesh being not plentiful, by reason of the great Number of their People. For tho' they are expert Hunters, yet they are too populous for one Range; which makes Venison very scarce to what it is amongst other *Indians*, that are fewer; no Savages living so well for Plenty, as those near the Sea. I saw, amongst these, a Hump-back'd *Indian*, which was the only crooked one I ever met withal. About two a Clock, we reach'd one of their Towns, in which there was no body left, but an Old Woman or two; the rest being gone to their

their Hunting-Quarters. We could find no Provision at that Place. We had a *Tuskeruro* that came in company with us, from the lower Quarter, who took us to his Cabin, and gave us what it afforded, which was Corn-meat.

*Thursday.* This Day, we pass'd through several Swamps, and going not above a dozen Miles, came to a Cabin, the Master whereof us'd to trade amongst the *English*. He told us, If we would stay Two Nights, he would conduct us safe to them, himself designing, at that time, to go and fetch some Rum; so we resolv'd to tarry for his Company. During our Stay, there happen'd to be a Young Woman troubled with Fits.

The Doctor who was sent for to assist her, laid her on her Belly, and made a small Incision with Rattle-Snake-Teeth; then laying his Mouth to the Place, he suck'd out near a Quart of black conglutinated Blood, and Serum. Our Landlord gave us the Tail of a Bever, which was a choice Food. There happen'd also to be a Burial of one of their Dead, which Ceremony is much the same with that of the *Santees*, who make a great Feast at the Interment of their Corps. The small Runs of Water hereabout, afford great Plenty of Craw-Fish, full as large as those in *England*, and nothing inferior in Goodness.

*Saturday.* *Saturday* Morning, our Patron, with *Enoe Will*, and his Servant, set out with us, for the *English*. In the Afternoon, we ferried over a River, (in a Canoe) called by the *Indians*, *Chatookau*, which is the N. W. Branch of *News-River*. We lay in the Swamp, where some *Indians* invited us to go to their Quarters, which some of our Company accepted, but got nothing extraordinary, except a dozen Miles March out of their Way: The Country here is very thick of *Indian* Towns and Plantations.

*Sunday.* We were forced to march, this day, for Want of Provisions. About 10 a Clock, we met an *Indian* that had got a parcel of Shad-Fish ready barbaku'd. We bought 24 of them, for a dress'd Doe-Skin, and so went on, through many Swamps, finding, this day, the long ragged Moss on the Trees, which we had not seen for above 600 Miles. In the Afternoon, we came upon the Banks of *Pampticough*, about 20 Miles above the *English* Plantations by Water, though not so far by Land. The *Indian* found a Canoe, which he had hidden, in which we all got over, and went about six Miles farther. We lay, that Night, under two or three Pieces of Bark, at the Foot of a large Oak. There fell abundance of Snow and Rain in the Night, with much Thunder and Lightning.

*Monday.* Next Day, it clear'd up, and it being about 12 Miles to the *English*, about half-way we pass'd over a deep Creek, and came safe to Mr. *Richard Smiths*, of *Pampticough-River*, in *North-Carolina*; where being well receiv'd by the Inhabitants, and pleas'd with the Goodness of the Country, we all resolv'd to continue.

F I N I S



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# DESCRIPTION

O F

## *North - CAROLINA.*



THE Province of *Carolina* is separated from *Virginia* by a due West-Line, which begins at *Currituck-Inlet*, in 36 Degrees, 30 Minutes, of Northern-Latitude, and extends indefinitely to the Westward, and thence to the Southward, as far as 29 Degrees; which is a vast Tract of Sea-Coast. But having already treated, as far as is-necessary, concerning South-*Carolina*, I shall confine myself, in the ensuing Sheets, to give my Reader a Description of that Part of the Country only, which lies betwixt *Currituck* and *Cape-Fair*, and is almost 34 Deg. North. And this is commonly call'd *North Carolina*.

This Part of *Carolina* is faced with a Chain of Sand-Banks, which defends it from the Violence and Insults of the *Atlantic* Ocean; by which Barrier, a vast Sound is hemm'd in, which fronts the Mouths of the Navigable and Pleasant Rivers of this Fertile Country, and into which they discharge themselves. Thro' the same are Inlets of several Depths of Water. Some of their Channels admit only of Sloops, Brigantines, small Barks, and Ketches; and such are *Currituck*, *Romock*, and up the Sound above *Hatteras*: Whilst others can receive Ships of Burden, as *Ocacock*, *Top-sail-Inlet*, and *Cape-Fair*; as appears by my Chart.

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*First Colony of Carolina.* The first Discovery and Settlement of this Country was by the Procurement of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in Conjunction with some publick-spirited Gentlemen of that Age, under the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*; for which Reason it was then named *Virginia*, being begun on that Part called *Ronoak-Island*, where the Ruins of a Fort are to be seen at this day, as well as some old *English* Coins which have been lately found; and a Brass-Gun, a Powder-Horn, and one small Quarter deck-Gun, made of Iron Staves, and hoop'd with the same Metal; which Method of making Guns might very probably be made use of in those Days, for the Convenience of Infant-Colonies.

*Hatteras Indians.* A farther Confirmation of this we have from the *Hatteras Indians*, who either then lived on *Ronoak-Island*, or much frequented it. These tell us, that several of their Ancestors were white People, and could talk in a Book, as we do; the Truth of which is confirm'd by gray Eyes being found frequently amongst these *Indians*, and no others; They value themselves extremely for their Affinity to the *English*, and are ready to do them all friendly Offices. It is probable, that this Settlement miscarry'd for want of timely Supplies from *England*; or thro' the Treachery of the Natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the *English* were forced to cohabit with them, for Relief and Conversation; and that in process of Time, they conform'd themselves to the Manners of their *Indian* Relations. And thus we see, how apt Humane Nature is to degenerate.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Ship.* I cannot forbear inserting here, a pleasant Story that passes for an uncontested Truth amongst the Inhabitants of this Place; which is, that the Ship which brought the first Colonies, does often appear amongst them, under Sail, in a gallant Posture, which they call *Sir Walter Raleigh's Ship*; And the truth of this has been affirm'd to me, by Men of the best Credit in the Country.

*Second Settlement of North-Carolina.* A second Settlement of this Country was made about fifty Years ago, in that part we now call *Albemarl-County*, and chiefly in *Chowan* Precinct, by several substantial Planters, from *Virginia*, and other Plantations; Who finding mild Winters, and a fertile Soil, beyond Expectation, producing every thing that was planted; to a prodigious Increase; their Cattle, Horses, Sheep, and Swine, breeding very

very fast, and passing the Winter, without any Assistance from the Planter; so that every thing seem'd to come by Nature, the Husbandman living almost void of Care, and free from those Fatigues which are absolutely requisite in Winter-Countries, for providing Fodder and other Necessaries; these Encouragements induc'd them to stand their Ground, altho' but a handful of People, seated at great Distances one from another, and amidst a vast number of *Indians* of different Nations, who were then in *Carolina*. Nevertheless, I say, the Fame of this new-discover'd Summer-Country spread thro' the neighbouring Colonies, and, in a few Years, drew a considerable Number of Families thereto, who all found Land enough to settle themselves in, (had they been many Thousands more) and that which was very good and commodiously seated, both for Profit and Pleasure. And indeed, most of the Plantations in *Carolina* naturally enjoy a noble Prospect of large and spacious Rivers, pleasant Savanna's, and fine Meadows, with their green Liveries, interwoven with beautiful Flowers, of most glorious Colours, which the several Seasons afford; hedg'd in with pleasant Groves of the ever-famous Tulip-tree, the stately Laurel, and Bays, equalizing the Oak in Bigness and Growth; Myrtles, Jessamines, Wood-bines, Honyfuckles, and several other fragrant Vines and Ever-greens, whose aspiring Branches shadow and interweave themselves with the loftiest Timbers, yielding a pleasant Prospect, Shade and Smell, proper Habitations for the Sweet-singing Birds, that melodiously entertain such as travel thro' the Woods of *Carolina*.

The Planters possessing all these Blessings, and the Produce of great Quantities of Wheat and *Indian* Corn, in which this Country is very fruitful, as likewise in Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, and Furs; for these Commodities the *New-England-Men* and *Bermudians* visited *Carolina* in their Barks and Sloops, and carry'd out what they made, bringing them, in Exchange, Rum, Sugar, Salt, Molosses, and some wearing Apparel, tho' the last at very extravagant Prices.

As the Land is very fruitful, so are the Planters kind and hospitable to all that come to visit them; there being very few Housekeepers, but what live very nobly, and give away more Provisions to Coasters and Guests who

come to see them, than they expend amongst their own Families.

*Of the Inlets and Havens of this Country.*

**Currituck Inlet.** The Bar of *Currituck* being the Northermost of this Country, presents itself first to be treated of. It lies in 36 deg. 30 min. and the Course over is S. W. by W. having not above seven or eight Foot on the Bar, tho' a good Harbour, when you are over, where you may ride safe, and deep enough; but this Part of the Sound is so full of Shoals, as not to suffer any thing to trade thro' it, that draws above three Foot Water, which renders it very incommodious. However, this affects but some part of the Country, and may be easily remedied, by carrying their Produce, in small Craft, down to the Vessels, which ride near the Inlet.

**Ronoak Inlet.** *Ronoak* Inlet has Ten Foot Water; the Course over the Bar is almost W. which leads you thro' the best of the Channel. This Bar, as well as *Currituck*, often shifts by the Violence of the N. E. Storms, both lying expos'd to those Winds. Notwithstanding which, a considerable Trade might be carry'd on, provided there was a Pilot to bring them in; for it lies convenient for a large Part of this Colony, whose Product would very easily allow of that Charge; Lat. 35 deg. 50 min.

**Hatteras Inlet.** The Inlet of *Hatteras* lies to the Westward of the Cape, round which is an excellent Harbour. When the Wind blows hard at N. or N. E. if you keep a small League from the Cape-Point, you will have 3, 4, and 5 Fathom, the outermost Shoals lying about 7 or 8 Leagues from Shoar. As you come into the Inlet, keep close to the South Breakers, till you are over the Bar, where you will have two Fathom at Low-Water. You may come to an Anchor in two Fathom and a Half when you are over, then steer over close aboard the North Shoar, where is four Fathom, close to a Point of Marsh; then steer up the Sound a long League, till you bring the North Cape of the Inlet to bear S. S. E. half E. then steer W. N. W. the East-point of Bluff-Land at *Hatteras* bearing E. N. E. the Southermost large Hammock towards *Ocacock*, bearing S. S. W. half S. then you are in the Sound, over the Bar of Sand, whereon is but 6 Foot Water;

Water; then your Course to *Pampticough* is almost West. It flows on these three Bars S. E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. about Eight of the Clock; unless there is a hard Gale of Wind at N. E. which will make it flow two hours longer; but as soon as the Wind is down, the Tides will have their natural Course: A hard Gale at N. or N. W. will make the Water ebb sometimes 24 hours; but still the Tide will ebb and flow, tho' not seen by the turning thereof, but may be seen by the Rising of the Water, and Falling of the same, Lat.  $35^{\circ} 20''$ .

*Ocacock* is the best Inlet and Harbour yet in this Country; *Ocacock* and has 13 Foot at Low-water upon the Bar. There are *Inlets* two Channels; one is but narrow, and lies close aboard the South Cape; the other in the Middle, *viz.* between the Middle Ground, and the South Shoar, and is above half a Mile wide. The Bar itself is but half a Cable's Length over, and then you are in 7 or 8 Fathom Water; a good Harbour. The Course into the Sound is N. N. W. At High-water, and Neap-tides, here is 18 Foot Water. It lies S. W. from *Hatteras* Inlet. Lat.  $35^{\circ} 8''$ .

*Topfail* Inlet is above two Leagues to the Westward of *Topfail Cape Look-out*. You have a fair Channel over the Bar, and *Inlet* two Fathom thereon, and a good Harbour in five or six Fathom to come to an Anchor. Your Course over this Bar is almost N. W. Lat.  $34^{\circ} 44''$ .

As for the Inlet and River of *Cape Fair*, I cannot give you *Cape* a better Information thereof, than has been already deli- *Fair Inlet* ver'd by the Gentlemen, who were sent on purpose, from *and River* *Barbados*, to make a Discovery of that River, in the Year 1663. which is thus.

From *Tuesday* the 29th of *September*, to *Friday* the 2d of *October*, we rang'd along the Shoar from Lat. 32 deg. 20 min. to Lat. 33 deg. 11 min. but could discern no Entrance for our Ship, after we had pass'd to the Northward of 32 deg. 40 min. On *Saturday*, *Octob.* 3. a violent Storm overtook us, the Wind between North and East; which Easterly Winds and Foul Weather continu'd till *Monday* the 12th; by reason of which Storms and Foul Weather, we were forced to get off to Sea, to secure Ourselves and Ship, and were driven by the Rapidity of a strong Current to *Cape Hatteras* in Lat. 35 deg. 30 min. On *Monday* the 12th afore-  
said.

said, we came to an Anchor in seven Fathom at *Cape-Fair*  
 Road, and took the Meridian Altitude of the Sun, and were  
 in Latitude 33 deg. 43 min. the Wind continuing still easter-  
 ly, and foul Weather, till *Thursday* the 15th, and on *Friday*  
 the 16th, the Wind being at N. W. we weigh'd and sail'd  
 up *Cape-Fair-River*, some 4 or 5 Leagues, and came to an  
 Anchor in 6 or 7 Fathom, at which time several *Indians* came  
 on board, and brought us great Store of fresh Fish, large  
 Mulletts, young Basfs, Shads, and several other Sorts of very  
 good well-tasted Fish. On *Saturday* the 17th, we went down  
 to the *Cape*, to see the *English* Cattle, but could not find 'em,  
 tho' we rounded the *Cape*: And having an *Indian* Guide with  
 us, here we rode till *Oct.* 24. The Wind being against us,  
 we could not go up the River with our Ship; but went on  
 shoar, and view'd the Land of those Quarters. On *Saturday*,  
 we weigh'd, and sail'd up the River some 4 Leagues, or  
 thereabouts. *Sunday* the 25th, we weigh'd again, and row'd  
 up the River, it being calm, and got up some 14 Leagues  
 from the Harbour's Mouth, where we moor'd our Ship. On  
*Monday Oct.* the 26th, we went down with the Yawl, to *Ne-*  
*coes*, an *Indian* Plantation, and view'd the Land there. On  
*Tuesday* the 27th, we row'd up the main River, with our  
 Long-Boat, and 12 Men, some 10 Leagues, or thereabouts.  
 On *Wednesday* the 28th, we row'd up about 8 or 10 Leagues  
 more. *Thursday* the 29th, was foul Weather, with much  
 Rain and Wind, which forc'd us to make Huts, and lie still.  
*Friday* the 30th, we proceeded up the main River, 7 or 8  
 Leagues. *Saturday* the 31st, we got up 3 or 4 Leagues more,  
 and came to a Tree that lay cross the River; but because  
 our Provisions were almost spent, we proceeded no farther,  
 but return'd downward before Night, and on *Monday* the  
 2d of *November*, we came aboard our Ship. *Tuesday* the 3d.  
 we lay still, to refresh ourselves. On *Wednesday* the 4th, we  
 went 5 or 6 Leagues up the River, to search a Branch that  
 run out of the main River towards the N. W. In this  
 Branch we went up 5 or 6 Leagues; but not liking the Land  
 return'd on board that Night about Midnight, and call  
 that Place *Swampy-Branch*. *Thursday, November* the 5th,  
 stay'd aboard. On *Friday* the 6th, we went up *Greens-Ri-*  
*ver*, the Mouth of it being against the Place at which rode  
 Ship. On *Saturday* the 7th, we proceeded up the said R

me 14 or 15 Leagues in all, and found it ended in several all Branches; The Land, for the most part, being marshy and Swamps, we return'd towards our Ship, and got aboard in the Night. *Sunday November* the 8th, we lay still, and *Monday* the 9th, went again up the main River, being well stock'd with Provisions, and all things necessary, and proceed'd upwards till *Thursday* noon, the 12th, at which time we came to a Place, where were two Islands in the middle of the River; and by reason of the Crookedness of the River at that Place, several Trees lay cross both Branches, which stop'd the Passage of each Branch, so that we could proceed no farther with our Boat; but went up the River side by Land, some 3 or 4 Miles, and found the River wider and wider. So we return'd, leaving it, as far as we could see up a long Reach, running N. E. we judging ourselves near fifty Leagues North from the River's Mouth. On our Return, we view'd the Land on both Sides the River, and found as good Tracts of dry, well-wooded, pleasant, and delightful Ground, as we have seen any where in the world, with abundance of long thick Grass on it, the Land being very level, with steep Banks on both Sides the River, in some Places very high, the Woods stor'd every where, with great Numbers of Deer and Turkies, we never going to the Shoar, but we saw of each Sort; as also great Store oftridges, Cranes, and Conies, in several Places; we likewise heard several Wolves howling in the Woods, and saw where they had torn a Deer in Pieces. Also in the River we saw a great Store of Ducks, Teal, Widgeon; and in the woods, great Flocks of Parrakeeto's. The Timber that the woods afford, for the most part, consists of Oaks of four or five Sorts, all differing in Leaves, but each bearing very good acorns. We measur'd many of the Oaks in several Places, which we found to be, in Bigness, some Two, some Three, others almost Four Fathom in Height, before you come to the Branches or Limbs; forty, fifty, sixty Foot, and some more; those Oaks very common in the upper Parts of both Rivers; also a very tall large Tree of great Bigness, which we call *Cyprus*, the right Name we know not, growing in the woods. Likewise Walnut, Birch, Beech, Maple, Ash, Willow, Alder, and Holly; and in the lowermost parts innumerable Pines, tall and good for Boards or Masts, grow-

growing, for the most part, in barren and sandy, but in some Places up the River, in good Ground, being mixt amongst Oaks and other Timbers. We saw Mulberry-Trees, Multitudes of Grape-Vines, and some Grapes which we eat of. We found a very large and good Tract of Land, on the N. W. Side of the River, thin of Timber, except here and there a very great Oak, and full of Grass, commonly as high as a Man's Middle, and in many Places to his Shoulders, where we saw many Deer, and Turkies; one Deer having very large Horns, and great Body, therefore call'd it *Stag-Park*. It being a very pleasant and delightful Place, we travell'd in it several Miles, but saw no End thereof. So we return'd to our Boat, and proceeded down the River, and came to another Place, some twenty five Leagues from the River's Mouth on the same Side, where we found a Place, no less delightful than the former; and as far as we could judge, both Tracts came into one. This lower Place we call'd *Rocky Point*, because we found many Rocks and Stones, of several Sizes, upon the Land, which is not common. We sent our Boat down the River before us; ourselves travelling by Land, many Miles. Indeed we were so much taken with the Pleasantness of the Country, that we travell'd into the Woods too far to recover our Boat and Company that Night. The next day being *Sunday*, we got to our Boat; and on *Monday* the 16th of *November*, proceeded down to a Place on the East-Side of the River, some 23 Leagues from the Harbour's Mouth, which we call'd *Turky-Quarters*, because we kill'd several Turkies thereabouts; we view'd the Land there, and found some Tracts of good Ground, and high, facing upon the River about one Mile inward, but backwards some two Miles, all Pine Land, but good Pasture Ground: We return'd to our Boat, and proceeded down some 2 or 3 Leagues, where we had formerly view'd, and found it a Tract of as good Land, as any we have seen, and had as good Timber on it. The Banks on the River being high, therefore we call'd it *High-Land-Point*. Having view'd that, we proceeded down the River, going on Shoar in several Places on both Sides, it being generally large Marshes, and many of them dry, that they may more fitly be call'd Meadows. The Wood-Land against them is, for the most part, Pine, and in some Places as barren, as ever we saw Land, but in other Places  
good



good Pasture-Ground. On *Tuesday, November* the 17th, we got 'aboard our Ship, riding against the Mouth of *Green's River*, where our Men were providing Wood, and fitting the Ship for the Sea: In the interim, we took a View of the Country on both sides of the River there, finding some good Land, but more bad, and the best not comparable to that above. *Friday* the 20th was foul Weather; yet in the Afternoon we weigh'd, went down the River about two Leagues, and came to an Anchor against the Mouth of *Hilton's River*, and took a View of the Land there on both sides, which appear'd to us much like that at *Green's River*. *Monday* the 23d, we went, with our Long-Boat well victuall'd and mann'd, up *Hilton's River*; and when we came three Leagues, or thereabouts, up the same, we found this and *Green's River* to come into one, and so continu'd for four or five Leagues, which makes a great Island betwixt them. We proceeded still up the River, till they parted again, keeping up *Hilton's River* on the Larboard side, and follow'd the said River five or six Leagues farther, where we found another large Branch of *Green's River* to come into *Hilton's*, which makes another great Island. On the Starboard side going up, we proceeded still up the River some four Leagues, and return'd, taking a View of the Land on both sides, and then judg'd ourselves to be from our Ship some 18 Leagues W. and by N. One League below this Place, came four *Indians* in a Canoe to us, and sold us several Baskets of Acorns, which we satisfy'd them for, and so left them; but one of them follow'd us on the Shoar some two or three Miles, till he came on the Top of a high Bank, facing on the River; and as we row'd underneath it, the Fellow shot an Arrow at us, which very narrowly miss'd one of our Men, and stuck in the upper edge of the Boat; but broke in pieces, leaving the Head behind. Hereupon, we presently made to the Shoar, and went all up the Bank (except Four to guide the Boat) to look for the *Indian*, but could not find him: At last, we heard some sing, farther in the Woods, which we look'd upon as a Challenge to us, to come and fight them. We went towards them with all Speed; but before we came in Sight of them, heard two Guns go off from our Boat; whereupon we retreated, as fast as we could, to secure our Boat and Men. When we

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came

DESCRIPTION

... and demanded the Reason  
 ... told us, that an *Indian*  
 ... they suppos'd, to shoot  
 ... at a great distance,  
 ... did him no Hurt; for  
 ... our Return to the  
 ... two *Indians* to us,  
 ... *Benny*. We  
 ... and gave them  
 ... by the Hand,  
 ... sticking in  
 ... Fringe; which  
 ... a great Con-  
 ... knew nothing  
 ... on the Top  
 ... We look'd up  
 ... and saw that it  
 ... the Country:  
 ... the River,  
 ... very high  
 ... and as some  
 ... The Land and  
 ... the best  
 ... So far as  
 ... than  
 ... the Country,  
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 ... the Deer-  
 ... a Basket of A-  
 ... Leagues,  
 or

or thereabouts, and came to another Place of *Indians*, bought Acorns and some Corn of them, and went downwards 2 Leagues more. At last, espying an *Indian* peeping over a high Bank, we held up a Gun at him; and calling to him, *Skerry*, presently several *Indians* came in Sight of us, and made great Signs of Friendship, saying *Bonny, Bonny*. Then running before us, they endeavour'd to persuade us to come on shoar; but we answer'd them with stern Countenances, and call'd out, *Skerry*, taking up our Guns, and threatening to shoot at them, but they still cry'd *Bonny, Bonny*: And when they saw they could not prevail, nor persuade us to come on shoar, two of them came off to us in a Canoe, one paddling with a great Cane, the other with his Hand. As soon as they overtook us, they laid hold of our Boat, sweating and blowing, and told us, it was *Bonny* on shoar, and at last persuaded us to go on shoar with them. As soon as we landed, several *Indians*, to the Number of near 40 lusty Men, came to us, all in a great Sweat, and told us *Bonny*: We shew'd 'em the Arrow-Head in the Boat-Side, and a Piece of the Canoe we had cut in Pieces: Whereupon, the chief Man amongst them made a long Speech, threw Beads into our Boat, which is a Sign of great Love and Friendship, and gave us to understand, that when he heard of the Affront which we had receiv'd, it caus'd him to cry; and that he and his Men were come to make Peace with us, assuring us, by Signs, that they would tye the Arms, and cut off the Head, of the Fellow who had done us that Wrong; And for a farther Testimony of their Love and Good-Will towards us, they presented us with two very handsome, proper, young *Indian* Women, the tallest that ever we saw in this Country; which we suppos'd to be the King's Daughters, or Persons of Distinction amongst them. Those young Women were so ready to come into our Boat; that one of them crowded in, and would hardly be persuaded to go out again. We presented the King with a Hatchet and several Beads, and made Presents of Beads also to the young Women, the chief Men, and the rest of the *Indians*, as far as our Beads would go. They promis'd us, in four Days, to come on board our Ship, and so departed from us. When we left the Place, which was soon after, we call'd it *Mount-Bonny*, because we had there concluded a firm Peace. Proceeding down the River 2 or 3 Leagues farther, we came to a Place where were 9 or 10 Ca-

noes all together. We went ashore there, and found several *Indians*; but most of them were the same which had made Peace with us before. We staid very little at that Place, but went directly down the River, and came to our Ship, before day. *Thursday* the 26th of *November*, the Wind being at South, we could not go down to the River's Mouth; but on *Friday* the 27th, we weigh'd at the Mouth of *Hilton's River*, and got down a League towards the Harbour's Mouth. On *Sunday* the 29th, we got down to *Crane-Island*, which is 4 Leagues or thereabouts, above the Entrance of the Harbour's Mouth. On *Tuesday* the 1st of *December*, we made a Purchase of the River and Land of *Cape-Fair*, of *Wat-Coosa*, and such other *Indians*, as appear'd to us to be the chief of those Parts. They brought us Store of fresh Fish aboard, as Mulletts, Shads, and other sorts very good. This River is all fresh Water, fit to drink. Some 8 Leagues within the Mouth, the Tide runs up about 35 Leagues, but stops and rises a great deal farther up. It flows at the Harbour's Mouth, S. E. and N. W. 6 Foot at Neap-Tides, and 8 Foot at Spring-Tides. The Channel on the East side, by the *Cape-Shoar*, is the best, and lies close aboard the *Cape-Land*, being 3 Fathoms at high Water, in the shallowest Place in the Channel; just at the Entrance; But as soon as you are past that Place, half a Cables Length inward, you have 6 or 7 Fathoms, a fair turning Channel into the River, and so continuing 5 or 6 Leagues upwards. Afterwards the Channel is more difficult, in some Places 6 or 7 Fathoms, in others 4 or 5, and in others but 9 or 10 Foot, especially where the River is broad. When the River comes to part, and grows narrow, there it is all Channel from side to side, in most Places; tho' in some you shall have 5, 6, or 7 Fathoms, but generally 2 or 3, Sand and Ooze. We view'd the *Cape-Land*, and judg'd it to be little worth, the Woods of it being shrubby and low, and the Land sandy and barren; in some Places Grass and Rushes, in others nothing but clear Sand: A Place fitter to starve Cattle, in our Judgment, than to keep 'em alive; yet the *Indians*, as we understand, keep the *English* Cattle down there, and suffer them not to go off of the said *Cape*, (as we suppose) because the Country *Indians* shall have no Part with them; and therefore 'tis likely, they have fallen out about them, which shall have the greatest Share. They brought on board our  
Ship

Ship very good and fat Beef several times, which they sold us at a very reasonable Price; also fat and very large Swine, good and cheap; but they may thank their Friends of *New-England*, who brought their Hogs to so fair a Market. Some of the *Indians* brought very good Salt aboard us, and made Signs, pointing to both sides of the River's Mouth, that there was great Store thereabouts. We saw up the River, several good Places for the setting up of Corn or Saw-Mills. In that time, as our Business call'd us up and down the River and Branches, we kill'd of wild Fowl, 4 Swans; 10 Geese, 20 Cranes, 10 Turkeys, 40 Ducks and Mallards, 3 dozen of Parraketo's, and 6 dozen of other small Fowls, as Curlews and Plover, &c.

Whereas there was a Writing left in a Post, at the Point of *Cape-Fair* River, by those *New-England-Men*, that left Cattle with the *Indians* there, the Contents whereof tended not only to the Disparagement of the Land about the said River, but also to the great Discouragement of all such as should hereafter come into those Parts to settle: In answer to that scandalous Writing, We, whose Names are underwritten, do affirm, That we have seen, facing both sides the River and Branches of *Cape-Fair* aforesaid, as good Land, and as well timber'd, as any we have seen in any other Part of the World; sufficient to accommodate Thousands of our *English* Nation, and lying commodiously by the said River's Side.

On Friday the 4th of *December*, the Wind being fair, we put out to Sea, bound for *Barbados*; and, on the 6th of *February*, 1661, came to an Anchor in *Carlisle-Bay*; it having pleas'd God, after several apparent Dangers both by Sea and Land, to bring us all in Safety to our long-wish'd-for and much-desir'd Port, to render an Account of our Discovery; the Verity of which we do assert.

*Anthony Long.*  
*William Hilton.*  
*Peter Fabian.*

Thus you have an Account of the Latitude, Soil, and Advantages of *Cape-Fair*, or *Clarendon-River*, which was settled in the Year 1661, or thereabouts; and had it not been for the irregular Practices of some of that Colony against the *Indians*,

## A DESCRIPTION

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*Indians*, by sending away some of their Children, (as I have been told) under Pretence of instructing 'em in Learning, and the Principles of the Christian Religion; which so disgusted the *Indians*, that tho' they had then no Guns, yet they never gave over, till they had entirely rid themselves of the *English*, by their Bows and Arrows; with which they did not only take off themselves, but also their Stocks of Cattle; And this was so much the more ruinous to them, in that they could have no Assistance from *South-Carolina*, which was not then planted; and the other Plantations were but in their Infancy. Were it not for such ill Practices, I say, it might, in all Probability, have been, at this day, the best Settlement in their Lordships great Province of *Carolina*.

*Albemarl* The Sound of *Albemarl*, with the Rivers and Creeks of that Country, afford a very rich and durable Soil. The Land, in most Places, lies indifferent low, (except in *Churro*, and high up the Rivers) but bears an incredible Burden of Timber; the Low-Grounds being cover'd with Beech; and the High-Land yielding lofty Oaks, Walnut-Trees, and other useful Timber. The Country, in some Plantations, has yearly produc'd *Indian Corn*, or some other Grain, ever since this Country was first seated, without the Trouble of Manuring or Dressing; and yet (to all appearance) it seems not to be, in the least, impoverish'd, neither do the Planters ever miss of a good Crop, unless a very unnatural Season visits them, which seldom happens.

### *Of the Corn of Carolina.*

*Wheat.*

THE Wheat of this Place is very good, seldom yielding less than thirty fold, provided the Land is good where it is sown; Not but that there has been Sixty-six Increase for one measure sown in Piny-Land, which we account the meanest Sort. And I have been inform'd, by People of Credit, that Wheat which was planted in a very rich Piece of Land, brought a hundred and odd Pecks, for one. If our Planters, when they found such great Increase, would be so curious as to make nice Observations of the Soil, and other remarkable Accidents; they would soon be acquainted with the Nature of the Earth and Climate, and be better qualified to manage

Water; then your Course to *Pamplico* is almost West. It flows on these three Bars S. E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. about Eight of the Clock; unless there is a hard Gale of Wind at N. E. which will make it flow two hours longer; but as soon as the Wind is down, the Tides will have their natural Course: A hard Gale at N. or N. W. will make the Water ebb sometimes 24 hours; but still the Tide will ebb and flow, tho' not seen by the turning thereof, but may be seen by the Rising of the Water, and Falling of the same, Lat.  $35^{\circ} 20''$ .

*Ocacock* is the best Inlet and Harbour yet in this Country; and has 13 Foot at Low-water upon the Bar. There are <sup>Inlet.</sup> two Channels; one is but narrow, and lies close aboard the South Cape; the other in the Middle, *viz.* between the Middle Ground, and the South Shoar, and is above half a Mile wide. The Bar itself is but half a Cable's Length over, and then you are in 7 or 8 Fathom Water; a good Harbour. The Course into the Sound is N. N. W. At High-water, and Neap-tides, here is 18 Foot Water. It lies S. W. from *Hatteras* Inlet. Lat.  $35^{\circ} 8''$ .

*Topfail* Inlet is above two Leagues to the Westward of *Topfail Cape Look-out*. You have a fair Channel over the Bar, and <sup>Inlet.</sup> two Fathom thereon, and a good Harbour in five or six Fathom to come to an Anchor. Your Course over this Bar is almost N. W. Lat.  $34^{\circ} 44''$ .

As for the Inlet and River of *Cape Fair*, I cannot give you <sup>Cape</sup> a better Information thereof, than has been already deli- <sup>Fair Inlet</sup> ver'd by the Gentlemen, who were sent on purpose, from <sup>and River.</sup> *Barbados*, to make a Discovery of that River, in the Year 1663. which is thus.

From *Tuesday* the 29th of *September*, to *Friday* the 2d of *October*, we rang'd along the Shoar from Lat. 32 deg. 20 min. to Lat. 33 deg. 11 min. but could discern no Entrance for our Ship, after we had pass'd to the Northward of 32 deg. 40 min. On *Saturday, Octob. 3.* a violent Storm overtook us, the Wind between North and East; which Easterly Winds and Foul Weather continu'd till *Monday* the 12th; by reason of which Storms and Foul Weather, we were forced to get off to Sea, to secure Ourselves and Ship, and were driven by the Rapidity of a strong Current to *Cape Hatteras* in Lat. 35 deg. 30 min. On *Monday* the 12th afore-  
said.

## Of the Corn

... gives a curious Flavour, in the Dressing. And *America* is not yet acquainted; neither can I see the use of it has been brought over to *Europe*; the *Carolina* being esteem'd the best that comes to that part of the World. It is of great Increase, yielding eight hundred to a thousand-fold, and thrives best in wet Land, that has never been broken up before.

*Black-Wheat* is of great Increase in *Carolina*; but we make no other use of it, than instead of Maiz, to feed Hogs and Poultry: And *Guinea Corn*, which thrives well here, serves for the same use.

*Of the Pulse-kind*, we have many sorts. The first is the *Bushel-Bean*, which is a spontaneous Product. They are so called, because they bring a Bushel of Beans for one that is planted. They are set in the Spring, round Arbours, or at the Feet of Poles, up which they will climb, and cover the Watling, making a very pretty Shade to sit under. They continue flowering, budding, and ripening all the Summer long, till the Frost approaches, when they forbear their Fruit, and die. The Stalks they grow on, come to the Thickness of a Man's Thumb; and the Bean is white and mottled, with a purple Figure on each side it, like an Ear. They are very flat, and are eaten as the *Windsor-Bean* is, being an extraordinary well-relish'd Pulse, either by themselves, or with Meat.

*Indian Rounceval* We have the *Indian Rounceval*, or *Miraculous Pease*, so call'd from their long Pods, and great Increase. These are latter Pease, and require a pretty long Summer to ripen in. They are very good; and so are the *Bonavis*, *Calavancies*, *Nanticokes*, and abundance of other Pulse, too tedious here to name, which we found the *Indians* possess'd of, when first we settled in *America*; some of which sorts afford us two Crops in one Year; as the *Bonavis* and *Calavancies*, besides several others of that kind.

*Eng. Bean.* Now I am launch'd into a Discourse of the Pulse, I must acquaint you, that the *European Bean* planted here, will, in time, degenerate into a dwarfish sort, if not prevented by a yearly Supply of foreign Seed, and an extravagant rich Soil; yet these *Pigmy-Beans* are the sweetest of that kind I ever met withal.

As



As for all the sorts of *English Pease* that we have yet made *Pease*.  
tryal of, they thrive very well in *Carolina*. Particularly,  
the white and gray *Rouncival*, the common *Field-Pease*, and  
*Sickle-Pease* yield very well, and are of a good Relish. As  
for the other sorts, I have not seen any made tryal of as  
yet, but question not their coming to great Perfection  
with us.

The *Kidney-Beans* were here before the *English* came, *Kidney-Beans*.  
being very plentiful in the *Indian Corn-Fields*.

The *Garden-Roots* that thrive well in *Carolina*, are *Roots*.  
*Carrots*, *Leeks*, *Parfnips*, *Turneps*, *Potatoes*, of several de-  
licate sorts, *Ground Artichokes*, *Radishes*, *Horse-Radish*,  
*Beet*, both sorts, *Onions*, *Shallot*, *Garlick*, *Cives*, and the  
*Wild-Onions*.

The *Sallads* are the *Lettice*, *Cur'd*, *Red*, *Cabbage*, and *Sa-sallads*.  
*vey*. The *Spinage* round and prickly, *Fennel*, *sweet* and  
the common Sort, *Samphire* in the *Marshes* excellent, so is  
the *Dock* or *Wild-Rhubarb*, *Rocket*, *Sorrel*, *French* and  
*English*, *Cresses* of several Sorts, *Purslain* wild, and that of  
a larger Size which grows in the *Gardens*; for this Plant is *No Purslain in*  
never met withal in the *Indian Plantations*, and is, therefore, *Indian*  
suppos'd to proceed from *Cow-Dung*, which Beast they keep *Fields*.  
not. *Parsley* two Sorts; *Asparagus* thrives to a *Miracle*,  
without hot *Beds* or dunging the *Land*, *White-Cabbage* from  
*European* or *New-England* Seed, for the *People* are negligent  
and unskilful, and don't take care to provide Seed of their  
own. The *Colly-Flower* we have not yet had an *Opportu-*  
nity to make *Tryal* of, nor has the *Artichoke* ever appear'd  
amongst us, that I can learn. *Coleworts* plain and cur'd,  
*Savoys*; besides the *Water-Melons* of several Sorts, very  
good, which should have gone amongst the *Fruits*. Of *Musk-*  
*Melons* we have very large and good, and several Sorts, as  
the *Golden*, *Green*, *Guinea*, and *Orange*. *Cucumbers* long,  
short, and prickly, all these from the *Natural Ground*, and  
great *Increase*, without any *Helps* of *Dung* or *Reflection*.  
*Pompions* yellow and very large, *Burmillions*, *Cashaws*, an  
excellent *Fruit* boild; *Squashes*, *Simnals*, *Horns*, and  
*Gourds*; besides many other *Species*, of less *Value*; too tedir-  
ous to name.

Our *Pot-herbs* and others of use, which we already possess, *Pot-herbs*,  
are *Angelica* wild and tame, *Balm*, *Bugloss*, *Horage*, *Burnet*, and others  
Clary, for *Physick*.



solutely a stranger to; yet we generally observe, that the greatest Variety is found in the Low Grounds, and Savanna's.

The Flower-Garden in *Carolina* is as yet arriv'd but to a <sup>Flowers.</sup> very poor and jejune Perfection. We have only two sorts of Roses; the Clove-July-Flowers, Violets, Princes Feather, and *Tres Colores*. There has been nothing more cultivated in the Flower-Garden, which, at present, occurs to my Memory; but as for the wild spontaneous Flowers of this Country, Nature has been so liberal, that I cannot name one tenth part of the valuable ones; And since, to give Specimens, would only swell the Volume, and give little Satisfaction to the Reader, I shall therefore proceed to the *Present State of Carolina*, and refer the Shrubs and other Vegetables of larger Growth, till hereafter; and then shall deliver them and the other Species in their Order.

*The Present State of Carolina.*

**W**hen we consider the Latitude and convenient Situation of *Carolina*, had we no farther Confirmation thereof, our Reason would inform us; that such a Place lay fairly to be a delicious Country, being placed in that Girdle of the World which affords Wine, Oil, Fruit, Grain, and Silk, with other rich Commodities, besides a sweet Air, moderate Climate, and fertile Soil; these are the Blessings (under Heaven's Protection) that spin out the Thread of Life to its utmost Extent, and crown our Days with the Sweets of Health and Plenty, which, when join'd with Content, renders the Possessors the happiest Race of Men upon Earth.

The Inhabitants of *Carolina*, thro' the Richness of the Soil, <sup>The Present State of Carolina.</sup> live an easy and pleasant Life. The Land being of several sorts of Compost, some stiff, others light, some marl, others rich black Mould; here barren of Pine, but affording Pitch, Tar, and Masts; there vastly rich, especially on the Freshes of the Rivers, one part bearing great Timbers, others being Savanna's or natural Meads, where no Trees grow for several Miles, adorn'd by Nature with a pleasant Verdure, and beautiful Flowers, frequent in no other Places, yielding abundance of Herbage for Cattle, Sheep, and Horse. The Country in general affords pleasant Seats, the Land (except in some few Places) being dry and high Banks, parcell'd out into most convenient Necks, (by the Creeks) easy to be fenced in for securing their Stocks to more strict Boundaries, <sup>Necks of Land.</sup>

whereby, with a small trouble of fencing, almost every Man may enjoy, to himself, an entire Plantation, or rather Park. These, with the other Benefits of Plenty of Fish, Wild-Fowl, Venison, and the other Conveniencies which this Summer-Country naturally furnishes, has induc'd a great many Families to leave the more Northerly Platations, and sit down under one of the mildest Governments in the World; in a Country that, with moderate Industry, will afford all the Necessaries of Life. We have yearly abundance of Strangers come among us, who chiefly strive to go Southerly to settle, because there is a vast Tract of rich Land betwixt the Place we are seated in, and *Cape-Fair*, and upon that River, and more Southerly, which is inhabited by none but a few *Indians*, who are at this time well affected to the *English*, and very desirous of their coming to live among them. The more Southerly, the milder Winters, with the Advantages of purchasing the Lords Land at the most easy and moderate Rate of any Lands in *America*, nay (allowing all Advantages there-to annex'd) I may say, the Universe does not afford such another; Besides, Men have a great Advantage of choosing good and commodious Tracts of Land at the first Seating of a Country or River, whereas the later Settlers are forced to purchase smaller Dividends of the old Standers, and sometimes at very considerable Rates; as now in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, where a thousand Acres of good Land cannot be bought under twenty Shillings an Acre, besides two Shillings yearly Acknowledgment for every hundred Acres; which Sum, be it more or less, will serve to put the Merchant or Planter here into a good posture of Buildings, Slaves, and other Necessaries, when the Purchase of his Land comes to him on such easy Terms. And as our Grain and Pulse thrives with us to admiration, no less do our Stocks of Cattle, Horses, Sheep, and Swine multiply.

The Beef of *Carolina* equalizes the best that our neighbouring Colonies afford; the Oxen are of a great size when they are suffer'd to live to a fit Age. I have seen fat and good Beef at all times of the Year, but *October* and the cool Months are the Seasons we kill our Beeves in, when we intend them for Salting or Exportation; for then they are in their prime of Flesh, all coming from Grass, we never using any other Food for our Cattle. The Heifers bring Calves at eighteen or twenty

Purchase  
of Land.

Land in  
Virginia  
and Mary-  
land.

Stocks.  
Increase.

Beef.

Heifers.

twenty Months old, which makes such a wonderful Increase, that many of our Planters, from very mean Beginnings, have rais'd themselves, and are now Masters of hundreds of fat Beeves, and other Cattle.

The Veal is very good and white, so is the Milk very pleasant and rich, there being, at present, considerable Quantities of Butter and Cheese made, that is very good, not only serving our own Necessities, but we send out a great deal among our Neighbours.

The Sheep thrive very well at present, having most commonly two Lambs at one yeaning: As the Country comes to be open'd, they prove still better, Change of Pasture being agreeable to that useful Creature. Mutton is (generally) exceeding Fat, and of a good Relish; their Wool is very fine, and proves a good Staple.

The Horses are well-shap'd and swift; the best of them would sell for ten or twelve Pounds in *England*. They prove excellent Drudges, and will travel incredible Journeys. They are troubled with very few Distempers, neither do the cloudy-fac'd grey Horses go blind here, as in *Europe*. As for *Spavins*, *Splints*, and *Ring-Bones*, they are here never met withal, as I can learn. Were we to have our Stallions and choice of Mares from *England*, or any other of a good Sort, and careful to keep them on the Highlands, we could not fail of a good Breed; but having been supply'd with our first Horses from the neighbouring Plantations, which were but mean; they do not as yet come up to the Excellency of the *English* Horses; tho' we generally find, that the Colt exceeds, in Beauty and Strength, its Sire and Dam.

The Pork exceeds any in *Europe*; the great Diversity and Goodness of the Acorns and Nuts which the Woods afford, making that Flesh of an excellent Taste, and produces great Quantities; so that *Carolina* (if not the chief) is not inferior, in this one Commodity, to any Colony in the hands of the *English*.

As for Goats, they have been found to thrive and increase well, but being mischievous to Orchards and other Trees, makes People decline keeping them.

Our Produce for Exportation to *Europe* and the Islands in *America*, are Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, Furs, Pitch, Tar, Wheat, *Indian-Corn*, Pease, Masts, Staves, Heading,

Heading, Boards, and all sorts of Timber and Lumber for *Madera* and the *West-Indies*; Rozin, Turpentine, and several sorts of Gums and Tears; with some medicinal Drugs, are here produc'd; Besides Rice, and several other foreign Grains, which thrive very well. Good Bricks and Tiles are made, and several sorts of useful Earths, as Bolt, Fullers-Earth, Oaker, and Tobacco-pipe-Clay, in great plenty; Earths for the Potters Trade, and fine Sand for the Glass-makers. In building with Bricks, we make our Lime of Oyster-Shells, tho' we have great Store of Lime-stone, towards the Heads of our Rivers, where are Stones of all sorts that are useful, besides vast Quantities of excellent Marble. Iron-Stone we have plenty of, both in the Low Grounds and on the Hills; Lead and Copper has been found, so has Antimony heretofore; But no Endeavours have been us'd to discover those Subteraneous Species; otherwise we might, in all probability, find out the best of Minerals, which are not wanting in *Carolina*. Hot Baths we have an account of from the *Indians* that frequent the Hill-Country, where a great likelihood appears of making Salt-peter, because the Earth, in many places, is strongly mix'd with a nitrous Salt; which is much coveted by the Beasts, who come at some Seasons in great Doves and Herds, and by their much licking of this Earth, make great Holes in those Banks, which sometimes lie at the heads of great Precipices; where their Eagerness after this Salt hastens their End, by falling down the high Banks, so that they are dash'd in Pieces. It must be confess'd, that the most noble and sweetest Part of this Country, is not inhabited by any but the Savages; and a great deal of the richest Part thereof, has no Inhabitants but the Beasts of the Wilderness: For, the *Indians* are not inclinable to settle in the richest Land, because the Timbers are too large for them to cut down, and too much burthen'd with Wood for their Labourers to make Plantations of; besides, the Healthfulness of those Hills is apparent, by the Gigantick Stature, and Gray-Heads, so common amongst the Savages that dwell near the Mountains. The great Creator of all things, having most wisely diffus'd his Blessings, by parcelling out the Vintages of the World, into such Lots, as his wonderful Foresight saw most proper, requisite, and convenient for the Habitations of his Creatures. To-  
wards

wards the Sea, we have the Conveniency of Trade, Transportation, and other Helps the Water affords; but oftentimes, those Advantages are attended with indifferent Land, a thick Air, and other Inconveniencies; when backwards, near the Mountains, you meet with the richest Soil, a sweet, thin Air, dry Roads, pleasant small murmuring Streams, and several beneficial Productions and Species, which are unknown in the *European* World. One Part of this Country affords what the other is wholly a Stranger to.

We have *Chalybeate* Waters of several Tastes and different Qualities; some purge, others work by the other Eminent-<sup>beate</sup> rics. We have, amongst the Inhabitants, a Water, that is, <sup>Waters.</sup> inwardly, a great Aperive, and, outwardly, cures Ulcers, Tettars, and Sores, by washing therewith.

There has been a Coal-Mine lately found near the *Manna-Coal-Mine* Town, above the Falls of *James-River* in *Virginia*, which <sup>in Virginia</sup> proves very good, and is us'd by the *Smiths*, for their Forges; and we need not doubt of the same amongst us, towards the Heads of our Rivers; but the Plenty of Wood (which is much the better Fuel) makes us not inquisitive after Coal-Mines. Most of the *French*, who lived at that Town on *French James-River*, are remov'd to *Trent-River*, in *North-Carolina*, Refugees, where the rest were expected daily to come to them, when I came away, which was in *August*, 1708. They are much taken with the Pleasantness of that Country, and, indeed, are a very industrious People. At present, they make very good Linnen-Cloath and Thread, and are very well vers'd in cultivating Hemp and Flax, of both which they raise very considerable Quantities; and design to try an Essay of the Grape, for making of Wine.

As for those of our own Country in *Carolina*, some of the *Planters* Men are very laborious, and make great Improvements in their Way; but I dare hardly give 'em that Character in general. The easy Way of living in that plentiful Country, makes a great many Planters very negligent, which, were they otherwise, that Colony might now have been in a far better Condition than it is, (as to Trade, and other Advantages) which an universal Industry would have led them in-

to: <sup>The</sup>

*Women good Houfwives.* The Women are the most industrious Sex in that Place, and, by their good Houfwifry, make a great deal of Cloath of their own Cotton, Wool and Flax; some of them keeping their Families (though large) very decently apparel'd, both with Linnens and Woollens, so that they have no occasion to run into the Merchant's Debt, or lay their Money out on Stores for Cloathing.

*Natives of Carolina.* The *Christian* Natives of *Carolina* are a straight, clean-limb'd People; the Children being seldom or never troubled with Rickets, or those other Distempers, that the *Europeans* are visited withal. 'Tis next to a Miracle, to see one of them deform'd in Body. The Vicinity of the Sun makes Impression on the Men, who labour out of doors, or use the Water.

*Beautiful.* As for those Women, that do not expose themselves to the Weather, they are often very fair, and generally as well featur'd, as you shall see any where, and have very brisk charming Eyes, which sets them off to Advantage. They marry very young; some at Thirteen or Fourteen; and She that stays till Twenty, is reckon'd a stale Maid; which is a very indifferent Character in that warm Country. The Women are very fruitful; most Houses being full of Little Ones. It has been observ'd, that Women long marry'd, and without Children, in other Places, have remov'd to *Carolina*, and become joyful Mothers. They have very easy Travail in their Child-bearing, in which they are so happy, as seldom to miscarry. Both Sexes are generally spare of Body, and not Cholerick, nor easily cast down at Disappointments and Losses, seldom immoderately grieving at Misfortunes, unless for the Loss of their nearest Relations and Friends, which seems to make a more than ordinary Impression upon them. Many of the Women are very handy in Canoes, and will manage them with great Dexterity and Skill, which they become accustomed to in this watry Country. They are ready to help their Husbands in any servile Work, as Planting, when the Season of the Weather requires Expedition; Pride seldom banishing good Houfwifry. The Girls are not bred up to the Wheel, and Sewing only; but the Dairy and Affairs of the House they are very well acquainted withal; so that you shall see them, whilst very young, manage their Businesses with a great deal of Conduct and Alacrity. The Children of both Sexes are very docile, and learn any thing with

*Not Paffionate.*

*Good Wives.*

*Natives are docile.*

a great



nage their Agriculture to more Certainty, and greater Advantage ; whereby they might arrive to the Crops and Harvests of *Babylon*, and those other fruitful Countries so much talk'd of. For I must confess, I never saw one Acre of Land manag'd as it ought to be in *Carolina*, since I knew it ; and were they as negligent in their Husbandry in *Europe*, as they are in *Carolina*, their Land would produce nothing but Weeds and Straw.

They have try'd Rye, and it thrives very well ; but having such Plenty of Maiz, they do not regard it, because it makes black Bread, unless very curiously handled.

Barley has been sowed in small quantities, and does better *Barley*, than can be expected ; because that Grain requires the Ground to be very well work'd with repeated Ploughings, which our general Way of breaking the Earth with Hoes, can, by no means, perform, tho' in several Places we have a light, rich, deep, black Mould, which is the particular Soil in which Barley best thrives.

The naked Oats thrive extraordinary well ; and the other *Oats* would prove a very bold Grain ; but the Plenty of other Grains makes them not much coveted.

The *Indian Corn*, or *Maiz*, proves the most useful Grain in *Maiz* the World ; and had it not been for the Fruitfulness of this Species, it would have proved very difficult to have settled some of the Plantations in *America*. It is very nourishing, whether in Bread, sodden, or otherwise ; And those poor Christian Servants in *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and the other northerly Plantations, that have been forced to live wholly upon it, do manifestly prove, that it is the most nourishing Grain, for a Man to subsist on, without any other Victuals. And this Assertion is made good by the *Negro-Slaves*, who, in many Places, eat nothing but this *Indian Corn* and Salt. Pigs and Poultry fed with this Grain, eat the sweetest of all others. It refuses no Grounds, unless the barren Sands, and when planted in good Ground, will repay the Planter seven or eight hundred fold ; besides the Stalks bruise'd and boil'd, make very pleasant Beer, being sweet like the Sugar-Cane.

There are several sorts of Rice, some bearded, others *Rice* not, besides the red and white ; But the white Rice is the best. Yet there is a sort of perfum'd Rice in the *East-Indies*.

tend that Way. And as for what may be hop'd for, towards a happy Life and Being, by such a design to remove thither, I shall add this; That with prudent Management, I can affirm, by Experience, not by Hear-say, That any Person, with a small Beginning, may live very comfortably, and not only provide for the Necessaries of Life, but likewise for those that are to succeed him; Provisions being very plentiful, and of good Variety, to accommodate genteel House-keeping; and the neighbouring *Indians* are friendly, and in many Cases serviceable to us, in making us Wares to catch Fish in, for a small matter, which proves of great Advantage to large Families; because those Engines take great Quantities of many Sorts of Fish, that are very good and nourishing: Some of them hunt and fowl for us at reasonable Rates, the Country being as plentifully provided with all Sorts of Game, as any Part of *America*; the poorer Sort of Planters often get them to plant for them, by hiring them for that Season, or for so much Work, which commonly comes very reasonable. Moreover, it is remarkable, That no Place on the Continent of *America*, has seated an *English* Colony so free from Blood-shed, as *Carolina*; but all the others have been more damag'd and disturb'd by the *Indians*, than they have; which is worthy Notice, when we consider how oddly it was first planted with Inhabitants.

The Fishing-Trade in *Carolina* might be carried on to great Advantage, considering how many Sorts of excellent Fish our Sound and Rivers afford, which cure very well with Salt, as has been experienced by some small Quantities, which have been sent abroad, and yielded a good Price. As for the Whale-fishing, it is no otherwise regarded than by a few People who live on the Sand-Banks; and those only work on dead Fish cast on shoar, none being struck on our Coast, as they are to the Northward; altho' we have Plenty of Whales there. Great Plenty is generally the Ruin of Industry. Thus our Merchants are not many, nor have those few there be, apply'd themselves to the *European* Trade. The Planter sits contented at home, whilst his Oxen thrive and grow fat, and his Stocks daily increase; The fatted Porkets and Poultry are easily rais'd to his Table, and his Orchard affords him Liquor, so that he eats, and drinks away the Cares of the World, and desires no greater Happiness, than that which

*Provisions*  
very  
cheap.

*Indians*  
*Hunters.*

*Fishing-Trade.*

*Whale-Fishing.*

he

he daily enjoys. Whereas, not only the *European*, but also the *Indian-Trade*, might be carried on to a great Profit; because we lie as fairly for the Body of *Indians*, as any Settlement in *English-America*; And for the small Trade that has been carried on in that Way, the Dealers therein have thrived as fast as any Men, and the soonest rais'd themselves of any People I have known in *Carolina*.

Lastly, As to the Climate, it is very healthful; our Summer is not so hot as in other places to the Eastward in the same Latitude; neither are we ever visited by Earthquakes, as many places in *Italy* and other Summer-Countries are. Our Northerly Winds, in Summer, cool the Air, and free us from pestilential Fevers, which *Spain*, *Barbary*, and the neighbouring Countries in *Europe*, &c. are visited withal. Our Sky is generally serene and clear, and the Air very thin, in comparison of many Parts of *Europe*, where Consumptions and Catarrhs reign amongst the Inhabitants. The Winter has several Fitts of sharp Weather, especially when the Wind is at N. W. which always clears the Sky, though never so thick before. However, such Weather is very agreeable to *European* Bodies, and makes them healthy. The N. E. Winds blowing in Winter, bring with them thick Weather, and, in the Spring, sometimes, blight the Fruits; but they very seldom endure long, being blown away by Westerly Winds, and then all becomes fair and clear again. Our Spring, in *Carolina*, is very beautiful, and the most pleasant Weather a Country can enjoy. The Fall is accompanied with cool Mornings, which come in towards the latter end of *August*, and so continue (most commonly) very moderate Weather till about *Christmas*; then Winter comes on apace. Tho' these Seasons are very piercing, yet the Cold is of no continuance. Perhaps, you will have cold Weather for three or four days at a time; then pleasant warm Weather follows, such as you have in *England*, about the latter end of *April* or beginning of *May*. In the Year 1707. we had the severest Winter in *Carolina*, that ever was known since the *English* came to settle there; for our Rivers, that were not above half a Mile wide, and fresh Water, were frozen over; and some of them, in the North-part of this Country, were passable for People to walk over.

One great Advantage of *North-Carolina* is, That we are not a Frontier, and near the Enemy; which proves very chargeable and troublesome, in time of War, to those Colonies that are so seated. Another great Advantage comes from its being near *Virginia*, where we come often to a good Market, at the Return of the *Guinea-Ships* for Negro's, and the Remnant of their Stores, which is very commodious for the *Indian-Trade*; besides, in War-time, we lie near at hand to go under their Convoy, and to sell our Provisions to the *Tobacco-fleets*; for the Planting of *Tobacco* generally in those Colonies, prevents their being supplied with Stores, sufficient for victualling their Ships.

As for the Commodities, which are necessary to carry over to this Plantation, for Use and Merchandize, and are, therefore, requisite for those to have along with them, that intend to transport themselves thither; they are Guns, Powder and Shot, Flints, Linnens of all sorts, but chiefly ordinary Blues, *Osunabruys*, *Scotch* and *Irish* Linnen, and some fine: Mens and Womens Cloaths ready made up, some few Broad-Cloaths, Kerseys and Druggets; to which you must add *Haberdashers-Wares*, Hats about Five or Six Shillings apiece, and a few finer; a few Wiggs, not long, and pretty thin of Hair; thin Stuffs for Women; Iron-Work, as Nails, Spades, Axes, broad and narrow Hoes, Frows, Wedges, and Saws of all sorts, with other Tools for Carpenters, Joiners, Coopers, Shoemakers, Shave-locks, &c. all which, and others which are necessary for the Plantations, you may be inform'd of, and buy at very reasonable Rates; of Mr. *James Gilbert*, Ironmonger, in *Mitre-Tavern-Yard*, near *Aldgate*. You may also be used very kindly, for your Cuttlery-Ware, and other advantageous Merchandizes, and your Cargo's well sorted, by Capt. *Sharp*, at the *Blue-gate* in *Cannon-street*; and for Earthen-Ware, Window-Glafs, Grind-Stones, Mill-Stones, Paper, Ink-Powder, Saddles, Bridles, and what other things you are minded to take with you, for Pleasure or Ornament.

And now, I shall proceed to the rest of the Vegetables, that are common in *Carolina*, in reference to the Place where I left off, which is the *Natural-History* of that Country.

*Of the Vegetables of Carolina.*

THE spontaneous Shrubs of this Country, are, the Lark-heel-Tree; three sorts of Hony-Suckle-Tree, the first of which grows in Branches, as our Pimento-Tree does, that is, always in low, moist Ground; the other grows in clear, dry Land, the Flower more cut and lacerated; the third, which is the most beautiful, and, I think, the most charming Flower of its Colour, I ever saw, grows betwixt two and three Foot high, and for the most part, by the side of a swampy Wood, or on the Banks of our Rivers, but never near the Salt-Water. All the Sorts are white; the last grows in a great Bunch of these small Hony-Suckles set upon one chief Stem, and is commonly the Bigness of a large Turnep. Nothing can appear more beautiful than these Bushes, when in their Splendour, which is in *April* and *May*. The next is the Honey-Suckle of the Forest; it grows about a Foot high, bearing its Flowers on small Pedestals, several of them standing on the main Stock, which is the Thickness of a Wheat-Straw. We have also the Wood-bird, much the same as in *England*; Princes-feather, very large and beautiful in the Garden; *Tros-Colores*, branch'd Sun-flower, Double Poppies, Lupines, of several pretty sorts, spontaneous; and the *Sensible* Plant is said to be near the Mountains, which I have not yet seen. Saf-Flower; (and I believe, the Saffron of *England* would thrive here, if planted) the yellow Jessamin is wild in our Woods, of a pleasant Smell. Ever-Greens are here plentifully found, of a very quick Growth, and pleasant Shade; Cypress, or white Cedar, the Pitch Pine, the yellow Pine, the white Pine with long Leaves; and the smaller Almond-Pine, which last bears Kernels in the Apple, tasting much like an Almond; and in some years there falls such plenty, as to make the Hogs fat. Horn-Beam; Cedar, two sorts; Holly, two sorts; Bay-Tree, two sorts; one the Dwarf-Bay, about twelve Foot high; the other the Bigness of a middling Pine-Tree, about two Foot and half Diameter; Laurel-Trees, in Height equalizing the lofty Oaks; the Berries and Leaves of this Tree dyes a Yellow; the Bay-Berries yield a Wax, which besides its Use in Chirurgery, makes Candles that, in burn-

ing,

ing, give a fragrant Smell. The Cedar-Berries are infused, and made Beer of, by the *Bermudians*, they are Carminative, and much of the Quality of Juniper-Berries; Yew and Box I never saw or heard of in this Country: There are two sorts of Myrtles, different in Leaf and Berry; the Berry yields Wax that makes Candles, the most lasting, and of the sweetest Smell imaginable. Some mix half Tallow with this Wax, others use it without Mixture; and these are fit for a Lady's Chamber, and incomparable to pass the Line withal, and other hot Countries, because they will stand, when others will melt, by the excessive Heat, down in the Binacles. Ever-green Oak, two sorts; Gall-Berry-Tree, bearing a black Berry; with which the Women dye their Cloaths and Varn black; 'tis a pretty Ever-green, and very plentiful, growing always in low swampy Grounds, and amongst Ponds. We have a Prim or Privet, which grows on the dry, barren, sandy Hills, by the Sound side; it bears a smaller sort than that in *England*; and grows into a round Bush, very beautiful. Last of Bushes, (except Savine, which grows every where wild) is the famous *Taupon*, of which I find two sorts, if not three. I shall speak first of the Nature of this Plant; and afterwards account for the different Sorts. This *Taupon*, call'd by the *South-Carolina Indians*, *Cassina*, is a Bush, that grows chiefly on the Sand-Banks and Islands, bordering on the Sea of *Carolina*; on this Coast it is plentifully found; and in no other Place that I know of. It grows the most like Box, of any Vegetable that I know; being very like it in Leaf, only dented exactly like Tea, but the Leaf somewhat fatter. I cannot say, whether it bears any Flower, but a Berry it does, about the Bigness of a Grain of Pepper, being first red, then brown when ripe, which is in *December*; Some of these Bushes grow to be twelve Foot high, others are three or four. The Wood thereof is brittle as Myrtle, and affords a light ash-colour'd Bark. There is sometimes found of it in Swamps and rich low Grounds, which has the same figured Leaf, only it is larger, and of a deeper Green; This may be occasion'd by the Richness that attends the low Grounds thus situated. The third Sort has the same kind of Leaf, but never grows a Foot high, and is found both in rich, low Land, and on the Sand-Hills. I don't know that ever I found any Seed, or Berries on the  
dwarfish

*Taupon.*

dwarfish Sort, yet I find no Difference in Taste, when Infusion is made: Cattle and Sheep delight in this Plant very much, and so do the Deer, all which crop it very short, and browse thereon, wheresoever they meet with it. I have transplanted the Sand-Bank and dwarfish *Yaupon*, and find that the first Year, the Shrubs stood at a stand; but the second Year they thrive as well as in their native Soil. This Plant is the *Indian Tea*, us'd and approv'd by all the Savages on the Coast of *Carolina*, and from them sent to the Westward *Indians*, and sold at a considerable Price. All which they cure after the same way, as they do for themselves; which is thus: They take this Plant (not only the Leaves, but the smaller Twigs along with them) and bruise it in a Mortar, till it becomes blackish, the Leaf being wholly defaced: Then they take it out, put it into one of their earthen Pots which is over the Fire, till it smoaks; stirring it all the time, till it is cur'd. Others take it, after it is bruis'd, and put it into a Bowl, to which they put live Coals, and cover them with the *Yaupon*, till they have done smoaking, often turning them over. After all, they spread it upon their Mats, and dry it in the Sun. to keep for Use. The *Spaniards* in *New-Spain* have this Plant very plentifully on the Coast of *Florida*, and hold it in great Esteem. Sometimes they cure it as the *Indians* do; or else beat it to a Powder, so mix it, as Coffee; yet before they drink it, they filter the same. They prefer it above all Liquids, to drink with Physick, to carry the same safely and speedily thro' the Passages, for which it is admirable, as I myself have experimented.

*Curing the  
Yaupon.*

In the next Place, I shall speak of the *Timber* that *Carolina Timber* affords, which is as follows.

- *Chestnut-Oak*, is a very lofty Tree, clear of Boughs and *Chestnut-Limbs*, for fifty or 60 Foot. They bear sometimes four or five Foot through all clear Timber; and are the largest Oaks we have, yielding the fairest Plank. They grow chiefly in low Land, that is stiff and rich. I have seen of them so high, that a good Gun could not reach a Turkey, tho' loaded with Swan-Shot. They are call'd *Chestnut*, because of the Largeness and Sweetness of the Acorns.
- *White, Scaly-bark Oak*; This is used, as the former, in Building, Sloops and Ships. Tho' it bears a large Acorn, yet it never grows to the Bulk and Height of the *Chestnut Oak*.

Oak. It is so call'd, because of a scaly, broken, white Bark, that covers this Tree, growing on dry Land.

*Red Oak.* We have Red Oak, sometimes, in good Land, very large, and lofty. 'Tis a porous Wood, and used to rive into Rails for Fences. 'Tis not very durable; yet some use this, as well as the two former, for Pipe and Barrel-Staves. It makes good Clap-boards.

*Spanish Oak.* *Spanish Oak* is free to rive, bears a whitish, smooth Bark; and rives very well into Clap-boards. It is accounted durable, therefore some use to build Vessels with it for the Sea; it proving well and durable. These all bear good Mast for the Swine.

*Bastard Spanish.* *Bastard-Spanish* is an Oak betwixt the *Spanish* and Red Oak; the chief Use is for Fencing and Clap-boards. It bears good Acorns.

*Black Oak.* The next is Black Oak, which is esteem'd a durable Wood, under Water; but sometimes it is used in House-work. It bears a good Mast for Hogs.

*White Iron.* White Iron, or Ring-Oak, is so call'd, from the Durability and lasting Quality of this Wood. It chiefly grows on dry, lean Land, and seldom fails of bearing a plentiful Crop of Acorns. This Wood is found to be very durable, and is esteem'd the best Oak for Ship-work that we have in *Carolina*; for tho' Live Oak be more lasting, yet it seldom allows Planks of any considerable Length.

*Turkey Oak.* Turkey-Oak is so call'd from a small Acorn it bears, which the wild Turkeys feed on.

*Live-Oak.* Live-Oak chiefly grows on dry, sandy Knolls. This is an Ever-green, and the most durable Oak all *America* affords. The Shortness of this Wood's Bowl, or Trunk, makes it unfit for Plank to build Ships withal. There are some few Trees, that would allow a Stock of twelve Foot, but the Firmness and great Weight thereof, frightens our Sawyers from the Fatigue that attends the cutting of this Timber. A Nail once driven therein, 'tis next to an Impossibility to draw it out. The Limbs thereof are so cur'd, that they serve for excellent Timbers, Knees, &c. for Vessels of any sort. The Acorns thereof are as sweet as Chesnuts, and the *Indians* draw an Oil from them, as sweet as that from the Olive, tho' of an Amber-Colour. With these Nuts, or Acorns, some have counterfeited the Cocoa; whereof they have



have made Chocolate, not to be distinguish'd by a good Pa- late. Window-Frames, Mallets, and Pins for Blocks, are made thereof, to an excellent Purpose. I knew two Trees of this Wood among the *Indians*, which were planted from the A- corn, and grew in the Freshes, and never saw any thing more beautiful of that kind. They are of an indifferent quick Growth; of which there are two sorts. The *Acorus* make very fine Pork.

Willow-Oak is a sort of Water-Oak. It grows in Ponds *Willow Oak* and Branches, and is useful for many things. It is so call'd, from the Leaf, which very much resembles a Willow.

The Live Oak grows in the fresh Water Ponds and *Fresh-wa-* Swamps, by the River sides, and in low Ground overflown *ter Oak.* with Water; and is a perennial Green.

Of Ash we have two sorts, agreeing nearly with the *En- Ash.* *glisb* in the Grain. One of our sorts is tough, like the *En- glisb*, but differs something in the Leaf, and much more in the Bark. Neither of them bears Keys. The Water-Ash is brittle. The Bark is Food for the Bevers.

There are two sorts of Elm; the first grows on our High-*Elm.* Land, and approaches our *Englisb*. The *Indians* take the Bark of its Root, and beat it, whilst green, to a Pulp; and then dry it in the Chimney, where it becomes of a reddish Colour. This they use as a Sovereign Remedy to heal a Cut or green Wound, or any thing that is not corrupted. It is of a very glutinous Quality. The other Elm grows in low Ground, of whose Bark the *Englisb* and *Indians* make Ropes; for as soon as the Sap rises, it strips off, with the greatest ease imaginable. It runs in *March*, or thereabouts.

The Tulip-Trees, which are, by the Planters, call'd Pop-*Tulip-Tree.* lars, as nearest approaching that Wood in Grain, grow to a prodigious Bigness, some of them having been found One and twenty Foot in Circumference. I have been inform'd of a Tulip-Tree, that was ten Foot Diameter; and another, wherein a lusty Man had his Bed and Household Furniture, and liv'd in it, till his Labour got him a more fashionable Mansion. He afterwards became a noted Man, in his Country, for Wealth and Conduct. One of these sorts bears a white Tulip; the other a party-colour'd, mottled one. The Wood makes very pretty Wainscot, Shingles for Houses,

## The Natural History

Houses, and Planks for several Uses. It is reckon'd very lasting; especially, under Ground, for Mill-Work. The Buds, made into an Ointment, cure Scalds, Inflammations, and Burns. I saw several Bushels thereon. The Cattle are apt to eat of these Buds, which give a very odd Taste to the Milk.

Beech.

Beech is here frequent, and very large. The Grain seems exactly the same as that in *Europe*. We make little Use thereof, save for Fire-Wood. 'Tis not a durable Timber. It affords a very sweet Nut, yet the Pork fed thereon (tho' sweet) is very oily, and ought to be harden'd with *Indian* Corn, before it is kill'd. Another sort call'd Buck-Beech is

Buck Beech

here found.

Horn-Beam.  
Sassafras.

Horn-Beam grows, in some Places, very plentifully; yet the Plenty of other Wood makes it unregarded.

The Vertues of Sassafras are well known in *Europe*. This Wood sometimes grows to be above two Foot over, and is very durable and lasting, used for Bowls, Timbers, Posts for Houses, and other Things that require standing in the Ground. 'Tis very light. It bears a white Flower, which is very cleansing to the Blood, being eaten in the Spring, with other Sallating. The Berry, when ripe, is black; 'tis very oily, Carminative, and extremely prevalent in Clysters for the Colick. The Bark of the Root is a Specifick to those afflicted with the Gripes. The same in Powder, and a Lotion made thereof, is much used by the Savages, to mundify old Ulcers, and for several other Uses; being highly esteem'd among them.

Dog-wood.

Dog-Wood is plentiful on our light Land, inclining to a rich Soil. It flowers the first in the Woods; its white Blossom making the Forest very beautiful. It has a fine Grain, and serves for several Uses within doors; but is not durable. The Bark of this Root infused, is held an infallible Remedy against the Worms.

Laurel.

Laurel, before-mention'd; as to its Bigness and Use, I have seen Planks fawn of this Wood; but 'tis not found durable in the Weather; yet pretty enough for many other Uses.

Bay and Laurel generally delight in a low, swampy Ground. I know no Use they make of them, but for Fire-Wood, excepting what I spoke of before, amongst the Ever-Greens. A

A famous Ever-Green I must now mention, which was *Ever-* forgotten amongst the rest. It is in Leaf like a Jessamine, *Green.* but larger, and of a harder Nature. This grows up to a large Vine, and twists itself round the Trees it grows near, making a very fine Shade. I never saw any thing of that Nature outdo it, and if it be cut away close to the Ground, it will presently spring up again, it being impossible to destroy it, when once it has got Root. 'Tis an ornamental Plant, and worth the Transplanting. Its Seed is a black Berry.

The Scarlet Trumpet-Vine bears a glorious red Flower, *Trumpet-* like a Bell, or Trumpet, and makes a Shade inferiour to none *Vine.* that I ever saw; yet it leaves us, when the Winter comes, and remains naked till the next Spring. It bears a large God, that holds its Seed.

The Maycock bears a glorious Flower, and Apple of an *Maycock.* agreeable Sweet, mixt with an acid Taste. This is also a Summer-Vine.

The Indico grows plentifully in our Quarters. *Indico-*

The Bay-Tulip-Tree is a fine Ever-green which grows *Trees.* frequently here. *Bay-Tulips.*

The sweet Gum-Tree, so call'd, because of the fragrant *Sweet* Gum it yields in the Spring-time, upon Incision of the Bark, *Gum.* or Wood. It cures the Herpes and Inflammations; being apply'd to the Morpew and Tettars. 'Tis an extraordinary Balsam, and of great Value to those who know how to use it. No Wood has scarce a better Grain; whereof fine Tables, Drawers, and other Furniture might be made. Some of it is curiously curl'd. It bears a round Bur, with a sort of Prickle, which is the Seed.

Of the Black Gum there grows, with us, two sorts; both *Black* fit for Cart-Naves. The one bears a black, well-tasted *Gums.* Berry, which the *Indians* mix with their Pulse and Soups, it giving 'em a pretty Flavour, and scarlet Colour. The Bears crop these Trees for the Berries, which they mightily covet, yet kill'd in that Season, they eat very unsavory; which must be occasion'd by this Fruit, because, at other times, when they feed on Mast, Bears-Flesh is a very well-tasted Food. The other Gum bears a Berry in shape like the other, tho' bitter and ill-tasted. This Tree (the *Indians* report)

is never wounded by Lightning. It has no certain Grain; and it is almost impossible to split or rive it.

*White Gum* The white Gum, bearing a sort of long bunch'd Flowers, is the most curled and knotted Wood I ever saw, which would make curious Furniture, in case it was handled by a good Workman.

*Red Cedar.* The red sort of Cedar is an Ever-green, of which *Carolina* affords Plenty. That on the Salts, grows generally on the Sand-banks; and that in the Freshes is found in the Swamps. Of this Wood, Tables, Wainscot, and other Necessaries, are made, and esteemed for its sweet Smell. It is as durable a Wood as any we have, therefore much used in Posts for Houses and Sills; likewise to build Sloops, Boats, &c. by reason the Worm will not touch it, for several Years. The Vessels built thereof are very durable, and good Swimmers. Of this Cedar, Ship-loads may be exported. It has been heretofore so plentiful in this Settlement, that they have fenced in Plantations with it, and the Coffins of the Dead are generally made thereof.

*White Cedar.*

White Cedar, so call'd, because it nearly approaches the other Cedar, in Smell, Bark, and Leaf; only this grows taller, being as strait as an Arrow. It is extraordinary light, and free to rive. 'Tis good for Yard, Top-Masts, Booms and Boltsprits, being very tough. The best Shingles for Houses are made of this Wood, it being no Strain to the Roof, and never rots. Good Pails and other Vessels, free from Leakage, are likewise made thereof. The Bark of this and the red Cedar, the *Indians* use to make their Cabins of, which prove firm, and resist all Weathers.

*Cypress.*

Cypress is not an Ever-green with us, and is therefore call'd the bald Cypress, because the Leaves, during the Winter-Season, turn red, not recovering their Verdure till the Spring. These Trees are the largest for Height and Thickness, that we have in this Part of the World; some of them holding thirty-six Foot in Circumference. Upon Incision, they yield a sweet-smelling Grain, tho' not in great Quantities; and the Nuts which these Trees bear plentifully, yield a most odoriferous Balsam, that infallibly cures all new and green Wounds, which the Inhabitants are well acquainted withal. Of these great Trees the Pereggers and Canoes are scoop'd and made; which sort of Vessels are chiefly

to pass over the Rivers, Creeks, and Bays; and to transport Goods and Lumber from one River to another. Some are so large, as to carry thirty Barrels, tho' of one entire Piece of Timber. Others, that are split down the Bottom, and a piece added thereto, will carry eighty, or an hundred. Several have gone out of our Inlets on the Ocean to *Virginia*, laden with Pork, and other Produce of the Country. Of these Trees curious Boats for Pleasure may be made, and other necessary Craft. Some Years ago, a foolish Man in *Albemarle* and his Son, had got one of these Canoes deck'd. She held, as I take it, sixteen Barrels. He brought her to the Collectors, to be clear'd for *Barbados*; but the Officer took him for a Man that had lost his Senses, and argu'd the Danger and Impossibility of performing such a Voyage, in a hollow Tree; but the Fellow would hearken to no Advice of that kind, till the Gentleman told him, if he did not value his own Life, he valu'd his Reputation and Honesty, and so flatly refus'd clearing him; Upon which, the Canoe was sold, and, I think, remains in being still. This Wood is very lasting, and free from the Rot. A Canoe of it will outlast four Boats, and seldom wants Repair. They say, that a Chest made of this Wood, will suffer no Moth; or Vermine, to abide therein.

The Locust, for its enduring the Weather, is chosen for *Two sorts* all sorts of Works that are expos'd thereto. It bears a Leaf *of Locust* nearest the Liquorice-Plant. 'Tis a pretty tall Tree. Of *white and yellow*, is this the *Indians* make their choicest Bows, it being very *rare if very* tough and flexible. We have little or none of this Wood in *North Carolina*.

The Honey-Tree bears as great a Resemblance to the *Lo-Honey Tree* cust, as a Shallot does to an Onion. It is of that Species, *a Locust*. but more prickly. They bear a Cod, one side whereof contains the Seed, the other the Honey; They will bear in five Years, from the Kernel. They were first brought (by the *Indian Traders*) and propagated, by their Seed, at the *Apamaticks* in *Virginia*. Last Year, I planted the Seed, and had them sprung up before I came from thence, which was in *August*. Of the Honey, very good-Metheglin is made, there being Orchards planted in *Virginia* for that intent.

The

*Sowr Wood* The Sorrel, or Sowr-Wood-Tree, is so call'd, because the Leaves taste like Sorrel. Some are about a Foot or ten Inches Diameter. I am unacquainted with its Vertues at present.

*Pine.* Of Pines, there are, in *Carolina*, at least, four sorts. The Pitch-Pine, growing to a great Bigness, most commonly has but a short Leaf. Its Wood (being replete with abundance of *Bitumen*) is so durable, that it seems to suffer no Decay, tho' expos'd to all Weathers, for many Ages; and is used in several Domestick and Plantation Uses. This Tree affords the four great Necessaries, Pitch, Tar, Rozin, and Turpentine; which two last are extracted by tapping, and the Heat of the Sun, the other two by the Heat of the Fire.

The white and yellow Pines are saw'd into Planks for several Uses. They make Masts, Yards, and a great many other Necessaries therewith, the Pine being the most useful Tree in the Woods.

The Almond-Pine serves for Masts very well. As for the Dwarf-Pine, it is for Shew alone, being an Ever-green, as they all are.

*Hicory*  
*the best*  
*Fire-wood.* The Hicory is of the Walnut-kind, and bears a Nut as they do, of which there are found three sorts. The first is that which we call the common white Hicory. It is not a durable Wood; for if cut down, and expos'd to the Weather, it will be quite rotten, and spoil'd in three Years; as will likewise the Beech of this Country. Hicory Nuts have very hard Shells, but excellent sweet Kernels, with which, in a plentiful Year, the old Hogs, that can crack them, fatten themselves, and make excellent Pork. These Nuts are gotten, in great Quantities, by the Savages, and laid up for Stores, of which they make several Dishes and Banquets. One of these I cannot forbear mentioning; it is this: They take these Nuts, and break them very small betwixt two Stones, till the Shells and Kernels are indifferent small; And this Powder you are presented withal in their Cabins, in little wooden Dishes; the Kernel dissolves in your Mouth, and the Shell is spit out. This tastes as well as any Almond. Another Dish is the Soup which they make of these Nuts, beaten, and put into Venison-Broth, which dissolves the Nut, and thickens, whilst the Shell precipitates, and remains at the bottom. This Broth tastes  
very

very rich. There is another sort, which we call red Hicco-<sup>Red Hic-</sup>ry, the Heart thereof being very red, firm and durable; of <sup>ficory.</sup> which Walking-Sticks, Mortars, Pestils, and several other fine Turnery-wares are made. The third is call'd the Flying-bark'd Hicory, from its brittle and scaly Bark. It bears a Nut with a bitter Kernel and a soft Shell, like a *French Walnut*. Of this Wood, Coggs for Mills are made, &c. The Leaves smell very fragrant.

The Walnut-Tree of *America* is call'd Black Walnut. <sup>I Walnut.</sup> I suppose, that Name was, at first, to distinguish it from the Hicories, it having a blacker Bark. This Tree grows, in good Land, to a prodigious Bigness. The Wood is very firm and durable, of which Tables and Chests of Drawers are made, and prove very well. Some of this is very knotty, which would make the best Returns for *England*, tho' the Masters of Vessels refuse it, not understanding its Goodness. 'Tis a very good and durable Wood, to bottom Vessels for the Sea withal; and they say, that it is never eaten by the Worm. The Nuts have a large Kernel, which is very oily, except lain by, a long time, to mellow. The Shell is very thick, as all the native Nuts of *America* are. When it has its yellow outward Coat on, it looks and smells much like a Lemon.

The Maple, of which we have two sorts, is used to make *Maple*. Trenchers, Spinning-wheels, &c. withal.

*Chinkapin* is a sort of Chestnut, whose Nuts are most com-<sup>Chinka-</sup>monly very plentiful; insomuch that the Hogs get fat with <sup>Pin-</sup>them. They are rounder and smaller than a Chestnut, but much sweeter. The Wood is much of the Nature of Chestnut, having a Leaf and Grain almost like it. It is used to timber Boats, Shallops, &c. and makes any thing that is to endure the Weather. This and the Hicory are very tough Rods used to whip Horses withal; yet their Wood, in Substance, is very brittle. This Tree the Vine much delights to twist about. It's good Fire-Wood, but very sparkling, as well as Sassafras.

The Birch grows all on the Banks of our Rivers, very high <sup>Birch.</sup> up. I never saw a Tree on the Salts. It differs something, in Bark, from the *European* Birch. Its Buds in *April* are eaten by the Parrakeetos, which resort, from all Parts, at that Season, to feed thereon. Where this Wood grows, we are  
not

... of a scaly, broken, white Bark,  
... growing on dry Land.

... in good Land, very large,  
... and tied to rive into Rails  
... yet some use this, as  
... Secret-Staves. It makes

... smooth Bark;  
... It is accounted dura-  
... Vessels with it for the Sea;  
... These all bear good Mast for

... betwixt the *Spanish* and Red Oak;  
... Clap-boards. It bears good

... which is esteem'd a durable Wood,  
... sometimes it is used in House-work. It

... Ring-Oak, is so call'd, from the Durabi-  
... Quality of this Wood. It chiefly grows on  
... and seldom fails of bearing a plentiful Crop  
... This Wood is found to be very durable, and is  
... the best Oak for Ship-work that we have in *Caro-*  
... Live Oak be more lasting, yet it seldom al-  
... of any considerable Length.

... is so call'd from a small Acorn it bears, which  
... Turkeys feed on.

... grows on dry, sandy Knolls. This is  
... green, and the most durable Oak all *America* affords.  
... of this Wood's Bowl, or Trunk, makes it  
... Plank to build Ships withal. There are some few  
... that would allow a Stock of twelve Foot, but the  
... and great Weight thereof, frightens our Sawyers  
... Fatigue that attends the cutting of this Timber.  
... driven therein, 'tis next to an Impossibility to  
... The Limbs thereof are so cur'd, that they  
... excellent Timbers, Knees, &c. for Vessels of any  
... The Acorns thereof are as sweet as Chestnuts, and the  
... an Oil from them, as sweet as that from the  
... of an Amber-Colour. With these Nuts, or A-  
... some have counterfeited the Cocoa, whereof they  
have



Prickly-Ash grows up like a Pole ; of which the *Indians* and *English* make Poles to set their Canoes along in Shoal-Water. It's very light, and full of Thorns or Prickles, bearing Berries in large Clusters, of a purple Colour, not much unlike the Alder. The Root of this Tree is Cathartick and Emetick, used in Cachexies.

The Poison Vine is so called, because it colours the Hands <sup>Poison</sup> of those who handle it. What the Effects of it may be, <sup>Vine.</sup> I cannot relate ; neither do I believe, that any has made an Experiment thereof. The Juice of this will stain Linnen, never to wash out. It marks a blackish blue Colour, which is done only by breaking a bit of the Vine off, and writing what you please therewith. I have thought, that the *East-India* Natives set their Colours, by some such Means, into their finest Callicoes. It runs up any Tree it meets withal, and clasps round about it. The Leaves are like Hemlock, and fall off in Winter.

Of Canes and Reeds we have many sorts. The hollow Reed, <sup>Canes and</sup> or Cane, such as Angling-Rods are made of, and <sup>Weavers</sup> <sup>Reeds.</sup> use, we have great Plenty of, though none to the Northward of *James-River* in *Virginia*. They always grow in Branches and low Ground. Their Leaves endure the Winter, in which Season our Cattle eat them greedily. We have them (towards the Heads of our Rivers) so large, that one Joint will hold above a pint of Liquor.

The small *Bamboo* is next, which is a certain Vine, like <sup>Bamboo.</sup> the rest of these Species, growing in low Land. They seldom, with us, grow thicker than a Man's little Finger, and are very tough. Their Root is a round Ball, which the *Indians* boil as we do Garden-Roots, and eat them. When these Roots have been some time out of the Ground, they become hard, and make good Heads to the Canes, on which several pretty Figures may be cut. There are several others of this kind, not thoroughly discover'd.

That *Palmeto* grows with us, which we call the dwarfish <sup>Palmeto.</sup> *Palmeto*-Tree I have not yet met withal in *North-Carolina*, of which you have a Description elsewhere. We shall next treat of the Spontaneous Fruits of this Country ; and then proceed to those that have been transplanted from *Europe*, and other Parts.

Among the natural Fruits, the Vine first takes place, of which I find six sorts, very well known. The first is the black *Bunch-Grape*, which yield a Crimson Juice. These grow common, and bear plentifully. They are of a good Relish, though not large, yet well knit in the Clusters. They have a thickish Skin, and large Stone, which makes them not yield much Juice. There is another sort of Black-Grapes like the former, in all respects, save that their Juice is of a light Flesh-Colour, inclining to a White. I once saw a Spontaneous white *Bunch-Grape* in *Carolina*; but the Cattle browsing on the Sprouts thereof in the Spring, it died. Of those which we call *Fox-Grapes*, we have four sorts; two whereof are called *Summer-Grapes*, because ripe in July; the other two *Winter-Fruit*, because not ripe till *September* or *October*. The *Summer Fox-Grapes* grow not in Clusters, or great Bunches, but are about five or six in a Bunch, about the Bigness of a *Damson*, or larger. The black sort are frequent, the white not so commonly found. They always grow in Swamps, and low moist Lands, running sometimes very high, and being shady, and therefore proper for Arbours. They afford the largest Leaf I ever saw, to my remembrance, the Back of which is of a white Horse-flesh Colour. This Fruit always ripens in the Shade. I have transplanted them into my Orchard, and find they thrive well, if manured: A Neighbour of mine has done the same; mine were by Slips, his from the Roots, which thrive to Admiration, and bear Fruit, tho' not so juicy as the *European Grape*, but of a glutinous Nature. However, it is pleasant enough to eat.

The other *Winter Fox-Grapes*, are much of the same Bigness. These refuse no Ground, swampy or dry, but grow plentifully on the *Sand-Hills* along the *Sea-Coast*, and elsewhere, and are great Bearers. I have seen near twelve Bushels upon one Vine of the black sort. Some of these, when thoroughly ripe, have a very pretty vinous Taste, and eat very well, yet are glutinous. The white sort are clear and transparent, and indifferent small Stones. Being removed by the Slip or Root, they thrive well in our Gardens, and make pleasant Shades.

*Perfimmons* is a Tree, that agrees with all Lands and Soils. Their Fruit, when ripe, is nearest our *Medlar*; if eaten before,

before, draws your Mouth up like a Purse, being the greatest Astringent I ever met withal, therefore very useful in some Cases. The Fruit, if ripe, will presently cleanse a foul Wound, but causes Pain. The Fruit is rotten, when ripe, and commonly contains four flat Kernels, call'd Stones, which is the Seed. 'Tis said, the *Cortex Peruvianus* comes from a *Perfimmon*-Tree, that grows in *New-Spain*. I have try'd the Drying of this Bark, to imitate it, which it does tolerably well, and agrees therewith. It is binding enough to work the same Effect. The Tree, in extraordinary Land, comes sometimes to two Foot Diameter, though not often. There are two sorts of this Fruit; one ripe in Summer, the other when the Frost visits us.

We have three sorts of Mulberries, besides the different *Mulberry*. Bigness of some Trees Fruit. The first is the common red Mulberry, whose Fruit is the earliest we have, (except the Strawberries) and very sweet. These Trees make a very fine Shade, to sit under in Summer-time. They are found wild in great Quantities, wherever the Land is light and rich; yet their Fruit is much better when they stand open. They are used instead of Raisins and Currants, and make several pretty Kickshaws. They yield a transparent Crimson Liquor, which would make good Wine; but few Peoples Inclinations in this Country tend that way. The others are a smooth-leav'd Mulberry, fit for the Silk-Worm. One bears a white Fruit, which is common; the other bears a small black Berry, very sweet. They would persuade me there, that the black Mulberry with the Silk-Worm smooth Leaf, was a white Mulberry, and changed its Fruit. The Wood hereof is very durable, and where the *Indians* cannot get Locust, they make use of this to make their Bows. This Tree grows extraordinary round and pleasant to the Eye.

The Hicory, Walnut, Chinkapin and Chesnut, with their Fruits, we have mention'd before.

The Hazle-Nut grows plentifully in some places of this *Hazle-Nut* Country; especially, towards the Mountains; but ours are not so good as the *English* Nuts, having a much thicker Shell (like all the Fruits of *America*, that I ever met withal) which in Hardness exceeds those of *Europe*.

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ack-berries.

The Cherries of the Woods grow to be very large Trees. One sort, which is rarely found, is red, and not much unlike the Cornel-Berry. But the common Cherry grows high, and in Bunches, like *English* Currants, but much larger. They are of a bitterish sweet Relish, and are equally valuable with our small Black-Cherries, for an Infusion in Spirits. They yield a crimson Liquor, and are great Bearers.

Rasberries.

Our Rasberries are of a purple Colour, and agreeable Relish, almost like the *English*; but I reckon them not quite so rich. When once planted, 'tis hard to root them out. They run wild all over the Country, and will bear the same Year you transplant them, as I have found by Experience.

Hurts.

The Hurts, Huckle-Berries, or Blues of this Country, are four sorts, which we are well acquainted withal; but more Species of this sort, and all others, Time and Enquiry must discover. The first sort is the same Blue or Bilberry, that grows plentifully in the *North of England*, and in other Places, commonly on your Heaths, Commons, and Woods, where Brakes or Fern grows.

The second sort grows on a small Bush in our *Savannas* and Meads, and in the Woods. They are larger than the common Fruit, and have larger Seed.

The third grows on the single Stem of a Stick that grows in low good Land, and on the Banks of Rivers. They grow three or four Foot high, and are very pleasant like the first sort, but larger.

The fourth sort grows upon Trees, some ten and twelve Foot high, and the Thickness of a Man's Arm; these are found in the Runs and low Grounds, and are very pleasant, and bear wonderfully. The *English* sometimes dry them in the Sun, and keep them to use in the Winter, instead of Currants. The *Indians* get many Bushels, and dry them on Mats, whereof they make Plum-Bread, and many other Eatables. They are good in Tarts, or infused in Liquors.

Pimento.

In the same Ground, commonly grows the *Pimento*, All-Spice-Tree, whose Berries differ in shape from those in the *West-Indies*, being Taper or Conick, yet inferiour to any of that sort. This Tree grows much the Hurts, and is of the same Bigness. I have know transplanted to high Land, where it thrives.

Our Dew-Berries are very good. But the Black-Berries <sup>Dews.</sup> are bitterish, and not so palatable, as in *England*. <sup>Black-Ber-</sup>

The Sugar-Tree ought to have taken place before. It is <sup>rics.</sup> found in no other parts of *Carolina* or *America*, that I ever <sup>Sugar Tree.</sup> learnt, but in Places that are near the Mountains. It's most like one sort of Maple, of any Tree, and may be rank'd amongst that kind. This Tree, which, I am told, is of a very tedious Growth, is found very plentifully towards the Heads of some of our Rivers. The *Indians* tap it, and make Gourds to receive the Liquor, which Operation is done at distinct and proper times, when it best yields its Juice, of which, when the *Indians* have gotten enough, they carry it home, and boil it to a just Consistence of Sugar, which grains of itself, and serves for the same Uses, as other Sugar does.

The *Papau* is not a large Tree. I think, I never saw one a <sup>Papau.</sup> Foot through; but has the broadest Leaf of any Tree in the Woods, and bears an Apple about the Bigness of a Hen's Egg, yellow, soft, and as sweet, as any thing can well be. They make rare Puddings of this Fruit. The Apple contains a large Stone.

The wild Fig grows in *Virginia*, up in the Mountains, as <sup>Wild Fig.</sup> I am inform'd by a Gentleman of my acquaintance, who is a Person of Credit, and a great Traveller in *America*. I shall be glad to have an Opportunity to make Fryal what Improvement might be made of this wild Fruit.

The wild Plums of *America* are of several sorts. Those <sup>Plum red.</sup> which I can give an account of from my own Knowledge, I will, and leave the others till a farther Discovery. The most frequent is that which we call the common *Indian*: Plum, of which there are two sorts, if not more. One of these is ripe much sooner than the other, and differs in the Bark; one of the Barks being very scaly, like our *American* Birch. These Trees, when in Blossom, smell as sweet as any Jessamine, and look as white as a Sheet, being something prickly. You may make it grow to what Shape you please; they are very ornamental about a House, and make a wonderful fine Shew at a Distance, in the Spring, because of their white Livery. Their Fruit is red, and very palatable to the sick: They are of a quick Growth, and will bear from the Stone in five Years, on their Stock. The <sup>Englsh.</sup>

*Englisb* large black Plum thrives well, as does the Cherry, being grafted thereon.

*Damsons  
of Ame-  
rica.*

The *American* Damsons are both black and white, and about the Bigness of an *European* Damson. They grow any where, if planted from the Stone or Slip; bear a white Blossom, and are a good Fruit. They are found on the Sand-Banks all along the Coast of *America*. I have planted several in my Orchard, that came from the Stone, which thrive well amongst the rest of my Trees. But they never grow to the Bigness of the other Trees now spoken of. These are plentiful Bearers.

There is a third sort of Plum about the Bigness of the Damson. The Tree is taller, seldom exceeding ten Inches in Thickness. The Plum seems to taste physically, yet I never found any Operation it had, except to make their Lips sore, that eat them. The Wood is something porous, but exceeds any Box, for a beautiful Yellow.

*Winter  
Currants.*

There is a very pretty, bushy Tree, about seven or eight Foot high, very spreading, which bears a Winter-Fruit, that is ripe in *October*. They call 'em Currants, but they are nearer a Hurt. I have eaten very pretty Tarts made thereof. They dry them instead of Currants. This Bush is very beautiful.

*Bermu-  
das Cur-  
rants.*

The *Bermudas* Currants grow in the Woods on a Bush, much like the *European* Currant. Some People eat them very much; but for my part, I can see nothing inviting in them, and reckon them a very indifferent Fruit.

*April  
Currants.*

We have another Currant, which grows on the Banks of Rivers, or where only Clay hath been thrown up. This Fruit is red, and gone almost as soon as come. They are a pretty Fruit whilst they last, and the Tree (for 'tis not a Bush) they grow upon, is a very pleasant Vegetable.

*Red-Haws.*

The Haw-thorn grows plentifully in some parts of this Country. The Haws are quite different from those in *Eng-land*, being four times as big, and of a very pleasant agreeable Taste. We make no use of this Plant, nor any other, for Hedges, because Timber is so plentiful at present. In my Judgment, the Honey-Locust would be the fittest for Hedges; because it is very apt to shoot forth many Sprouts and Succours from the Roots; besides, it is of a quick Growth, and very prickly. The

The Black Haw grows on a slender Tree, about the Height <sup>Black-</sup> of a Quince-Tree, or something higher, and bears the black <sup>Haw.</sup> Haw, which People eat, and the Birds covet also. What Vertues the Fruit or Wood is of, I cannot resolve you, at present.

Thus have I given an Account of all the Spontaneous Fruits of *Carolina*, that have come to my Knowledge, excepting *Services*, which I have seen in the *Indians* Hands, <sup>Services.</sup> and eat of them, but never saw, how nor where they grew. There may very well be expected a great many more Fruits, which are the natural Product of this Country, when we consider the Fruitfulness of the Soil and Climate, and account for the vast Tract of Land, (great part of which is not yet found out) according to the Product of that which is already discover'd, which (as I once hinted before) is not as yet arriv'd to our Knowledge, we having very little or no Correspondence amongst the mountainous Parts of this Province, and towards the Country of *Mississippi*, all which we have strange Accounts of, and some very large ones, with respect to the different and noble Fruits, and several other Ornaments and Blessings of Nature which *Mississippi* possesses; more to be coveted, than any of those we enjoy, to the Eastward of the Mountains: Yet when I came to discourse some of the Idolizers of that Country, I found it to be rather Novelty, than Truth and Reality, that induced those Persons to allow it such Excellencies above others. It may be a brave and fertile Country, as I believe it is; but I cannot be persuaded, that it can be near so advantageous as ours, which is much better situated for Trade, being faced all along with the Ocean, as the *English America* is; when the other is only a direct River, in the midst of a wild unknown Land, greatest part of whose Product must be fetch'd, or brought a great way, before it can come to a Market. Moreover, such great Rivers commonly allow of more Princes Territories than one; and thus nothing but War and Contention accompanies the Inhabitants thereof.

But not to trouble our Readers with any more of this, we will proceed, in the next place, to shew, what *Exotick* Fruits we have, that thrive well in *Carolina*; and what others, it may reasonably be suppos'd, would do there, were they brought thither and planted. In pursuance of which, I will  
set

Let down a Catalogue of what Fruits we have; I mean Species: For should I pretend to give a regular Name to every one; it's neither possible for me to do it, nor for any one to understand it, when done; if we consider, that the chiefest part of our Fruit came from the Kernel, and some others from the Succours, or Sprouts of the Tree. First, we will begin with Apples; which are the

Apples.

*Golden Russet.*

*Pearmain* { Winter.  
                  { Summer.

*Harvey-Apple*, I cannot tell, whether the same as in *England*.

*Winter Queening.*

*Leather Coat.*

*Juniting.*

*Codlin.*

*Redstreak.*

*Long-stalk.*

*Lady-Finger.*

The *Golden Russet* thrives well.

The *Pearmain*s, of both sorts, are apt to speck, and rot on the Trees; and the Trees are damaged and cut off by the Worm, which breeds in the Forks, and other parts thereof; and often makes a Circumposition, by destroying the Bark round the Branches, till it dies.

*Harvey-Apple*; that which we call so, is esteem'd very good to make Cider of.

*Winter Queening* is a durable Apple, and makes good Cider.

*Leather-Coat*; both Apple and Tree stand well.

The *Juniting* is early ripe, and soon gone, in these warm Countries.

*Codlin*; no better, and fairer Fruit in the World; yet the Tree suffers the same Distemper, as the *Pearmain*s, or rather worse; the Trees always dying before they come to their Growth.

The *Redstreak* thrives very well.

*Long-stalk* is a large Apple, with a long Stalk, and makes good Summer Cider.

We



We beat the first of our Codlin Cider, against reaping our Wheat, which is from the tenth of *June*, to the five and twentieth.

Lady-Finger, the long Apple, the same as in *England*, and full as good. We have innumerable sorts; some call'd Rope-Apples which are small Apples, hanging like Ropes of Onions; Flatings, Grigsons, Cheese-Apples, and a great number of Names, given according to every ones Discretion.

The *Warden-Pear* here proves a good eating Pear; and *Pear*. is not so long ripening as in *England*.

*Katharine* excellent.

*Sugar-pear*.

And several others without Name; The Bergamot we have not, nor either of the *Bonne Chrestiennes*, though I hear, they are all three in *Virginia*. Those sorts of Pears which we have, are as well relisht, as ever I eat any where; but that Fruit is of very short Continuance with us, for they are gone almost as soon as ripe.

I am not a Judge of the different sorts of Quinces, which they call *Brunswick*, *Portugal*, and *Barbary*; But as to the Fruit, in general, I believe no Place has fairer and better relisht. They are very pleasant eaten raw. Of this Fruit, they make a Wine, or Liquor, which they call Quince-Drink, and which I approve of beyond any Drink which that Country affords, though a great deal of Cider and some Perry is there made. The Quince-Drink most commonly purges those that first drink it, and cleanses the Body very well. The Argument of the Physicians, that they bind People, is hereby contradicted, unless we allow the Quinces to differ in the two Countries. The least Slip of this Tree stuck in the Ground, comes to bear in three years.

All Peaches, with us, are standing; neither have we any *Peaches*. Wall-Fruit in *Carolina*; for we have Heat enough, and therefore do not require it. We have a great many sorts of this Fruit, which all thrive to Admiration, Peach-Trees coming to Perfection (with us) as easily as the Weeds. A Peach falling on the Ground, brings a Peach-Tree that shall bear in three years, or sometimes sooner. Eating Peaches in our Orchards makes them come up so thick from the Kernel, that we are forced to take a great deal of Care to weed them out; otherwise they make our Land a Wilderness of Peach-Trees.

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They

They generally bear so full, that they break great part of their Limbs down. We have likewise very fair Nectarines, especially the red, that clings to the Stone, the other yellow Fruit, that leaves the Stone; of the last, I have a Tree, that, most Years, brings me fifteen or twenty Bushels. I see no Foreign Fruit like this, for thriving in all sorts of Land, and bearing its Fruit to Admiration. I want to be satisfy'd about one sort of this Fruit, which the *Indians* claim as their own, and affirm, they had it growing amongst them, before any *Europeans* came to *America*. The Fruit I will describe, as exactly as I can. The Tree grows very large, most commonly as big as a handsome Apple-tree; the Flowers, are of a reddish, murrey Colour; the Fruit is rather more downy, than the yellow Peach, and commonly very large and soft, being very full of Juice. They part freely from the Stone, and the Stone is much thicker than all the other Peach Stones we have, which seems to me, that it is a Spontaneous Fruit of *America*; yet in those Parts of *America* that we inhabit, I never could hear that any Peach-Trees were ever found growing in the Woods; neither have the foreign *Indians*, that live remote from the *English*, any other sort. And those living amongst us have a hundred of this sort for one other; they are a hardy Fruit, and are seldom damaged by the North-East Blasts, as others are. Of this sort we make Vinegar; wherefore we call them Vinegar-Peaches, and sometimes *Indian-Peaches*.

*Apricock.* This Tree grows to a vast Bigness, exceeding most Apple-Trees. They bear well, tho' sometimes an early Spring comes on in *February*, and perhaps, when the Tree is fully blown the Cloudy North-East-Winds which attend the end of, that Month, or the beginning of *March*, destroy most of the Fruit. The biggest Apricock-Tree I ever saw, as they told me, was grafted on a Peach-Stock, in the Ground. I know of no other sort with us, than the Common. We generally raise this Fruit from the Stone, which never fails to bring the same Fruit. Likewise our Peach-Stones effect the same, without so much as once missing, to produce the same sort that the Stone came from.

Damson, Damazeen, and a large round black Plum are all I have met withal in *Carolina*. They thrive well enough; the

the last to Admiration, and becomes a very large Tree, if in stiff Ground; otherwise they will not do well.

Of Figs we have two sorts; One is the low Bush-Fig, <sup>Figs.</sup> which bears a large Fruit. If the Winter happens to have much Frost, the tops thereof die, and in the Spring sprout again, and bear two or three good Crops.

The Tree-Fig is a lesser Fig, though very sweet. The Tree grows to a large Body and Shade, and generally brings a good Burden; especially, if in light Land. This Tree thrives no where better, than on the Sand-Banks by the Sea.

We have the common red and black Cherry, which bear <sup>Cherries.</sup> well. I never saw any grafted in this Country, the common excepted, which was grafted on an *Indian Plum-stock*, and bore well. This is a good way, because our common Cherry-Trees are very apt to put Scions all round the Tree, for a great Distance, which must needs be prejudicial to the Tree and Fruit. Not only our Cherries are apt to do so, but our Apples and most other Fruit-Trees, which may chiefly be imputed to the Negligence and Unskilfulness of the Gardener. Our Cherries are ripe a Month sooner than in *Virginia*.

Gooseberries I have seen of the smaller sort, but find they <sup>Gooseberry.</sup> do not do so well as in *England*, and to the Northward. Want of Dressing may be some Reason for this.

Currants, White, Red, and Black, thrive here, as well <sup>Currants.</sup> as any where.

Raspberries, the red and white, I never saw any Trial <sup>Rasps.</sup> made of. But there is no doubt of their thriving to Admiration, since those of the Country do so well.

The Mulberries are spontaneous. We have no others, than <sup>Mulberry.</sup> what I have already mentioned in the Class of Natural Fruits of *Carolina*.

Barberry red, with Stones, and without Stones, grow <sup>Barberry.</sup> here.

Strawberries, not Foreign, but those of the Country, <sup>Strawberry.</sup> grow here in great Plenty. Last *April* I planted a Bed of two hundred Foot in Length, which bore the same Year.

Medlars we have none.

All sorts of Walnuts from *England*, *France*, and *Maderas*, <sup>Medlar. Walnut...</sup> thrive well from the Nut.

*Filbert.*

No Filberts, but Hazle-Nuts ; the Filbert-Nut planted, becomes a good Hazle-Nut, and no better.

*Vines.*

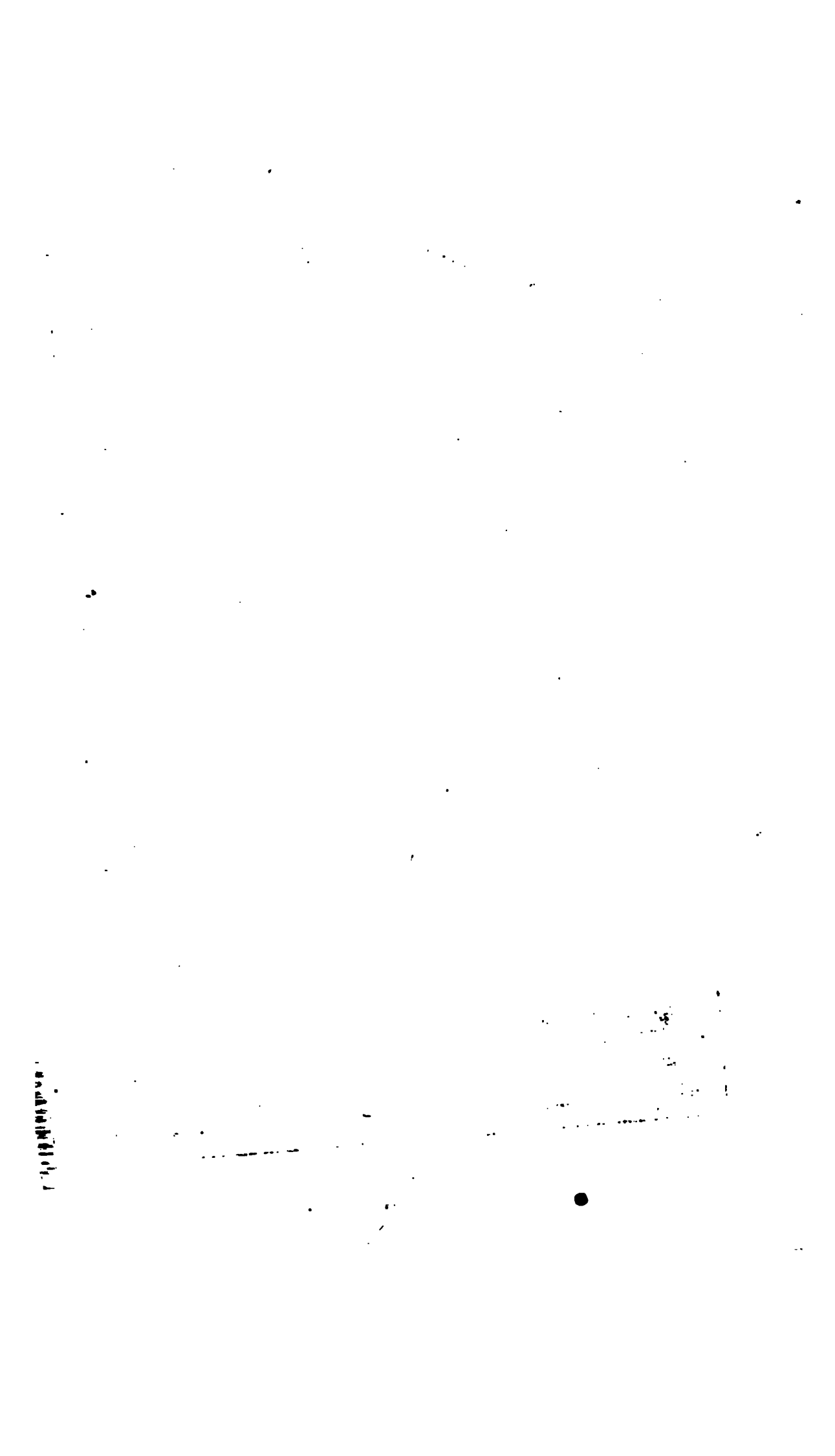
As for that noble Vegetable the Vine, without doubt, it may (in this Country) be improved, and brought to the same Perfection, as it is, at this Day, in the same Latitude in *Europe*, since the chiefest part of this Country is a deep, rich, black Mould, which is up towards the Freshes and Heads of our Rivers, being very rich and mix'd with Flint, Pebbles, and other Stones. And this sort of Soil is approv'd of (by all knowing Gardeners and Vignerons) as a proper Earth, in which the Grape chiefly delights ; and what seems to give a farther Confirmation hereof, is, that the largest Vines, that were ever discover'd to grow wild, are found in those Parts, oftentimes in such Plenty, and are so interwoven with one another, that 'tis impossible to pass through them. Moreover, in these Freshes, towards the Hills, the Vines are above five times bigger than those generally with us, who are seated in the Front-parts of this Country, adjoining to the Salts. Of the wild Vines, which are most of them great Bearers, some Wine has been made, which I drank of. It was very strong and well relisht ; but what detains them all from offering at great quantities, they add, that this Grape has a large Stone, and a thick Skin, and consequently yields but a small Quantity of Wine. Some Essays of this Nature have been made by that Honourable Knight, Sir *Nathanael Johnson*, in *South Carolina*, who, as I am inform'd, has rejected all Exotick Vines, and makes his Wine from the natural black Grape of *Carolina*, by grafting it upon its own Stock. What Improvement this may arrive to, I cannot tell ; but in other Species, I own Grafting and Imbudding yields speedy Fruit, tho' I never found that it made them better.

New planted Colonies are generally attended with a Force and Necessity of Planting the known and approved Staple and Product of the Country, as well as all the Provisions their Families spend. Therefore we can entertain but small hopes of the Improvement of the Vine, till some skilful in dressing Vines shall appear amongst us, and go about it, with a Resolution, that Ordering the Vineyard shall be one half of their Employment: If this be begun and carried on, with that Affiduity and Resolution which it

requires, then we may reasonably hope to see this a Wine-Country ; for then, when it becomes a general Undertaking, every one will be capable to add something to the common Stock, of that which he has gain'd by his own Experience. This way would soon make the Burden light, and a great many shorter and exacter Curiosities, and real Truths would be found out in a short time. The trimming of Vines, as they do in *France*, that is, to a Stump, must either here be not follow'd, or we are not sensible of the exact time, when they ought to be thus pruned ; for Experience has taught us, that the *European* Grape, suffer'd to run and expand itself at large, has been found to bear as well in *America*, as it does in *Europe* ; when, at the same time, the same sort of Vine trimm'd to a Stump, as before spoken of, has born a poor Crop for one Year or two ; and by its spilling, after cutting, emaciated, and in three or four Years, died. This Experiment, I believe, has never fail'd ; for I have trimm'd the natural Vine the *French* way, which has been attended, at last, with the same Fate. Wherefore, it seems most expedient, to leave the Vines more Branches here, than in *Europe* ; or let them run up Trees, as some do, in *Lombardy*, upon Elms. The Mulberries and *Chinkapin* are tough, and trimm'd to what you please, therefore fit Supporters of the Vines. Gelding and plucking away the Leaves, to hasten the ripening of this Fruit, may not be unnecessary, yet we see the natural wild Grape generally ripens in the Shade. Nature in this, and many others, may prove a sure Guide. The Twisting of the Stems to make the Grapes ripe together, loses no Juice, and may be beneficial, if done in Season. A very ingenious *French* Gentleman, and another from *Switzerland*, with whom I frequently converse, exclaim against that strict cutting of Vines, the generally approved Method of *France* and *Germany*, and say, that they were both out in their Judgment, till of late, Experience has taught them otherwise. Moreover, the *French* in *North Carolina* assure me, that if we should trim our Apple and other Fruit-Trees, as they do in *Europe*, we should spoil them. As for Apples and Plums, I have found by Experience, what they affirm to be true. The *French*, from the *Mannah Town* on the Freshes of *James River* in *Virginia*, had

had, for the most part, removed themselves to *Carolina*, to live there, before I came away; and the rest were following, as their Minister, (Monsieur *Philip de Rixbourg*) told me, who was at *Bath-Town*, when I was taking my leave of my Friends. He assur'd me, that their Intent was to propagate Vines, as far as their present Circumstances would permit; provided they could get any Slips of Vines, that would do. At the same time, I had gotten some Grape-Seed, which was of the *Jesuits* white Grape from *Madera*. The Seed came up very plentifully, and, I hope, will not degenerate, which if it happens not to do, the Seed may prove the best way to raise a Vineyard, as certainly it is most easy for Transportation. Yet I reckon we should have our Seed from a Country, where the Grape arrives to the utmost Perfection of Ripeness. These *French* Refugees have had small Encouragement in *Virginia*, because, at their first coming over, they took their Measures of Living, from *Europe*; which was all wrong; for the small Quantities of ten, fifteen, and twenty Acres to a Family did not hold out according to their way of Reckoning, by Reason they made very little or no Fodder; and the Winter there being much harder than with us, their Cattle fail'd; chiefly, because the *English* took up and survey'd all the Land round about them; so that they were hemm'd in on all Hands from providing more Land for themselves or their Children, all which is highly prejudicial in *America*, where the generality are bred up to Planting. One of these *French* Men being a Fowling, shot a Fowl in the River, upon which his Dog went down the Bank to bring it to his Master; but the Bank was so high and steep, that he could not get up again. Thereupon, the *French* Man went down, to help his Dog up, and breaking the Mould away, accidentally, with his Feet, he discover'd a very rich Coal-Mine. This Adventure he gave an Account of amongst the Neighbourhood, and presently one of the Gentlemen of that Part survey'd the Land, and the poor *French* Man got nothing by his Discovery. The *French* are good Neighbours amongst us, and give Examples of Industry, which is much wanted in this Country. They make good Flax, Hemp, Linnen-Cloth and Thread; which they exchange amongst the Neighbourhood for other Commodities, for which they have occasion.

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We have hitherto made no Tryal of foreign Herbage; but, doubtless, it would thrive well; especially, *Sanfoin*, and those Grasses, that endure Heat, and dry Grounds. As for our Low Lands, such as Marshes, Savannas and Percoarson-Ground, which lies low, all of them naturally afford good Land for Pasturage.

We will next treat of the Beasts, which you shall have an Account of, as they have been discover'd.

The Beasts of *Carolina* are the

<i>Buffelo, or wild Beef.</i>	<i>Water-Rat.</i>
<i>Bear.</i>	<i>Rabbit, two sorts.</i>
<i>Panther.</i>	<i>Elks.</i>
<i>Cat-a-mount.</i>	<i>Stags.</i>
<i>Wild Cat.</i>	<i>Fallow-Deer.</i>
<i>Wolf.</i>	<i>Squirrel, four sorts.</i>
<i>Tyger.</i>	<i>Fox.</i>
<i>Folcat.</i>	<i>Lion, and Jackall on the Lake.</i>
<i>Otter.</i>	<i>Rats, two sorts.</i>
<i>Bever.</i>	<i>Mice, two sorts.</i>
<i>Musk-Rat.</i>	<i>Moles.</i>
<i>Poffum.</i>	<i>Weasel, Dormouse.</i>
<i>Ratcoon.</i>	<i>Bearmouse.</i>
<i>Minx.</i>	

The *Buffelo* is a wild Beast of *America*, which has a Bunch on his Back, as the Cattle of *St. Laurence* are said to have. He seldom appears amongst the *English* Inhabitants, his chief Haunt being in the Land of *Mississippi*, which is, for the most part, a plain Country; yet I have known some kill'd on the Hilly Part of *Cape-Fair-River*, they passing the Ledges of vast Mountains from the said *Mississippi*, before they can come near us. I have eaten of their Meat, but do not think it so good as our Beef; yet the younger Calves are cry'd up for excellent Food, as very likely they may be. It is conjectured, that these *Buffelos*, mixt in Breed with our tame Cattle, would much better the Breed for Largeness and Milk, which seems very probable. Of the wild Bull's Skin, Buff is made. The *Indians* cut the Skins into Quarters for the Ease of.

of their Transportation, and make Beds to lie on. They spin the Hair into Garters, Girdles, Sashes, and the like, it being long and curled, and often of a chesnut or red Colour. These Monsters are found to weigh (as I am informed by a Traveller of Credit) from 1600 to 2400 Weight.

*Bear.*

The Bears here are very common, though not so large as in *Groenland*, and the more Northern Countries of *Russia*. The Flesh of this Beast is very good, and nourishing, and not inferiour to the best Pork in Taste. It stands betwixt Beef and Pork, and the young Cubs are a Dish for the greatest *Epicure* living. I prefer their Flesh before any Beef, Veal, Pork, or Mutton; and they look as well as they eat, their fat being as white as Snow, and the sweetest of any Creature's in the World. If a Man drink a Quart thereof melted, it never will rise in his Stomach. We prefer it above all things, to fry Fish and other things in. Those that are Strangers to it, may judge otherwise; But I who have eaten a great deal of Bears Flesh in my Life-time (since my being an Inhabitant in *America*) do think it equalizes, if not excels, any Meat I ever eat in *Europe*. The Bacon made thereof is extraordinary Meat; but it must be well saved, otherwise it will rust. This Creature feeds upon all sorts of wild Fruits. When Herrings run, which is in *March*, the Flesh of such of those Bears as eat thereof, is nought, all that Season, and eats filthily. Neither is it good, when he feeds on Gum-berries, as I intimated before. They are great Devourers of Acorns, and oftentimes meet the Swine in the Woods, which they kill and eat, especially when they are hungry, and can find no other Food. Now and then they get into the Fields of *Indian* Corn, or *Maiz*, where they make a sad Havock, spoiling ten times as much as they eat. The Potatos of this Country are so agreeable to them, that they never fail to sweep 'em all clean, if they chance to come in their way. They are seemingly a very clumsy Creature, yet are very nimble in running up Trees, and traversing every Limb thereof. When they come down, they run Tail foremost. At catching of Herrings, they are most expert Fishers. They sit by the Creek-sides, (which are very narrow) where the Fish run in; and there they take them up, as fast as it's possible they can dip their Paws into the Water. There is one thing more to be consider'd of  
**this**

this Creature, which is, that no Man, either Christian or *Indian*, has ever kill'd a She-bear with Young.

It is supposed, that the She-Bears, after Conception, hide themselves in some secret and undiscoverable Place, till they bring forth their Young, which, in all Probability, cannot be long; otherwise, the *Indians*, who hunt the Woods like Dogs, would, at some time or other, have found them out. Bear-Hunting is a great Sport in *America*, both with the *English* and *Indians*. Some Years ago, there were kill'd five hundred Bears, in two Counties of *Virginia*, in one Winter; and but two She-Bears amongst them all, which were not with Young, as I told you of the rest. The *English* have a breed of Dogs fit for this sport, about the size of Farmers Curs, and, by Practice, come to know the Scent of a Bear, which as soon as they have found, they run him, by the Nose, till they come up with him, and then bark and snap at him, till he trees, when the Huntsman shoots him out of the Trees, there being, for the most part, two or three with Guns, lest the first should miss, or not quite kill him. Though they are not naturally voracious, yet they are very fierce when wounded. The Dogs often bring him to a Bay, when wounded, and then the Huntsmen make other Shots, perhaps with the Pistols that are stuck in their Girdles. If a Dog is apt to fasten, and run into a Bear, he is not good, for the best Dog in *Europe* is nothing in their Paws; but if ever they get him in their Clutches, they blow his Skin from his Flesh, like a Bladder, and often kill him; or if he recovers it, he is never good for any thing after. As the Paws of this Creature, are held for the best bit about him, so is the Head esteem'd the worst, and always thrown away, for what reason I know not. I believe, none ever made Trial thereof, to know how it eats. The Oil of the Bear is very Sovereign for Strains, Aches, and old Pains. The fine Fur at the bottom of the Belly, is used for making Hats, in some places. The Fur itself is fit for several Uses; as for making Muffs, facing Caps, &c. but the black Cub-skin is preferable to all sorts of that kind, for Muffs. Its Grain is like Hog-Skin.

The *Panther* is of the Cat's kind; about the height of a *Panther*. very large Greyhound of a reddish Colour, the same as a Lion. He climbs Trees with the greatest Agility imaginable,

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is very strong-limb'd, catching a piece of Meat from any Creature he strikes at. His Tail is exceeding long; his Eyes look very fierce and lively, are large, and of a grayish Colour; his Prey is, Swines-flesh, Deer, or any thing he can take; no Creature is so nice and clean, as this, in his Food. When he has got his Prey, he fills his Belly with the Slaughter, and carefully lays up the Remainder, covering it very neatly with Leaves, which if any thing touches, he never eats any more of it. He purrs as Cats do; if taken when Young, is never to be reclaim'd from his wild Nature. He hollows like a Man in the Woods, when kill'd, which is by making him take a Tree, as the least Cur will presently do; then the Huntsmen shoot him; if they do not kill him outright, he is a dangerous Enemy, when wounded, especially to the Dogs that approach him. This Beast is the greatest Enemy to the Planter, of any Vermine in *Carolina*. His Flesh looks as well as any Shambles-Meat whatsoever; a great many People eat him, as choice Food; but I never tasted of a Panther, so cannot commend the Meat, by my own Experience. His Skin is a warm Covering for the *Indians* in Winter, though not esteem'd amongst the choice Furs. This Skin dress'd, makes fine Womens Shoes, or Mens Gloves.

Cat of  
Mount.

\* The Mountain-Cat, so call'd, because he lives in the Mountainous Parts of *America*. He is a Beast of Prey, as the Panther is, and nearest to him in Bigness and Nature.

Wild Cat.

This Cat is quite different from those in *Europe*; being more nimble and fierce, and larger; his Tail does not exceed four Inches. He makes a very odd sort of Cry in the Woods, in the Night. He is spotted as the Leopard is, tho' some of them are not, (which may happen, when their Furs are out of Season) he climbs a Tree very dexterously, and preys as the Panther does. He is a great Destroyer of young Swine. I knew an Island, which was possess'd by these Vermine, unknown to the Planter, who put thereon a considerable Stock of Swine; but never took one back; for the wild Cats destroy'd them all. He takes most of his Prey by Surprise, getting up the Trees, which they pass by or under, and thence leaping directly upon them. Thus he takes Deer (which he cannot catch by running) and fastens his Teeth into their Shoulders and sucks them. They run with him, till they fall.

fall down for want of strength, and become a Prey to the Enemy. Hares, Birds, and all he meets, that he can conquer, he destroys. The Fur is approv'd to wear as a Stomacher, for weak and cold Stomachs. They are likewise used to line Muffs, and Coats withal, in cold Climates.

The Wolf of *Carolina*, is the Dog of the Woods. The *Wolf*. *Indians* had no other Curs, before the Christians came amongst them. They are made domestick. When wild, they are neither so large, nor fierce, as the *European* Wolf. They are not Man-slayers; neither is any Creature in *Carolina*, unless wounded. They go in great Drovers in the Night, to hunt Deer, which they do as well as the best Pack of Hounds. Nay, one of these will hunt down a Deer. They are often so poor, that they can hardly run. When they catch no Prey, they go to a Swamp, and fill their Belly full of Mud; if afterwards they chance to get any thing of Flesh, they will disgorge the Mud, and eat the other. When they hunt in the Night, that there is a great many together, they make the most hideous and frightful Noise, that ever was heard. The Fur makes good Muffs. The Skin dress'd to a Parchment makes the best Drum-Heads, and if tann'd makes the best sort of Shoes for the Summer-Countries.

Tygers are never met withal in the Settlement; but are *Tyger*. more to the Westward, and are not numerous on this Side the Chain of Mountains. I once saw one, that was larger than a Panther, and seem'd to be a very bold Creature. The *Indians* that hunt in those Quarters, say, they are seldom met withal. It seems to differ from the Tyger of *Asia* and *Africa*.

Polcats or Skunks in *America*, are different from those in *Polcat*. *Europe*. They are thicker, and of a great many Colours; not all alike, but each differing from another in the particular Colour. They smell like a Fox, but ten times stronger. When a Dog encounters them, they piss upon him, and he will not be sweet again in a Fortnight or more. The *Indians* love to eat their Flesh, which has no manner of ill Smell, when the Bladder is out. I know no use their Furs are put to. They are easily brought up tame.

There have been seen some Otters from the Westward of *Otter*. *Carolina*, which were of a white Colour, a little inclining to a yellow. They live on the same Prey here, as in *Europe*, and are the same in all other Respects; so I shall insist no

farther on that Creature. Their Furs, if black, are valuable.

*Beyers.* Beyers are very numerous in *Carolina*, their being abundance of their Dams in all Parts of the Country, where I have travel'd. They are the most industrious and greatest Artificers (in building their Dams and Houses) of any four-footed Creatures in the World. Their Food is chiefly the Barks of Trees and Shrubs, viz. Sassafras, Ash, Sweet-Gum, and several others. If you take them young, they become very tame and domestick, but are very mischievous in spoiling Orchards, by breaking the Trees, and blocking up your Doors in the Night, with the Sticks and Wood they bring thither. If they eat any thing that is salt, it kills them. Their Flesh is a sweet Food; especially, their Tail, which is held very dainty. Their Fore-Feet are open, like a Dog's; their Hind-Feet webb'd like a Water-Fowl's. The Skins are good Furs for several Uses, which every one knows. The Leather is very thick; I have known Shooes made thereof in *Carolina*, which lasted well. It makes the best Hedgers Mittens that can be used.

*Musk Rat.* Musk Rats frequent fresh Streams and no other; as the Bever does. He has a Cod of Musk, which is valuable, as is likewise his Fur.

*Possum.* The *Possum* is found no where but in *America*. He is the Wonder of all the Land-Animals, being the size of a Badger, and near that Colour. The Male's Pizzle is placed retrograde; and in time of Coition, they differ from all other Animals, turning Tail to Tail, as Dog and Bitch when ty'd. The Female, doubtless, breeds her Young at her Teats; for I have seen them stick fast thereto, when they have been no bigger than a small Raspberry, and seemingly inanimate. She has a Paunch, or false Belly, wherein she carries her Young, after they are from those Teats, till they can shift for themselves. Their Food is Roots, Poultry, or wild Fruits. They have no Hair on their Tails, but a sort of a Scale, or hard Crust, as the Beyers have. If a Cat has nine Lives, this Creature surely has nineteen; for if you break every Bone in their Skin, and mash their Skull, leaving them for Dead, you may come an hour after, and they will be gone quite away, or perhaps you meet them creeping away. They are a very stupid Creature, utterly neglecting their Safety. They are

are most like Rats of any thing. I have, for Necessity in the Wilderness, eaten of them. Their Flesh is very white, and well tasted; but their ugly Tails put me out of Conceit with that Fare. They climb Trees, as the Raccoons do. Their Fur is not esteem'd nor used, save that the *Indians* spin it into Girdles and Garters.

The *Raccoon* is of a dark-gray Colour; if taken young, is *Raccoon* easily made tame, but is the drunkenest Creature living, if he can get any Liquor that is sweet and strong. They are rather more unlucky than a Monkey. When wild, they are very subtle in catching their Prey. Those that live in the Salt-Water, feed much on Oysters which they love. They watch the Oyster when it opens, and nimbly put in their Paw, and pluck out the Fish. Sometimes the Oyster shuts, and holds fast their Paw till the Tide comes in, that they are drown'd, tho' they swim very well. The way that this Animal catches Crabs, which he greatly admires, and which are plenty in *Carolina*, is worthy of Remark. When he intends to make a Prey of these Fish, he goes to a Marsh, where standing on the Land, he lets his Tail hang in the Water. This the Crab takes for a Bait, and fastens his Claws therein, which as soon as the *Raccoon* perceives, he, of a sudden, springs forward, a considerable way, on the Land, and brings the Crab along with him. As soon as the Fish finds himself out of his Element, he presently lets go his hold; and then the *Raccoon* encounters him, by getting him cross-wise in his Mouth, and devours him. There is a sort of small Land-Crab, which we call a *Fiddler*, that runs into a Hole when any thing pursues him. This Crab the *Raccoon* takes by putting his Fore-Foot in the Hole, and pulling him out. With a tame *Raccoon*, this Sport is very diverting. The Chief of his other Food is all sorts of wild Fruits, green Corn, and such as the Bear delights in. This and the *Possum* are much of a Bigness. The Fur makes good Hats and Linings. The Skin dress'd makes fine Womens Shoes.

The *Minx* is an Animal much like the *English* Fillimart *Minx*. or Polcat. He is long, slender, and every way shap'd like him. His Haunts are chiefly in the Marshes, by the Seaside and Salt-Waters, where he lives on Fish, Fowl, Mice, and Insects. They are bold Thieves, and will steal any thing  
from

from you in the Night, when asleep, as I can tell by Experience; for one Winter, by Misfortune, I ran my Vessel a-ground, and went often to the Banks, to kill wild Fowl, which we did a great many. One Night, we had a mind to sleep on the Banks (the Weather being fair) and wrapt up the Geese which we had kill'd, and not eaten, very carefully, in the Sail of a Canoe, and folded it several Doubles, and for their better Security, laid 'em all Night under my Head. In the Morning when I wak'd, a Minx had eaten thro' every Fold of the Canoe's Sail, and thro' one of the Geese, most part of which was gone. These are likewise found high up in the Rivers, in whose sides they live; which is known by the abundance of Fresh-Water Muscle-Shells (such as you have in *England*) that lie at the Mouth of their Holes. This is an Enemy to the Tortois, whose Holes in the Sand, where they hide their Eggs, the *Minx* finds out, and scratches up and eats. The *Raccoons* and *Crows* do the same. The *Minx* may be made domestick, and were it not for his paying a Visit now and then to the Poultry, they are the greatest Destroyers of Rats and Mice, that are in the World. Their Skins, if good of that kind, are valuable, provided they are kill'd in Season.

*Water-Rats.*

The *Water-Rat* is found here the same as in *England*. The *Water-Snakes* are often found to have of these Rats in their Bellies.

*Coneys.*

That which the People of *Carolina* call a Hare, is nothing but a Hedge-Coney. They never borough in the Ground, but much frequent Marshes and Meadow-Land. They hide their Young in some Place secure from the Discovery of the Buck, as the *European* Rabbits do, and are of the same Colour; but if you start one of them, and pursue her, she takes into a hollow Tree, and there runs up as far as she can, in which Case the Hunter makes a Fire, and smoaks the Tree, which brings her down, and smothers her. At one time of the Year, great Bots or Maggots breed betwixt the Skin and the Flesh of these Creatures. They eat just as the *English* ones do; but I never saw one of them fat. We fire the Marshes, and then kill abundance.

*Rabbit English.*

The *English*, or *European* Coneys are here found, tho' but in one place that I ever knew of, which was in *Trent-River*, where they borough'd among the Rocks. I cannot believe



believe, these are Natives of the Country, any otherwise than that they might come from aboard some Wreck ; the Sea not being far off. I was told of several that were upon *Bodies* Island by *Ronoak*, which came from that Ship of *Bodies* ; but I never saw any. However the Banks are no proper Abode of Safety, because of the many *Minxes* in those Quarters. I carried over some of the tame sort from *England* to *South Carolina*, which bred three times going over, we having a long Passage. I turn'd them loose in a Plantation, and the young ones, and some of the old ones bred great Maggots in their Testicles. At last, the great Gust in *September*, 1700. brought a great deal of Rain, and drown'd them all in their Holes. I intend to make a second Tryal of them in *North Carolina*, and doubt not but to secure them.

The Elk is a Monster of the Venison sort. His Skin is dressed almost in the same Nature as the *Buffelo's*. Some take him for the red Deer of *America* ; but he is not : For, if brought and kept in Company with one of that sort, of the contrary Sex, he will never couple. His Flesh is not so sweet as the lesser Deers. His Horns exceed (in Weight) all Creatures which the new World affords. They will often resort and feed with the *Buffelo*, delighting in the same Range as they do. Elks.

The Stags of *Carolina* are lodg'd in the Mountains. They are not so large as in *Europe*, but much larger than any *Fallow-Deer*. They are always fat, I believe, with some delicate Herbage that grows on the Hills ; for we find all Creatures that graze much fatter and better Meat on the Hills, than those in the Valleys : I mean towards and near the Sea. Some Deer on these Mountains afford the occidental *Bezoar*, not coming from a Goat, as some report. What sort of Beast affords the oriental *Bezoar*, I know not. The Tallow of the Harts make incomparable Candles. Their Horns and Hides are of the same Value, as others of their kind. Stags.

Fallow-Deer in *Carolina*, are taller and longer-legg'd, than *Fallow-Deer* in *Europe* ; but neither run so fast, nor are so well haunch'd. Their Singles are much longer, and their Horns stand forward, as the others incline backward ; neither do they beam, or bear their Antlers, as the *English* Deer do. Towards the Salts, they are not generally so fat and good Meat, as on the Hills. I have known some kill'd on the Salts in *January*, Deer.  
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that have had abundance of Bots in their Throat, which keep them very poor. As the Summer approaches, these Bots come out, and turn into the finest Butterfly imaginable, being very large, and having black, white, and yellow Stripes. Deer-Skins are one of the best Commodities *Carolina* affords, to ship off for *England*, provided they be large.

*Fox Squirrel.*

Of Squirrels we have four Sorts. The first is the Fox-Squirrel, so call'd, because of his large Size, which is the Bigness of a Rabbet of two or three Months old. His Colour is commonly gray; yet I have seen several pied ones, and some reddish, and black; his chiefest Haunts are in the Piny Land, where the Almond-Pine grows. There he provides his Winter-Store; they being a Nut that never fails of bearing. He may be made tame, and is very good Meat, when killed.

*Small gray Squirrel.*

The next sort of Squirrel is much of the Nature of the *English*, only differing in Colour. Their Food is Nuts (of all sorts the Country affords) and Acorns. They eat well; and, like the Bear, are never found with young.

*Flying-Squirrel.*

This Squirrel is gray, as well as the others. He is the least of the Three. His Food is much the same with the small gray Squirrels. He has not Wings, as Birds or Bats have, there being a fine thin Skin cover'd with Hair, as the rest of the parts are. This is from the Fore-Feet to the Hinder-Feet, which is extended and holds so much Air, as buoys him up, from one Tree to another, that are greater distances asunder, than other Squirrels can reach by jumping or springing. He is made very tame, is an Enemy to a Corn-field, (as all Squirrels are) and eats only the germinating Eye of that Grain, which is very sweet.

*Ground Squirrel.*

Ground Squirrels are so call'd, because they never delight in running up Trees, and leaping from Tree to Tree. They are the smallest of all Squirrels. Their Tail is neither so long nor bushy; but flattish. They are of a reddish Colour, and striped down each Side with black Rows, which make them very beautiful. They may be kept tame, in a little Box with Cotton. They and the Flying-Squirrels seldom stir out in Cold Weather, being tender Animals.

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The Fox of *Carolina* is gray, but smells not as the Foxes in *Fox. Great-Britain*, and elsewhere. They have reddish Hair about their Ears, and are generally very fat; yet I never saw any one eat them. When hunted, they make a sorry Chace, because they run up Trees, when pursued. They are never to be made familiar and tame, as the Raccoon is. Their Furs, if in Season, are used for Muffs and other Ornaments. They live chiefly on Birds and Fowls, and such small Prey.

I have been inform'd by the *Indians*, that on a Lake of <sup>Supposed</sup> Water towards the Head of *Neus River*, there haunts a <sup>Lion and</sup> Creature, which frightens them all from Hunting thereabouts. They say, he is the Colour of a Panther, but cannot run up Trees; and that there abides with him a Creature like an *Englishman's Dog*, which runs faster than he can, and gets his Prey for him. They add, that there is no other of that Kind that ever they met withal; and that they have no other way to avoid him, but by running up a Tree. The Certainty of this I cannot affirm by my own Knowledge, yet they all agree in this Story. As for Lions, I never saw any in *America*; neither can I imagine, how they should come there.

Of Rats we have two sorts; the House-Rat, as in *Europe*; <sup>Rats.</sup> and the Marsh-Rat, which differs very much from the other, being more hairy, and has several other Distinctions, too long here to name.

Mice are the same here, as those in *England*, that belong <sup>Mice.</sup> to the House. There is one sort that poisons a Cat, as soon as she eats of them, which has sometimes happen'd. These Mice resort not to Houses.

The Dormouse is the same as in *England*; and so is the *Dormouse*. Weasel, which is very scarce.

The Bat or Rearmouse, the same as in *England*. The <sup>Rearmouse</sup> *Indian* Children are much addicted to eat Dirt, and so are some of the Christians. But roast a Bat on a Skewer, then pull the Skin off, and make the Child that eats Dirt, eat the roasted Rearmouse; and he will never eat Dirt again. This is held as an infallible Remedy. I have put this amongst the Beasts, as partaking of both Natures; of the Bird, and Mouse-Kind.

Having mention'd all the sorts of terrestrial or Land-Animals, which *Carolina* affords and are yet known to us, except  
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the Tame and Domestick Creatures (of which I shall give an Account hereafter, when I come to treat of the Ways and Manners of Agriculture in that Province) I shall now proceed to the known *Insects* of that Place. Not that I pretend to give an ample Account of the whole Tribe, which is too numerous, and contains too great a Diversity of Species, many not yet discovered, and others that have slipt my Memory at present; But those which I can remember, I here present my Readers withal.

*Insects of Carolina.*

<p><i>Allegators.</i>  <i>Rattle-Snakes.</i>  <i>Ground Rattle-Snakes.</i>  <i>Horn-Snakes.</i>  <i>Water-Snakes, four sorts.</i>  <i>Swamp Snakes three sorts.</i>  <i>Red-bellied Land-Snakes.</i>  <i>Red-back'd Snake.</i>  <i>Black Truncheon Snake.</i>  <i>Scorpion-Lizard.</i>  <i>Green Lizard.</i>  <i>Frogs, many sorts.</i></p>	<p><i>Long black Snake.</i>  <i>King-Snake.</i>  <i>Green Snake.</i>  <i>Corn Snake.</i>  <i>Vipers black and gray.</i>  <i>Tortoiss.</i>  <i>Terebin Land and Water.</i>  <i>Brimstone-Snake.</i>  <i>Egg, or Chicken-Snake.</i>  <i>Eel-Snake, or great Loach.</i>  <i>Brown Lizard.</i>  <i>Rotten-wood Worm, &amp;c.</i></p>
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*Strange Genitors.*

The Allegator is the same, as the Crocodile, and differs only in Name. They frequent the sides of Rivers, in the Banks of which they make their Dwellings a great way under Ground; the Hole or Mouth of their Dens lying commonly two Foot under Water, after which it rises till it be considerably above the Surface thereof. Here it is, that this amphibious Monster dwells all the Winter, sleeping away his time till the Spring appears, when he comes from his Cave, and daily swims up and down the Streams. He always breeds in some fresh Stream, or clear Fountain of Water, yet seeks his Prey in the broad Salt Waters, that are brackish, not on the Sea-side, where I never met with any. He never devours Men in *Carolina*, but uses all ways to avoid them, yet he kills Swine and Dogs, the former as they come to feed in the Marshes, the others as they swim over the Creeks and Waters. They are very mischievous to the  
Wares

Wares made for taking Fish, into which they come to prey on the Fish that are caught in the Ware, from whence they cannot readily extricate themselves, and so break the Ware in Pieces, being a very strong Creature. This Animal, in these Parts, sometimes exceeds seventeen Foot long. It is impossible to kill them with a Gun, unless you chance to hit them about the Eyes, which is a much softer Place, than the rest of their impenetrable Armour. They roar, and make a hideous Noise against bad Weather, and before they come out of their Dens in the Spring. I was pretty much frightened with one of these once; which happened thus: I had built a House about half a Mile from an *Indian* Town, on the Fork of *Neus-River*, where I dwelt by my self, excepting a young *Indian* Fellow, and a Bull-Dog, that I had along with me. I had not then been so long a Sojourner in *America*, as to be thoroughly acquainted with this Creature. One of them had got his Nest directly under my House, which stood on pretty high Land, and by a Creek-side, in whose Banks his Entering-place was, his Den reaching the Ground directly on which my House stood. I was sitting alone by the Fire-side (about nine a Clock at Night, some time in *March*) the *Indian* Fellow being gone to the Town, to see his Relations; so that there was no body in the House but my self and my Dog; when, all of a sudden, this ill-favour'd Neighbour of mine, set up such a Roaring, that he made the House shake about my Ears, and so continued, like a Bittern, (but a hundred times louder, if possible) for four or five times. The Dog stared, as if he was frightened out of his Senses; nor indeed, could I imagine what it was, having never heard one of them before. Immediately again I had another Lesson; and so a third. Being at that time amongst none but Savages, I began to suspect, they were working some Piece of Conjuratation under my House, to get away my Goods; not but that, at another time, I have as little Faith in their, or any others working Miracles, by diabolical Means, as any Person living. At last, my Man came in, to whom when I had told the Story, he laugh'd at me, and presently undeceiv'd me, by telling me what it was that made that Noise. These Allegators lay Eggs, as the Ducks do; only they are longer shap'd, larger, and a thicker Shell, than they have. How long they are in hatching, I cannot

tell; but, as the *Indians* say, it is most part of the Summer, they always lay by a Spring-Side, the young living in and about the same, as soon as hatch'd. Their Eggs are laid in Nests made in the Marshes, and contain twenty or thirty Eggs. Some of these Creatures afford a great deal of Musk. Their Tail, when cut of, looks very fair and white, seemingly like the best of Veal. Some People have eaten thereof, and say, it is delicate Meat, when they happen not to be musky. Their Flesh is accounted proper for such as are troubled with the lame Distemper, (a sort of Rhumatism) so is the Fat very prevailing to remove Aches and Pains, by Uction. The Teeth of this Creature, when dead, are taken out, to make Chargers for Guns, being of several Sizes, fit for all Loads. They are white, and would make pretty Snuff-Boxes, if wrought by an Artift. After the Tail of the Allegator is separated from the Body, it will move very freely for four days.

*Rattle-  
Snake.*

The Rattle-Snakes are found on all the Main of *America*, that I ever had any Account of; being so call'd from the Rattle at the end of their Tails, which is a Connexion of jointed Coverings, of an excrementitious Matter, betwixt the Substance of a Nail, and a Horn, though each *Tegmen* is very thin. Nature seems to have design'd these, on purpose to give Warning of such an approaching Danger, as the venomous Bite of these Snakes is. Some of them grow to a very great Bigness, as six Foot in Length, their Middle being the Thickness of the Small of a lusty Man's Leg. We have an Account of much larger Serpents of this Kind; but I never met them yet, although I have seen and kill'd abundance in my time. They are of an Orange, tawny, and blackish Colour, on the Back; differing (as all Snakes do) in Colour, on the Belly; being of an Ash-Colour, inclining to Lead. The Male is easily distinguish'd from the Female, by a black Velvet-Spot on his Head; and besides, his Head is smaller shaped, and long. Their Bite is venomous, if not speedily remedied; especially, if the Wound be in a Vein, Nerve, Tendon, or Sinew; when it is very difficult to cure. The *Indians* are the best Physicians for the Bite of these and all other venomous Creatures of this Country. There are four sorts of Snake-Roots already discover'd, which Knowledge came from the *Indians*, who have perform'd several great Cures.

Cures. The Rattle-Snakes are accounted the peaceablest in the World; for they never attack any one, or injure them, unless they are trod upon, or molested. The most Danger of being bit by these Snakes, is for those that survey Land in *Carolina*; yet I never heard of any Surveyor that was kill'd, or hurt by them. I have myself gone over several of this Sort, and others; yet it pleas'd God, I never came to any harm. They have the Power, or Art (I know not which to call it) to charm Squirrels, Hares, Partridges, or any such thing, in such a manner, that they run directly into their Mouths. This I have seen by a Squirrel and one of these Rattle-Snakes; and other Snakes have, in some measure, the same Power. The Rattle-Snakes have many small Teeth, of which I cannot see they make any use; for they swallow every thing whole; but the Teeth which poison, are only four; two on each side of their Upper-Jaws. These are bent like a Sickle, and hang loose as if by a Joint. Towards the setting on of these, there is, in each Tooth, a little Hole, wherein you may just get in the Point of a small Needle. And here it is, that the Poison comes out, (which is as green as Grass) and follows the Wound, made by the Point of their Teeth. They are much more venomous in the Months of *June* and *July*, than they are in *March*, *April* or *September*. The hotter the Weather, the more poisonous. Neither may we suppose, that they can renew their Poison as oft as they will; for we have had a Person bit by one of these, who never rightly recover'd it, and very hardly escap'd with Life; a second Person bit in the same Place by the same Snake, and receiv'd no more Harm, than if bitten with a Rat. They cast their Skins every Year, and commonly abide near the Place where the old Skin lies. These cast Skins are used in Physick, and the Rattles are reckon'd good to expedite the Birth. The Gall is made up into Pills, with Clay, and kept for Use; being given in Pestilential Fevers and the Small-Pox. It is accounted a noble Remedy, known to few, and held as a great *Arcanum*. This Snake has two Nostrils on each side of his Nose. Their Venom, I have Reason to believe, effects no Harm, any otherwise than when darted into the Wound by the Serpents Teeth.

The Ground Rattle-Snake, wrong nam'd, because it has nothing like Rattles. It resembles the Rattle-Snake a little  
Ground:  
Rattle-  
Snakes.  
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in Colour, but is darker, and never grows to any considerable Bigness, not exceeding a Foot, or sixteen Inches. He is reckon'd amongst the worst of Snakes; and stays out the longest of any Snake I know, before he returns (in the Fall of the Leaf) to his Hole.

*Horn-Snake.*

Of the Horn-Snakes I never saw but two, that I remember. They are like the Rattle-Snake in Colour, but rather lighter. They hiss exactly like a Goose, when any thing approaches them. They strike at their Enemy with their Tail, and kill whatsoever they wound with it, which is arm'd at the End with a horny Substance, like a Cock's Spur. This is their Weapon. I have heard it credibly reported, by those who said they were Eye-Witnesses, that a small Locust-Tree, about the Thickness of a Man's Arm, being struck by one of these Snakes, at Ten a Clock in the Morning, then verdant and flourishing, at four in the Afternoon was dead, and the Leaves red and wither'd. Doubtless, be it how it will, they are very venomous. I think, the *Indians* do not pretend to cure their Wound.

*Water-Snakes.*

Of Water-Snakes there are four sorts. The first is of the Horn-Snakes Colour, though less. The next is a very long Snake, differing in Colour, and will make nothing to swim over a River a League wide. They hang upon Birches and other Trees by the Water-Side. I had the Fortune once to have one of them leap into my Boat, as I was going up a narrow River; the Boat was full of Mats, which I was glad to take out, to get rid of him. They are reckon'd poisonous. A third is much of an *English* Adder's Colour, but always frequents the Salts, and lies under the Drift Sea-weed, where they are in abundance, and are accounted mischievous, when they bite. The last is of a footy black Colour, and frequents Ponds and Ditches. What his Qualities are, I cannot tell.

*Swamp-Snakes.*

Of the Swamp-Snakes there are three sorts, which are very near akin to the Water-Snakes, and may be rank'd amongst them.

The Belly of the first is of a Carnation or Pink Colour; his Back a dirty brown; they are large, but have not much Venom in them, as ever I learnt. The next is a large Snake, of a brown Dirt Colour, and always abides in the Marshes.

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The last is mottled, and very poisonous. They dwell in Swamps Sides, and Ponds, and have prodigious wide Mouths, and (though not long) arrive to the Thickness of the Calf of a Man's Leg.

These frequent the Land altogether, and are so call'd *Red-Belly* because of their red Bellies, which incline to an Orange-*Land-* Colour. Some have been bitten with these sort of Snakes, *Snakes.* and not hurt; when others have suffer'd very much by them. Whether there be two sorts of these Snakes, which we make no Difference of, I cannot at present determine.

I never saw but one of these, which I stepped over, and did not see him; till he that brought the Chain after me, *Red-Back* spy'd him. He has a red Back, as the last has a red Belly. They are a long, slender Snake, and very rare to be met withal. I enquired of the *Indian* that was along with me, whether they were very venomous, who made Answer, that if he had bitten me, even the *Indians* could not have cured it.

This sort of Snake might very well have been rank'd with the Water-Snakes. They lie under Roots of Trees, and on the Banks of Rivers. When any thing disturbs them, they *Black* dart into the Water (which is Salt) like an Arrow out of a *Truncbeon-* Bow. They are thick, and the shortest Snake I ever saw. *Snake.* What Good, or Harm, there is in them, I know not. Some of these Water-Snakes will swallow a black Land-Snake, half as long again as themselves.

The Scorpion Lizard, is no more like a Scorpion, than a *Scorpion-* Hedge-Hog; but they very commonly call him a Scorpion. *Lizard.* He is of the Lizard Kind, but much bigger; his Back is of a dark Copper-Colour; his Belly an Orange; he is very nimble in running up Trees, or on the Land, and is accounted very poisonous. He has the most Sets of Teeth in his Mouth and Throat, that ever I saw.

Green Lizards are very harmless and beautiful, having a *Green-* little Bladder under their Throat, which they fill with Wind, *Lizards.* and evacuate the same at Pleasure. They are of a most glorious Green, and very tame. They resort to the Walls of Houses in the Summer Season, and stand gazing on a Man, without any Concern or Fear. There are several other Colours of these Lizards; but none so beautiful as the green ones are.

*Frogs.*

Of Frogs we have several sorts; the most famous is the Bull-Frog, so call'd, because he lows exactly like that Beast, which makes Strangers wonder (when by the side of a Marsh) what's the matter, for they hear the Frogs low, and can see no Cattle; he is very large. I believe, I have seen one with as much Meat on him, as a Pullet, if he had been dress'd. The small green Frogs get upon Trees, and make a Noise. There are several other colour'd small Frogs; but the Common Land-Frog is likest a Toad, only he leaps, and is not poisonous. He is a great Devourer of Ants, and the Snakes devour him. These Frogs baked and beat to Powder, and taken with Orrice-Root cures a Tympany.

*Long black Snake.*

The long, black Snake frequents the Land altogether, and is the nimblest Creature living. His Bite has no more Venom, than a Prick with a Pin. He is the best Mouser that can be; for he leaves not one of that Vermine alive, where he comes. He also kills the Rattle-Snake, wheresoever he meets him, by twisting his Head about the Neck of the Rattle-Snake, and whipping him to Death with his Tail. This Whipster haunts the Dairies of careless Houfewives, and never misses to skim the Milk clear of the Cream. He is an excellent Egg-Merchant, for he does not suck the Eggs, but swallows them whole (as all Snakes do.) He will often swallow all the Eggs from under a Hen that sits, and coil himself under the Hen, in the Nest, where sometimes the Housewife finds him. This Snake, for all his Agility, is so brittle, that when he is pursued, and gets his Head into the Hole of a Tree, if any body gets hold of the other end, he will twist, and break himself off in the middle. One of these Snakes, whose Neck is no thicker than a Woman's little Finger, will swallow a Squirrel; so much does that part stretch, in all these Creatures.

*King Snake.*

The King-Snake is the longest of all others, and not common; no Snake (they say) will meddle with them. I think they are not accounted very venomous. The *Indians* make Girdles and Sashes of their Skins.

*Green Snake.*

Green-Snakes are very small, tho' pretty (if any Beauty be allow'd to Snakes.) Every one makes himself very familiar with them, and puts them in their Bosom, because there is no manner of Harm in them.

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The Corn-Snakes are but small ones; they are of a brown <sup>Corn-</sup>Colour, mixed with tawny. There is no more hurt-in this, <sup>Snake.</sup> than in the green Snake.

Of those we call Vipers, there are two sorts. People call <sup>Vipers.</sup> these Vipers, because they spread a very flat Head at any time when they are vex'd. One of these is a grayish like the *Italian* Viper, the other black and short; and is reckon'd amongst the worst of Snakes, for Venom.

Tortoises, vulgarly call'd Turtle; I have rank'd these a- <sup>Tortoises.</sup> mong the Insects, because they lay Eggs, and I did not know well where to put them. Among us there are three sorts. The first is the green Turtle, which is not common, but is sometimes found on our Coast. The next is the Hawks-bill, which is common. These two sorts are extraordinary Meat. The third is Logger-Head, which Kind scarce any one covets, except it be for the Eggs, which of this and all other Turtles, are very good Food. None of these sorts of Creatures Eggs will ever admit the White to be harder than a Jelly; yet the Yolk, with boiling, becomes as hard as any other Egg.

Of Terebins there are divers sorts, all which, to be brief, <sup>Terebins.</sup> we will comprehend under the Distinction of Land and Water-Terebins.

The Land-Terebin is of several Sizes, but generally Round- <sup>Land-Terebin.</sup> Mouth'd, and not Hawks-Bill'd, as some are. The *Indians* eat them. Most of them are good Meat, except the very large ones; and they are good Food too, provided they are not Musky. They are an utter Enemy to the Rattle-Snake, for when the Terebin meets him, he catches hold of him a little below his Neck, and draws his Head into his Shell, which makes the Snake beat his Tail, and twist about with all the Strength and Violence imaginable, to get away; but the Terebin soon dispatches him, and there leaves him. These they call in *Europe* the Land Tortoise; their Food is Snails, Tad-pools, or young Frogs, Mushrooms, and the Dew and Slime of the Earth and Ponds.

Water Terebins are small; containing about as much Meat <sup>Water-Terebin.</sup> as a Pullet, and are extraordinary Food; especially, in *May* and *June*. When they lay, their Eggs are very good; but they have so many Enemies that find them out, that the hundredth part never comes to Perfection. The Sun and

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Sand

Sand hatch them, which come out the Bigness of a small Chesnut, and seek their own Living.

*Brimstone-Snake.*

We now come again to the Snakes. The Brimstone is so call'd, I believe, because it is almost of a Brimstone Colour. They might as well have call'd it a Glass-Snake, for it is as brittle as a Tobacco-Pipe, so that if you give it the least Touch of a small Twigg, it immediately breaks into several Pieces. Some affirm, that if you let it remain where you broke it, it will come together again. What Harm there is in this brittle Ware, I cannot tell; but I never knew any body hurt by them.

*Chicken-Snake.*

The Egg or Chicken-Snake is so call'd, because it is frequent about the Hen-Yard, and eats Eggs and Chickens, they are of a dusky Soot Colour, and will roll themselves round, and stick eighteen, or twenty Foot high, by the side of a smooth-bark'd Pine, where there is no manner of Hold, and there sun themselves, and sleep all the Sunny Part of the Day. There is no great matter of Poison in them.

*Wood-Worm.*

The Wood-Worms are of a Copper, shining Colour, scarce so thick as your little Finger; are often found in Rotten-Trees. They are accounted venomous, in case they bite, though I never knew any thing hurt by them. They never exceed four or five Inches in length.

The Reptiles, or smaller *Insects*, are too numerous to relate here, this Country affording innumerable Quantities thereof; as the Flying-Stags with Horns, Beetles, Butterflies, Grasshoppers, Locust, and several hundreds of uncouth Shapes, which in the Summer-Season are discovered here in *Carolina*, the Description of which requires a large Volume, which is not my Intent at present. Besides, what the Mountainous Part of this Land may hereafter lay open to our View, Time and Industry will discover, for we that have settled but a small Share of this large Province, cannot imagine, but there will be a great number of Discoveries made by those that shall come hereafter into the Back-part of this Land, and make Enquiries therein, when, at least, we consider that the Westward of *Carolina* is quite different in Soil, Air, Weather, Growth of Vegetables, and several Animals too, which we at present are wholly Strangers to, and to seek for. As to a right Knowledge thereof, I say, when another Age is come, the Ingenious then in being may stand upon

upon the Shoulders of those that went before them, adding their own Experiments to what was delivered down to them by their Predecessors, and then there will be something towards a complete Natural History, which (in these days) would be no easie Undertaking to any Author that writes truly and compendiously, as he ought to do. It is sufficient at present, to write an honest and fair Account of any of the Settlements, in this new World, without wandring out of the Path of Truth, or bespattering any Man's Reputation any wise concern'd in the Government of the Colony; he that mixes Invectives with Relations of this Nature rendering himself suspected of Partiality in whatever he writes. For my part, I wish all well, and he that has received any severe Dealings from the Magistrate or his Superiours, had best examine himself well, if he was not first in the Fault; if so, then he can justly blame none but himself for what has happen'd to him.

Having thus gone thro' the *Insects*, as in the Table, except the Eel-Snake, (so call'd, though very improperly, because he is nothing but a Loach, that sucks, and cannot bite, as the Snakes do.) He is very large, commonly sixteen Inches, or a Foot and half long; having all the Properties that other Loaches have, and dwells in Pools and Waters, as they do. Notwithstanding, we have the same Loach as you have, in Bigness.

This is all that at present I shall mention, touching the *Insects*, and so go on to give an Account of the Fowls and Birds, that are properly found in *Carolina*, which are these.

Birds of Carolina.

<i>Eagle bald.</i>	<i>Ring-tail.</i>
<i>Eagle gray.</i>	<i>Raven.</i>
<i>Fishing Hawk.</i>	<i>Crow.</i>
<i>Turkey Buzzard, or Vulture.</i>	<i>Black Birds, two sorts.</i>
<i>Herring-tail'd Hawk.</i>	<i>Buntings two sorts.</i>
<i>Goshawk.</i>	<i>Pheasant.</i>
<i>Falcon.</i>	<i>Woodcock.</i>
<i>Merlin.</i>	<i>Snipe.</i>
<i>Sparrow-hawk.</i>	<i>Partridge.</i>
<i>Hobby.</i>	<i>Moorhen.</i>

*Birds in America more beautiful than in Europe.*

T 2

*Jay.*

*Jay.*  
*Green Plover.*  
*Plover gray or whistling.*  
*Pigeon.*  
*Turtle Dove.*  
*Parrakeeto.*  
*Thrush.*  
*Wood-Peckers, five sorts.*  
*Mocking-birds, two sorts.*  
*Cat-Bird.*  
*Cuckoo.*  
*Blue-Bird.*  
*Bulfinch.*  
*Nightingale.*  
*Hedge-Sparrow.*  
*Wren.*  
*Sparrows, two sorts.*  
*Lark.*

*Red Bird.*  
*East-India Bat.*  
*Martins, two sorts.*  
*Diveling, or Swift.*  
*Swallow.*  
*Humming Bird.*  
*The Tom-Tit, or Ox-Eye.*  
*Owls, two sorts.*  
*Scritch Owl.*  
*Baltimore bird.*  
*Throftle, no Singer.*  
*Whippoo Will.*  
*Reed Sparrow.*  
*Weet bird.*  
*Rice bird.*  
*Cranes and Storks.*  
*Snow-birds.*  
*Yellow-wings.*

Water  
Fowl.

Water Fowl are,

*Swans, called Trompeters.*  
*Swans, called Hoopers.*  
*Geese, three sorts.*  
*Brant gray.*  
*Brant white.*  
*Sea-pies or pied Curlues.*  
*Will Wilers.*  
*Great Gray Gulls.*  
*Old Wives.*  
*Sea Cock.*  
*Curlues, three sorts.*  
*Coots.*  
*Kings-fisher.*  
*Loons, two sorts.*  
*Bitterns, three sorts.*  
*Hern gray.*  
*Hern white.*  
*Water Pheasant.*  
*Little gray Gull.*  
*Little Fisher, or Dipper.*

*Ducks, as in England.*  
*Ducks black, all Summer.*  
*Ducks pied, build on Trees.*  
*Ducks whistling, at Sapona.*  
*Ducks scarlet-eye at Elaw.*  
*Blue-wings.*  
*Widgeon.*  
*Teal, two sorts.*  
*Shovelers.*  
*Whiffers.*  
*Black Flusterers, or bald Coots.*  
*Turkeys wild.*  
*Fishermen.*  
*Divers.*  
*Raft Fowl.*  
*Bull-necks.*  
*Redheads.*  
*Tropick-birds.*  
*Pellican.*  
*Cormorant.*

*Gannet.**Shear-water.**Great black pied Gull.**Marsh-hens.**Blue Peter's.**Sand-birds.**Runners.**Tutcocks.**Swaddle-bills.**Men.**Sheldrakes.**Bald Faces.**Water Witch, or Ware Coot.*

As the Eagle is reckon'd the King of Birds I have begun *Bald-Ea-* with him. The first I shall speak of, is the bald Eagle; *so glc.* call'd, because his Head, to the middle of his Neck, and his Tail, is as white as Snow. These Birds continually breed the Year round; for when the young Eagles are just down'd, with a sort of white woolly Feathers, the Hen-Eagle lays again, which Eggs are hatch'd by the Warmth of the young ones in the Nest, so that the Flight of one Brood makes Room for the next, that are but just hatch'd. They prey on any living thing they can catch. They are heavy of Flight, and cannot get their Food by Swiftness, to help which there is a Fishhawk that catches Fishes, and suffers the Eagle to take them from her, although she is long-wing'd and a swift Flyer, and can make far better way in her Flight than the Eagle can. The bald Eagle attends the Gunners in Winter, with all the Obsequiousness imaginable, and when he shoots and kills any Fowl, the Eagle surely comes in for his Bird; and besides, those that are wounded, and escape the Fowler, fall to the Eagle's share. He is an excellent Artist at stealing young Pigs, which Prey he carries alive to his Nest, at which time the poor Pig makes such a Noise over Head, that Strangers that have heard them cry, and not seen the Bird and his Prey, have thought there were Flying Sows and Pigs in that Country. The Eagle's Nest is made of Twigs, Sticks and Rubbish. It is big enough to fill a handsome Cart's Body, and commonly so full of nasty Bones and Carcasses that it stinks most offensively. This Eagle is not bald, till he is one or two years old.

The gray Eagle is altogether the same sort of Bird, as the *Gray-Ea-* Eagle in *Europe*; therefore, we shall treat no farther of *gle.* him.

The Fishing-Hawk is the Eagle's Jackal, which most com- *Fishing-* monly; (though not always) takes his Prey for him. He is a *Hawk.* large

large Bird, being above two thirds as big as the Eagle. He builds his Nest as the Eagles do; that is, in a dead Cypress-Tree, either standing in, or hard by, the Water. The Eagle and this Bird seldom sit on a living Tree. He is of a gray pied Colour; and the most dexterous Fowl in Nature at Catching of Fish, which he wholly lives on, never eating any Flesh.

*Turkey-Buzzard.* The Turkey-Buzzard of *Carolina* is a small Vulture, which lives on any dead Carcasses. They are about the Bigness of the Fishing-Hawk, and have a nasty Smell with them. They are of the Kites Colour, and are reported to be an Enemy to Snakes, by killing all they meet withal of that Kind.

*Herring-tail'd Hawk.* The Herring, or Swallow-tail'd Hawk, is about the Bigness of a Falcon, but a much longer Bird. He is of a delicate Aurora-Colour; the Pinions of his Wings, and End of his Tail are black. He is a very beautiful Fowl, and never appears abroad but in the Summer. His Prey is chiefly on Snakes, and will kill the biggest we have, with a great deal of Dexterity and Ease.

*Goshawk.* Goshawks are very plentiful in *Carolina*. They are not seemingly so large as those from *Muscovy*; but appear to be a very brisk Bird.

*Falcon.* The Falcon is much the same as in *Europe*, and promises to be a brave Bird, tho' I never had any of them in my Hand; neither did I ever see any of them in any other Posture than on the Wing, which always happen'd to be in an Evening, and flying to the Westward; therefore, I believe, they have their Abode and Nest among the Mountains, where we may expect to find them, and several other Species that we are at present Strangers to.

*Merlin.* The Merlin is a small Bird in *Europe*, but much smaller here; yet he very nimbly kills the smaller sorts of Birds, and sometimes the Partridge; if caught alive, he would be a great Rarity, because of his Beauty and Smalness.

*Sparrow-Hawk.* The Sparrow-Hawk in *Carolina* is no bigger than a Field-fare in *England*. He flies at the Bush and sometimes kills a small Bird, but his chiefest Food is Reptiles, as Beetles, Grasshoppers, and such small things. He is exactly of the same Colour, as the Sparrow-Hawk in *England*, only has a blackish Hood by his Eyes.

Hob-



Hobbies are the same here as in *England*, and are not often *Hobby*. met withal.

The Ring-tail is a short-wing'd Hawk, preying on Mice, *Ring-Tail*. and such Vermine in the Marshes, as in *England*.

Ravens, the same as in *England*, though very few. I have *Ravens*. not seen above six in eight Years time.

Crows are here less than in *England*. They are as good *Crows*. Meat as a Pigeon; and never feed on any Carrion. They are great Enemies to the Corn-Fields; and cry and build almost like Rooks.

Of these we have two sorts, which are the worst Vermine *Black-* in *America*. They fly sometimes in such Flocks, that they *Birds*. destroy every thing before them. They (both sorts) build in hollow Trees, as Starlings do. The first sort is near as big as a Dove, and is very white and delicate Food. The other sort is very beautiful, and about the Bigness of the Owl. Part of their Head, next to the Bill, and the Pini- ons of their Wings, are of an Orange, and glorious Crimson Colour. They are as good Meat as the former, tho' very few here (where large Fowl are so plenty) ever trouble themselves to kill or dress them.

Of the Bunting-Larks we have two sorts, though the Heel *Bunting* of this Bird is not so long as in *Europe*. The first of these *two sorts*. often accompany the Black-birds, and sing as the Bunting-Larks in *England* do, differing very little. The first sort has an Orange-Colour on the Tops of their Wings, and are as good Meat as those in *Europe*. The other sort is something less, of a lighter Colour; nothing differing therein from those in *England*, as to Feathers, Bigness, and Meat.

The Pheasant of *Carolina* differs some small matter from *Pheasant*. the *English* Pheasant, being not so big, and having some difference in Feather; yet he is not any wise inferior in Delicacy, but is as good Meat, or rather finer. He haunts the back Woods, and is seldom found near the Inhabitants.

The Woodcocks live and breed here, though they are not *Woodcock*. in great plenty, as I have seen them in some Parts of *England*, and other Places. They want one third of the *English* Woodcock in Bigness; but differ not in Shape, or Feather, save that their Breast is of a Carnation Colour; and they make a Noise (when they are on the Wing) like the Bells about a Hawk's Legs. They are certainly as dainty Meat,

as any in the World. Their Abode is in all Parts of this Country, in low, boggy Ground, Springs, Swamps, and Percoarsons.

*Snipe.* The Snipes here frequent the same Places, as they do in *England*, and differ nothing from them. They are the only wild Bird that is nothing different from the Species of *Europe*, and keeps with us all the Year. In some Places, there are a great many of these Snipes.

*Partridge.* Our Partridges in *Carolina*, very often take upon Trees, and have a sort of Whistle and Call, quite different from those in *England*. They are a very beautiful Bird, and great Destroyers of the Pease in Plantations; wherefore, they set Traps, and catch many of them. They have the same Feather, as in *Europe*; only the Cock wants the Horse-Shooe, in lieu of which he has a fair Half-Circle over each Eye. These (as well as the Woodcock) are less than the *European* Bird, but far finer Meat. They might be easily transported to any Place, because they take to eating, after caught.

*Moorhen.* The Moorhens are of the black Game. I am inform'd, that the gray Game haunts the Hills. They never come into the Settlement, but keep in the hilly Parts.

*Jay.* Jays are here common, and very mischievous, in devouring our Fruit, and spoiling more than they eat. They are abundantly more beautiful, and finer feather'd than those in *Europe*, and not above half so big.

*Green-Plover.* The Lap-wing or Green-Plover are here very common. They cry pretty much, as the *English* Plovers do; and differ not much in Feather, but want a third of their Bigness.

*Gray-Plover.* The gray or whistling Plover, are very scarce amongst us. I never saw any but three times, that fell and settled on the Ground. They differ very little from those in *Europe*, as far as I could discern. I have seen several great Flocks of them fly over head; therefore, believe, they inhabit the Valleys near the Mountains.

*Pigeons.* Our wild Pigeons, are like the Wood-Queese or Stock-Doves, only have a longer Tail. They leave us in the Summer. This sort of Pigeon (as I said before) is the most like our Stock-Doves, or Wood-Pigeons that we have in *England*; only these differ in their Tails, which are very long, much like a Parrakeeto's? You must understand, that these  
Birds

Birds do not breed amongst us, (who are settled at, and near the Mouths of the Rivers, as I have intimated to you before) but come down (especially in hard Winters) amongst the Inhabitants, in great Flocks, as they were seen to do in the Year 1707, which was the hardest Winter that ever was known, since *Carolina* has been seated by the Christians. And if that Country had such hard Weather, what must be expected of the severe Winters in *Pensylvania*, *New-York*, and *New-England*, where Winters are ten times (if possible) colder than with us. Although the Flocks are, in such Extremities, very numerous; yet they are not to be mention'd in Comparison with the great and infinite Numbers of these Fowl, that are met withal about a hundred, or a hundred and fifty, Miles to the Westward of the Places where we at present live; and where these Pigeons come down, in quest of a small sort of Acorns, which in those Parts are plentifully found. They are the same we call Turkey-Acorns, because the wild Turkeys feed very much thereon; And for the same Reason, those Trees that bear them, are call'd Turkey-Oaks. I saw such prodigious Flocks of these Pigeons, in *January* or *February*, 1701-2, (which were in the hilly Country, between the great Nation of the *Efew Indians*, and the pleasant Stream of *Sapona*, which is the West-Branch of *Clarendon*, or *Cape-Fair River*) that they had broke down the Limbs of a great many large Trees all over those Woods, whereon they chanced to sit and roost; especially the great Pines, which are a more brittle Wood, than our sorts of Oak are. These Pigeons, about Sun-Rise, when we were preparing to march on our Journey, would fly by us in such vast Flocks, that they would be near a Quarter of an Hour, before they were all pass'd by; and as soon as that Flock was gone, another would come; and so successively one after another, for great part of the Morning. It is observable, that wherever these Fowl come in such Numbers, as I saw them then, they clear all before them, scarce leaving one Acorn upon the Ground, which would, doubtless, be a great Prejudice to the Planters that should seat there, because their Swine would be thereby depriv'd of their Mast. When I saw such Flocks of the Pigeons I now speak of, none of our Company had any other sort of Shot, than that which is cast in Moulds, and was so very large, that we could not put above ten or a

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dozen

dozen of them into our largest Pieces; Wherefore, we made but an indifferent Hand of shooting them; although we commonly kill'd a Pigeon for every Shot. They were very fat, and as good Pigeons, as ever I eat. I enquired of the *Indians* that dwell'd in those Parts, where it was that those Pigeons bred, and they pointed towards the vast Ridge of Mountains, and said, they bred there. Now, whether they make their Nests in the Holes in the Rocks of those Mountains, or build in Trees, I could not learn; but they seem to me to be a Wood-Pigeon, that build in Trees, because of their frequent sitting thereon, and their Roosting on Trees always at Night, under which their Dung commonly lies half a Foot thick, and kills every thing that grows where it falls.

*Turtle Doves.* Turtle Doves are here very plentiful; they devour the Pease; for which Reason, People make Traps and catch them.

*Parrakeetos.* The Parrakeetos are of a green Colour, and Orange-Colour'd half way their Head. Of these and the Allegators, there is none found to the Northward of this Province. They visit us first, when Mulberries are ripe, which Fruit they love extremely. They peck the Apples, to eat the Kernels, so that the Fruit rots and perishes. They are mischievous to Orchards. They are often taken alive, and will become familiar and tame in two days. They have their Nests in hollow Trees, in low, swampy Ground. They devour the Birch-Buds in *April*, and lie hidden when the Weather is frosty and hard.

*Thrushes.* The Thrushes in *America*, are the same as in *England*, and red under the Wings. They never appear amongst us but in hard Weather, and presently leave us again.

*Wood-Peckers.* Of Wood-peckers, we have four sorts. The first is as big as a Pigeon, being of a dark brown Colour, with a white Cross on his Back, his Eyes circled with white, and on his Head stands a Tuft of beautiful Scarlet Feathers. His Cry is heard a long way; and he flies from one rotten Tree to another, to get Grubs, which is the Food he lives on.

*Second.* The second sort are of an Olive-Colour, striped with yellow. They eat Worms as well as Grubs, and are about the Bigness of those in *Europe*.

The

The third is the same Bigness as the last; he is pied with <sup>*Bird.*</sup> black and white, has a Crimson Head, without a Topping, and is a Plague to the Corn and Fruit; especially the Apples. He opens the Covering of the young Corn, so that the Rain gets in, and rots it.

The fourth sort of these Wood-peckers, is a black and <sup>*Fourth.*</sup> white speckled, or mottled; the finest I ever saw. The Cock has a red Crown; he is not near so big as the others; his Food is Grubs, Corn, and other creeping Insects. He is not very wild, but will let one come up to him, then shifts on the other side the Tree, from your sight; and so dodges you for a long time together. He is about the size of an *English* Lark.

The Mocking-Bird is about as big as a Throstle in *England*, <sup>*Mocking-*</sup> but longer; they are of a white, and gray Colour, and are <sup>*Birds.*</sup> held to be the Choristers of *America*, as indeed they are. They sing with the greatest Diversity of Notes, that is possible for a Bird to change to. They may be bred up, and will sing with us tame in Cages; yet I never take any of their Nests, altho' they build yearly in my Fruit-Trees, because I have their Company, as much as if tame, as to the singing Part. They often sit upon our Chimneys in Summer, there being then no Fire in them, and sing the whole Evening and most part of the Night. They are always attending our Dwellings; and feed upon Mulberries and other Berries and Fruits; especially the *Mechoacan*-berry, which grows here very plentifully.

There is another sort call'd the Ground-Mocking-Bird. <sup>*ad: ferr.*</sup> She is the same bigness, and of a Cinnamon Colour. This Bird sings excellently well, but is not so common amongst us as the former.

The Cat-Bird, so nam'd, because it makes a Noise <sup>*Cat-Bird.*</sup> exactly like young Cats. They have a blackish Head, and an Ash-coloured Body, and have no other Note that I know of. They are no bigger than a Lark, yet will fight a Crow or any other great Bird.

The Cuckoo of *Carolina* may not properly be so call'd, be- <sup>*Cuckoo.*</sup> cause she never uses that Cry; yet she is of the same Bigness and Feather, and sucks the Small-Birds Eggs, as the *English* Cuckoo does.

- Blue-Bird.* A Blue-Bird is the exact Bigness of a Robin-red-breast. The Cock has the same colour'd Breast as the Robin has, and his Back, and all the other Parts of him, are of as fine a Blue, as can possibly be seen in any thing in the World. He has a Cry, and a Whistle. They hide themselves all the Winter.
- Bulfinch.* Bulfinches, in *America*, differ something from those in *Europe*, in their Feathers, tho' not in their Bigness. I never knew any one tame, therefore know not, what they might be brought to.
- Nightingale.* The Nightingales are different in Plumes from those in *Europe*. They always frequent the low Groves, where they sing very prettily all Night.
- Hedge-Sparrow.* Hedge-Sparrows are here, though few Hedges. They differ icarce any thing in Plume or Bigness, only I never heard this Whistle, as the *English* one does; especially after Rain.
- Wren.* The Wren is the same as in *Europe*, yet I never heard any Note she has in *Carolina*.
- Sparrow.* Sparrows here differ in Feather from the *English*. We have several Species of Birds call'd Sparrows, one of them much resembling the Bird call'd a *Corimbian* Sparrow.
- Lark.* The Lark with us resorts to the Savannas, or natural Meads, and green Marshes. He is colour'd and heel'd as the Lark is; but his Breast is of a glittering fair Lemon-Colour, and he is as big as a Fieldfare, and very fine Food.
- Red-Birds.* The Red-Birds (whose Cock is all over of a rich Scarlet Feather, with a tufted Crown on his Head, of the same Colour) are the Bigness of a Bunting-Lark, and very hardy, having a strong thick Bill. They will sing very prettily, when taken old, and put in a Cage. They are good Birds to turn a Cage with Bells; or if taught, as the Bulfinch is, I believe, would prove very docible.
- East-India Bats.* *East-India* Bats or Musqueto Hawks, are the Bigness of a Cuckoo, and much of the same Colour. They are so call'd, because the same sort is found in the *East-Indies*. They appear only in the Summer, and live on Flies, which they catch in the Air, as Gnats, Musquetos, &c.
- Martins.* Martins are here of two sorts. The first is the same as in *England*; the other as big as a Black-Bird. They have white Throats and Breasts, with black Backs. The Planters put Gourds

Gourds on standing Poles, on purpose for these Fowl to build in, because they are a very Warlike Bird, and beat the Crows from the Plantations.

The Swift, or Diving, the same as in *England*.

*Swift.*

Swallows, the same as in *England*.

*Swallow.*

The Humming-Bird is the Miracle of all our wing'd Animals; He is feather'd as a Bird, and gets his Living as the Bees, by sucking the Honey from each Flower. In some of the larger sort of Flowers, he will bury himself, by diving to suck the bottom of it, so that he is quite cover'd, and oftentimes Children catch them in those Flowers, and keep them alive for five or six days. They are of different Colours, the Cock differing from the Hen. The Cock is of a green, red, *Aurora*, and other Colours mixt. He is much less than a Wren, and very nimble. His Nest is one of the greatest Pieces of Workmanship the whole Tribe of wing'd Animals can shew, it commonly hanging on a single Bryar, most artificially woven, a small Hole being left to go in and out at. The Eggs are the Bigness of Pease.

*Humming-Bird.*

The Tom-Tit, or Ox-Eyes, as in *England*.

*Tom-Tit.*

Of Owls we have two sorts; the smaller sort is like ours in *England*; the other sort is as big as a middling Goose, and has a prodigious Head. They make a fearful Hollowing in the Night-time, like a Man, whereby they often make Strangers lose their way in the Woods.

*Owls.*

Scritch Owls, much the same as in *Europe*.

*Scritch*

The *Baltimore-Bird*, so call'd from the Lord *Baltimore*, Proprietor of all *Maryland*, in which Province many of them are found. They are the Bigness of a Linnet, with yellow Wings, and beautiful in other Colours.

*Owls.*

*Baltimore-Bird.*

Throats, the same Size and Feather as in *Europe*, but I never could hear any of them sing.

*Throats.*

The Weet, so call'd because he cries always before Rain; he resembles nearest the Fire-tail.

*Weet Bird.*

Cranes use the Savannas, low Ground, and Frogs; they are above five Foot-high, when extended; are of a Cream Colour, and have a Crimson Spot on the Crown of their Heads. Their Quills are excellent for Pens; their Flesh makes the best Broth, yet is very hard to digest. Among them often frequent Storks, which are here seen, and no where besides in *America*, that I have yet heard of. The Cranes are easily bred,

*Cranes and Storks.*

bred up tame, and are excellent in a Garden to destroy Frogs, Worms, and other Vermine.

*Snow-Birds.*

The Snow-Birds are most numerous in the North Parts of *America*, where there are great Snows. They visit us sometimes in *Carolina*, when the Weather is harder than ordinary. They are like the Stones Smack, or Wheat-Ears, and are delicate Meat.

*Yellow Wings.*

These Yellow-Wings are a very small Bird, of a Linnet's Colour, but Wings as yellow as Gold. They frequent high up in our Rivers, and Creeks, and keep themselves in the thick Bushes, very difficult to be seen in the Spring. They sing very prettily.

*Whippoo-Will.*

*Whippoo-Will*, so nam'd, because it makes those Words exactly. They are the Bigness of a Thrush, and call their Note under a Bush, on the Ground, hard to be seen, though you hear them never so plain. They are more plentiful in *Virginia*, than with us in *Carolina*; for I never heard but one that was near the Settlement, and that was hard-by an *Indian* Town.

*Red Sparrow.*

This nearest resembles a Sparrow, and is the most common Small-Bird we have, therefore we call them so. They are brown, and red, cinnamon Colour, striped.

*Water Fowl.*

Of the Swans we have two sorts; the one we call Trompeters; because of a sort of trompeting Noise they make.

*Swans.*

These are the largest sort we have, which come in great Flocks in the Winter, and stay, commonly, in the fresh Rivers till *February*, that the Spring comes on, when they go to the Lakes to breed. A Cygnet, that is, a last Year's Swan, is accounted a delicate Dish, as indeed it is. They are known by their Head and Feathers, which are not so white as Old ones.

*Hooper.*

The sort of Swans call'd Hoopers, are the least. They abide more in the Salt-Water, and are equally valuable, for Food, with the former. It is observable, that neither of these have a black Piece of horny Flesh down the Head, and Bill, as they have in *England*.

*Wild Geese.*

Of Geese we have three sorts, differing from each other only in size. Ours are not the common Geese that are in the Fens in *England*, but the other sorts, with black Heads and Necks.

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The gray Brant, or Barnicle, is here very plentiful, as all other Water-Fowl are, in the Winter-Season. They are the same which they call Barnicles in *Great-Britain*, and are a very good Fowl, and eat well.

There is also a white Brant, very plentiful in *America*. This Bird is all over as white as Snow, except the Tips of his Wings, and those are black. They eat the Roots of Sedge and Grass in the Marshes and Savannas, which they tear up like Hogs. The best way to kill these Fowl is, to burn a Piece of Marsh, or Savanna, and as soon as it is burnt, they will come in great Flocks to get the Roots, where you kill what you please of them. They are as good Meat as the other, only their Feathers are stubbed, and good for little.

The Sea-Pie, or gray Curlue, is about the Bigness of a very large Pigeon, but longer. He has a long Bill as other Curlues have, which is the Colour of an *English* Owl's, that is, yellow; as are his Legs. He frequents the Sand-beaches on the Sea-side, and when kill'd, is inferiour to no Fowl I ever eat of.

*Will Willet* is so called from his Cry, which he very exactly calls *Will Willet*, as he flies. His Bill is like a Curlue's, and has much such a Body as the other, yet not so tall. He is good Meat.

The great gray Gulls are good Meat, and as large as a Pullet. They lay large Eggs, which are found in very great Quantities, on the Islands in our Sound, in the Months of *June*, and *July*. The young Squabs are very good Victuals, and often prove a Relief to Travellers by Water, that have spent their Provisions.

Old Wives are a black and white pied Gull with extraordinary long Wings, and a golden colour'd Bill and Feet. He makes a dismal Noise, as he flies, and ever and anon dips his Bill in the Salt-Water. I never knew him eaten.

The Sea-Cock is a Gull that crows at Break of Day, in the Morning, exactly like a Dunghil Cock, which Cry seems very pleasant in those uninhabited Places. He is never eaten.

Of Curlues there are three sorts, and vast Numbers of each. They have all long Bills, and differ neither in Colour, nor Shape, only in Size. The largest is as big as a good *Carluce-Coots, Kingfisher, Loons, two* sorts.

good Hen, the smaller the Bigness of a Snipe, or something bigger.

*Bitterns,*  
*three sorts.* We have three sorts of Bitterns in *Carolina*. The first is the same as in *England*; the second of a deep brown, with a great Topping, and yellowish white Throat and Breast, and is lesser than the former; the last is no bigger than a Woodcock, and near the Colour of the second.

*Herns.* We have the same Herns, as in *England*.

*White-Herns.* White Herns are here very plentiful. I have seen above thirty sit on one Tree, at a time. They are as white as Milk, and fly very slowly.

*Water-Pheasant.* The Water-Pheasant (very improperly call'd so) are a Water-Fowl of the Duck-Kind, having a Topping, of pretty Feathers, which sets them out. They are very good Meat.

*Little gray Gull.* The little Gray-Gull is of a curious gray Colour, and abides near the Sea. He is about the Bigness of a Whistling-Plover, and delicate Food.

*Dipper.* We have the little Dipper or Fisher, that catches Fish so dexterously, the same as you have in the Islands of *Scilly*.

*Duck and Mallard.* We have of the same Ducks, and Mallards with green Heads, in great Flocks. They are accounted the coarsest sort of our Water-Fowl.

*Black Duck.* The black Duck is full as large as the other, and good Meat. She stays with us all the Summer, and breeds. These are made tame by some, and prove good Domesticks.

*Summer Duck.* We have another Duck that stays with us all the Summer. She has a great Topping, is pied, and very beautiful. She builds her Nest in a Wood-pecker's Hole, very often sixty or seventy Foot high.

*Whistling Duck.* Towards the Mountains in the hilly Country, on the West-Branch of *Caip-Fair* Inlet, we saw great Flocks of pretty pied Ducks, that whistled as they flew, or as they fed. I did not kill any of them.

*Scarlet Ey'd Duck.* We kill'd a curious sort of Ducks, in the Country of the *Esaw-Indians*, which were of many beautiful Colours. Their Eyes were red, having a red Circle of Flesh for their Eyelids; and were very good to eat.

*Blue-Wings.* The Blue-Wings are less than a Duck, but fine Meat. These are the first Fowls that appear to us in the Fall of the Leaf, coming then in great Flocks, as we suppose, from *Canada*, and the Lakes that lie behind us.

Wid-

Widgeons, the same as in *Europe*, are here in great Plenty. *Widgeon.*  
 We have the same Teal, as in *England*, and another sort *Teal two*  
 that frequents the Fresh-Water, and are always nodding *sorts.*  
 their Heads. They are smaller than the common Teal, and  
 dainty Meat.

Shovellers (a sort of Duck) are gray, with a black Head. *Shovellers.*  
 They are a very good Fowl.

These are called Whistlers, from the whistling Noise they *Whistlers.*  
 make, as they fly.

Black Flusterers; some call these Old Wives. They are *Black-*  
 as black as Ink. The Cocks have white Faces. They always *Flusterers.*  
 remain in the midst of Rivers, and feed upon drift Grass, *or Bald-*  
 Carnels or Sea-Nettles. They are the fattest Fowl I ever *Coot.*  
 saw, and sometimes so heavy with Flesh, that they cannot  
 rise out of the Water. They make an odd sort of Noise when  
 they fly. What Meat they are, I could never learn. Some  
 call these the great bald Coot.

The wild Turkeys I should have spoken of, when I treated *Turkeys.*  
 of the Land-Fowl. There are great Flocks of these in *Caro-*  
*lina.* I have seen about five hundred in a Flock; some of  
 them are very large. I never weigh'd any myself, but have  
 been inform'd of one that weigh'd near sixty Pound Weight.  
 I have seen half a Turkey feed eight hungry Men two Meals.  
 Sometimes the wild breed with the tame ones, which, they  
 reckon, makes them very hardy, as I believe it must. I see  
 no manner of Difference betwixt the wild Turkeys and the  
 tame ones; only the wild are ever of one Colour, (*viz.*) a  
 dark gray, or brown, and are excellent Food. They feed  
 on Acorns, Huckle-Berries, and many other sorts of Berries  
 that *Carolina* affords. The Eggs taken from the Nest, and  
 hatch'd under a Hen, will yet retain a wild Nature, and  
 commonly leave you, and run wild at last, and will never be  
 got into a House to roost, but always perch on some high  
 Tree, hard-by the House, and separate themselves from the  
 tame sort, although (at the same time) they tread and breed  
 together. I have been inform'd, that if you take these wild  
 Eggs, when just on the point of being hatch'd, and dip  
 them (for some small time) in a Bowl of Milk-warm Water,  
 it will take off their wild Nature, and make them as tame  
 and domestick as the others. Some *Indians* have brought  
 these wild Breed hatch'd at home, to be a Decoy to bring  
 others

pieces of them into our Largest Pieces; Wherefore, we made  
 the most advantage made of shooting them; although we  
 commonly kill a Pigeon for every Shot. They were very  
 good Pigeons, as ever I eat. I enquired of the  
 Indians in those Parts, where it was that those  
 Pigeons were bred, and they pointed towards the vast Ridge of  
 Mountains that they bred there. Now, whether  
 they breed in the Holes in the Rocks of those  
 Mountains, or in the Trees, I could not learn; but they  
 are not to be taken as Wood-Pigeons, that build in Trees, be-  
 cause of their frequent sitting thereon, and their Roofing  
 in Trees covers in Night, under which their Dung com-  
 monly lies half a Foot thick, and kills every thing that  
 comes near it.

The Dove are here very plentiful; they devour the  
 Seeds of wheat &c. People make Traps and catch

The Sparrows are of a green Colour, and Orange-Co-  
 loured on their Head. Of these and the Alleigators,  
 there is a great number to the Northward of this Province.  
 They are very good when Mulberries are ripe, which Fruit  
 they eat with pleasure. They peck the Apples, to eat the  
 seeds, and also the Birds nests and perishes. They are mis-  
 erable Creatures. They are often taken alive, and will  
 live in a Cage for some time in two days. They have their  
 Nests in the Trees, or in low, swampy Ground. They de-  
 ceive the Eyes of Men, and lie hidden when the Wea-  
 ther is stormy.

The Hawks are the same as in England, and  
 are very good. They never appear amongst us but  
 in the Winter, and presently leave us again.

The Owls we have four sorts. The first is as  
 large as a Pigeon, being of a dark brown Colour, with a white  
 on his Back, his Eyes circled with white, and on his  
 wings he has a beautiful Scarlet Feathers. His Cry  
 is very loud, and he flies from one rotten Tree to  
 another, to eat Grubs, which is the Food he lives on.

The second sort are of an Olive-Colour, striped with  
 red, and they eat Worms as well as Grubs, and are about  
 the size of those in Europe.

The

Sometimes they are met five hundred Leagues from Land. They live without drinking any fresh Water.

We have a great pied Gull, black and white, which seems *Pied-Gull.* to have a black Hood on his Head; these lay very fair Eggs, which are good; as are the young ones in the Season.

Marsh-Hen, much the same as in *Europe*, only she makes *Marsh-Hen.* another sort of Noise, and much shriller.

The same as you call Water-Hens in *England*, are here very *Blue-Pe-* numerous, and not regarded for eating. *ters.*

The Sand-Birds are about the Bigness of a Lark, and fre- *Sand-*quent our Sand-Beaches; they are a dainty Food, if you will *Birds.* bestow Time and Ammunition to kill them.

These are called Runners; because if you run after them, *Runners.* they will run along the Sands and not offer to get up; so that you may often drive them together to shoot as you please. They are a pleasant small Bird.

A sort of Snipe, but sucks not his Food; they are almost *Turcocks.* the same as in *England*.

Swaddle-Bills are a sort of an ash-colour'd Duck, which have an extraordinary broad Bill, and are good Meat; they are not common as the others are.

The same Mew as in *England*, being a white, slender Bird, *Mew.* with red Feet.

The same as in *England*. *Shel-*

The bald, or white Faces are a good Fowl. They cannot *Bald-* dive, and are easily shotten. *Faces.*

Water-Witch, or Ware-Coots, are a Fowl with Down *Water-* and no Feathers; they dive incomparably, so that no Fowler *Witch.* can hit them. They can neither fly, nor go; but get into the Fish-wards, and cannot fly over the Rods, and so are taken.

Thus have we given an Account of what Fowl has come to our Knowledge, since our Abode in *Carolina*; except some that, perhaps, have slipt our Memory, and so are left out of our Catalogue. Proceed we now to treat of the Inhabitants of the Watry Element, which tho' we can as yet do but very imperfectly; yet we are willing to oblige the Curious with the best Account that is in our Power to present them withal.

The Fish in the salt, and fresh Waters of Carolina, are,

<i>Whales, several sorts.</i>	<i>Mullets.</i>
<i>Thrashers.</i>	<i>Shad.</i>
<i>Dicel-Fish.</i>	<i>Fat-Backs.</i>
<i>Sword-Fish.</i>	<i>Guard, white.</i>
<i>Crampois.</i>	<i>Guard, green.</i>
<i>Bottle-Noses.</i>	<i>Scate or Scingray.</i>
<i>Porpoises.</i>	<i>Thornback.</i>
<i>Sharks, two sorts.</i>	<i>Congar-Eels.</i>
<i>Dog-Fish.</i>	<i>Lamprey-Eels.</i>
<i>Spanish-Mackerel.</i>	<i>Eels.</i>
<i>Cavallies.</i>	<i>Sun-Fish.</i>
<i>Bonero's.</i>	<i>Toad-Fish.</i>
<i>Blue-Fish.</i>	<i>Sea-Tench.</i>
<i>Drum, red.</i>	<i>Trouts of the Salt Water.</i>
<i>Drum-Fish, black.</i>	<i>Crocus.</i>
<i>Angel-Fish.</i>	<i>Herring.</i>
<i>Bass, or Rock-Fish.</i>	<i>Smelts.</i>
<i>Sheeps-Heads.</i>	<i>Shads.</i>
<i>Plaice.</i>	<i>Breams.</i>
<i>Flounder.</i>	<i>Taylor's.</i>
<i>Soles.</i>	

Fresh-Water Fish are,

<i>Sturgeon.</i>	<i>Carp.</i>
<i>Pike.</i>	<i>Roach.</i>
<i>Trouts.</i>	<i>Dace.</i>
<i>Gudgeon.</i>	<i>Loaches.</i>
<i>Pearch Englifh.</i>	<i>Sucking-Fish.</i>
<i>Pearch, white.</i>	<i>Cat-Fish.</i>
<i>Pearch, brown, or Welch-men.</i>	<i>Grindals.</i>
<i>Pearch, flat, and mottled, or Irishmen.</i>	<i>Old-Wives.</i>
<i>Pearch small and flat, with red Spots, call'd round Robins.</i>	<i>Fountain-Fish.</i>
	<i>White-Fish.</i>

The

Gourds on standing Poles, on purpose for these Fowl to build in, because they are a very Warlike Bird, and beat the Crows from the Plantations.

The Swift, or Diving, the same as in *England*.

*Swift.*

Swallows, the same as in *England*.

*Swallow.*

The Humming-Bird is the Miracle of all our wing'd Animals; He is feather'd as a Bird, and gets his Living as the Bees, by sucking the Honey from each Flower. In some of the larger sort of Flowers, he will bury himself, by diving to suck the bottom of it, so that he is quite cover'd, and oftentimes Children catch them in those Flowers, and keep them alive for five or six days. They are of different Colours, the Cock differing from the Hen. The Cock is of a green, red, *Aurora*, and other Colours mixt. He is much less than a Wren, and very nimble. His Nest is one of the greatest Pieces of Workmanship the whole Tribe of wing'd Animals can shew, it commonly hanging on a single Bryar, most artificially woven, a small Hole being left to go in and out at. The Eggs are the Bigness of Pease.

*Humming-Bird.*

The Tom-Tit, or Ox-Eyes, as in *England*.

*Tom-Tit.*

Of Owls we have two sorts; the smaller sort is like ours in *England*; the other sort is as big as a middling Goose, and has a prodigious Head. They make a fearful Hollowing in the Night-time, like a Man, whereby they often make Strangers lose their way in the Woods.

*Owls.*

Scritch Owls, much the same as in *Europe*.

*Scritch*

The *Baltimore-Bird*, so call'd from the Lord *Baltimore*, Proprietor of all *Maryland*, in which Province many of them are found. They are the Bigness of a Linnet, with yellow Wings, and beautiful in other Colours.

*Owls.*  
*Baltimore-Bird.*

Throistle, the same Size and Feather as in *Europe*, but I throistle never could hear any of them sing.

The Weet, so call'd because he cries always before Rain; he resembles nearest the Fire-tail.

*Weet Bird.*

Cranes use the Savannas, low Ground, and Frogs; they are above five Foot-high, when extended; are of a Cream Colour, and have a Crimson Spot on the Crown of their Heads. Their Quills are excellent for Pens; their Flesh makes the best Broth, yet is very hard to digest. Among them often frequent Storks, which are here seen, and no where besides in *America*, that I have yet heard of. The Cranes are easily bred,

*Cranes and*  
*Storks.*

when the Whale-catchers (in other Parts) kill any of these Fish, they eat the Tongue, and esteem it an excellent Dish.

There is another sort of these Whales, or great Fish, though not common. I never knew of above one of that sort, found on the Coast of North Carolina, and he was contrary, in Shape, to all others ever found before him; being sixty Foot in Length, and not above three or four Foot Diameter. Some *Indians* in America will go out to Sea, and get upon a Whales Back, and peg or plug up his Spouts, and so kill him.

*Thrashers* The Thrashers are large Fish, and mortal Enemies to the Whale, as I said before. They make good Oil; but are seldom found.

*Divel-Fish.* The Divel-Fish lies at some of our Inlets, and, as near as I can describe him, is shap'd like a Scate, or Stingray; only he has on his Head a Pair of very thick strong Horns, and is of a monstrous Size, and Strength; for this Fish has been known to weigh a Sloop's Anchor, and run with the Vessel a League or two, and bring her back, against Tide, to almost the same Place. Doubtless, they may afford good Oil; but I have no Experience of any Profits which arise from them.

*Sword-Fish.* The Sword-Fish is the other of the Whale's Enemies, and joins with the Thrasher to destroy that Monster. After they have overcome him, they eat his Tongue, as I said before, and the Whale drives ahoar.

*Crampois.* Crampois is a large Fish, and by some accounted a young Whale; but it is not so; neither is it more than twenty five or thirty Foot long. They spout as the Whale does, and when taken yield good Oil.

*Bottle-Noses.* Bottle-Noses are between the Crampois and Porpois, and lie near the Soundings. They are never seen to swim leisurely, as sometimes all other Fish do, but are continually running after their Prey in Great Shoals, like wild Horses, leaping now and then above the Water. The *French* esteem them good Food, and eat them both fresh and salt.

*Porpoises.* Porpoises are frequent, all over the Ocean and Rivers that are salt; nay, we have a Fresh-Water Lake in the great Sound of North Carolina that has Porpoises in it. And several sorts of other unknown Fish, as the *Indians* say, that we are wholly Strangers to. As to the Porpoises, they make good Oil;



Oil; they prey upon other Fish as Drums, yet never are known to take a Bait, so as to be catch'd with a Hook.

Of these there are two sorts; one call'd *Paracoda-Noses*; *Sharks*. the other Shovel-Noses; they cannot take their Prey before they turn themselves on their Backs; wherefore some Negro's, and others, that can swim and dive well, go naked into the Water, with a Knife in their Hand, and fight the Shark, and very commonly kill him, or wound him so, that he turns Tail, and runs away. Their Livors make good Oil to dress Leather withal; the Bones found in their Head are said to hasten the Birth, and ease the Stone, by bringing it away. Their Meat is eaten in scarce times; but I never could away with it, though a great Lover of Fish. Their Back-Bone is of one entire Thickness. Of the Bones, or Joints, I have known Buttons made, which serve well enough in scarce Times, and remote Places.

The Dog-Fish are a small sort of the Shark Kind; and are *Dog-Fish*. caught with Hook and Line, fishing for Drums. They say, they are good Meat; but we have so many other sorts of delicate Fish, that I shall hardly ever make Tryal what they are.

*Spanish* Mackarel are, in Colour and Shape, like the common Mackarel, only much thicker. They are caught with *Mackarel*. Hook and Line at the Inlets, and sometimes out a little way at Sea. They are a very fine hard Fish, and of good Taste. They are about two Foot long, or better.

*Cavallies* are taken in the same Places. They are of a brownish Colour, have exceeding small Scales, and a very thick Skin; they are as firm a Fish as ever I saw; therefore will keep sweet (in the hot Weather) two days, when others will stink in half a day, unless salted. They ought to be scaled as soon as taken; otherwise you must pull off the Skin and Scales, when boiled; the Skin being the choicest of the Fish. The Meat, which is white and large, is dress'd with this Fish.

Boneto's are a very palatable Fish, and near a Yard long. *Boneto's*. They haunt the Inlets and Water near the Ocean; and are killed with the Harpoon, and Fishgig.

The Blue Fish is one of our best Fishes, and always very *Blue-Fish*. fat. They are as long as a Salmon, and indeed, I think, full as good Meat. These Fish come (in the Fall of the Year) generally,

generally after there has been one black Frost, when there appear great Shoals of them. The *Histeras Indians*, and others, run into the Sands of the Sea, and strike them, though some of these Fish have caused Sicknefs and violent Burnings after eating of them, which is found to proceed from the Gall that is broken in some of them, and is hurtful. Sometimes, many Cart-loads of these are thrown and left dry on the Sea side, which comes by their eager Pursuit of the small Fish, in which they run themselves ashoar, and the Tide leaving them, they cannot recover the Water again. They are called Blue-Fish, because they are of that Colour, and have a forked Tail, and are shaped like a Dolphin.

*Red-  
Drum*

The Red Drum is a large Fish much bigger than the Blue-Fish. The Body of this is good firm Meât, but the Head is beyond all the Fish I ever met withal for an excellent Dish. We have greater Numbers of these Fish, than of any other sort. People go down and catch as many Barrels full as they please, with Hook and Line, especially every young Flood, when they bite. These are salted up, and transported to other Colonies, that are bare of Provisions.

*Black-  
Drum.*

Black Drums are a thicker-made Fish than the Red Drum, being shap'd like a fat Pig; they are a very good Fish, but not so common with us as to the Northward.

*Angel-Fish.*

The Angel-Fish is shaped like an *English Bream*. He is so call'd, from his golden Colour, which shines all about his Head and Belly. This is accounted a very good Fish; as are most in these Parts. The *Bermudians* have the same sort of Fish, and esteem them very much.

*Rock-Fish.*

Bass or Rock is both in Salt and Fresh-Water; when young, he much resembles a Grayling, but grows to the size of the large Cod-Fish. They are a very good firm Fish. Their Heads are souced, and make a noble Dish, if large.

*Sheeps-  
Head.*

Sheeps-Head has the general Vogue of being the choicest Fish in this Place. Indeed, it is a very delicate Fish, and well relish'd; yet I think, there are several others full as good as the Sheeps-Head. He is much of the Bigness of the Angel-Fish, and flat as he is; they sometimes weigh two or three Pound Weight. This Fish hath Teeth like a Sheep, and is therefore so call'd.

*Plaice.*

Plaice are here very large, and plentiful, being the same as in *England*.

Flounders

Flounders should have gone amongst the Fresh-Water *Flounder*. Fish, because they are caught there, in great Plenty.

Soles are a Fish we have but lately discover'd; they are as *Soles*. good, as in any other Part.

Mullets, the same as in *England*, and great Plenty in all *Mullets*. Places where the Water is salt or brackish.

Shads are a sweet Fish, but very bony; they are very plen- *Shads*. tiful at some Seasons.

Fat-Backs are a small Fish, like Mullets, but the fattest *Fat-Backs*. ever known. They put nothing into the Pan, to fry these. They are excellent sweet Food.

The white Guard-Fish is shaped almost like a Pike, but *White* slenderer; his Mouth has a long small Bill set with Teeth, in *Guard-* which he catches small Fish; his Scales are knit together *Fish*. like Armour. When they dress him, they strip him, taking off Scales and Skin together. His Meat is very white, and rather looks like Flesh than Fish. The *English* account them no good Fish; but the *Indians* do. The Gall of this Fish is green, and a violent Cathartick, if taken inwardly.

The green Guard is shaped, in all respects, like the other, *Green-* save that his Scales are very small and fine. He is indifferent *Guard*. good Meat; his Bones, when boil'd or fry'd, remain as green as Grass. The same sort of Fish come before the Mackarel in *England*.

Scate, or Stingray, the same as in *England*, and very com- *Scate*. mon; but the great Plenty of other Fish makes these not regarded; for few or none eat them in *Carolina*, though they are almost at every ones Door.

Thornbacks are the same as in *England*. They are not so *Thornback*. common as the Scate and Whip-Rays.

Congar-Eels always remain in the Salt-Water; they are *Congar-* much more known in the Northward Parts of *America*, than *Eels*. with us.

Lampreys are not common; I never saw but one, which *Lamprey*. was large, and caught by the *Indians*, in a Ware. They would not eat him, but gave him to me.

Eels are no where in the World better, or more plentiful, *Eels*. than in *Carolina*.

Sun-Fish are flat and rounder than a Bream, and are *Sun-Fish*. reckon'd a fine-tasted Fish, and not without Reason. They are much the size of Angel-Fish.



The *Indians* upon and towards the Heads and Falls of our Rivers, strike a great many of these, and eat them; yet the *Indians* near the Salt-Waters will not eat them. I have seen an *Indian* strike one of these Fish, seven Foot long, and leave him on the Sands to be eaten by the Gulls. In *May*, they run up towards the Heads of the Rivers, where you see several hundreds of them in one day. The *Indians* have another way to take them, which is by Nets at the end of a Pole. The Bones of these Fish make good Nutmeg-Graters.

The Jack, Pike, or Pickerel, is exactly the same, in *Caro-<sup>Pike-</sup>lina*, as they are in *England*. Indeed, I never saw this Fish so big and large in *America*, as I have in *Europe*, these with us being seldom above two Foot long, as far as I have yet seen. They are very plentiful with us in *Carolina*, all our Creeks and Ponds being full of them. I once took out of a Ware, above three hundred of these Fish, at a time.

The same in *England* as in *Carolina*; but ours are a great *Troub-* way up the Rivers and Brooks, that are fresh, having swift Currents, and stony, and gravelly Bottoms

The same Gudgeons as in *Europe* are found in *America*. *Gudgeon.*

The same sort of Pearch as are in *England*, we have like-*First* wise in *Carolina*, though, I think, ours never rise to be so *Pearch.* large as in *England*.

We have a white Pearch, so call'd, because he is of a Silver-*Second* Colour, otherwise like the *English* Pearch. These we have *Pearch,* in great Plenty, and they are preferable to the red ones.

The brown Pearch, which some call *Welch-men*, are the *Third* largest sort of Pearches that we have, and very firm, white *Pearch.* and sweet Fish. These grow to be larger than any *Carp*, and are very frequent in every Creek and Pond.

The flat or mottled Pearch are shaped almost like a Bream. *Fourth* They are called *Irish-men*, being freckled or mottled with *flat.* black, and blue Spots. They are never taken any where, but in the fresh Water. They are good Fish; but I do not approve of them, no more than of the other sorts of Pearch.

We have another sort of Pearch, which is the least sort of *Fifth* all, but as good Meat as any. These are distinguish'd from *Pearch,* the other sorts, by the Name of *Round-Robins*; being flat, *or Round* and very round-shap'd; they are spotted with red Spots very *Robin.*

beautiful, and are easily caught with an Angle, as all the other sort of Pearches are.

*Carp.*  
*Roach.*  
*Dace.*

We have the same Carp as you have in *England*.

And the same Roach; only scarce so large.

Dace are the same as yours too; but neither are these so large nor plentiful, as with you.

*Loach.*  
*Sucking-Fish.*

The same as in *England*.

Sucking-Fish are the nearest in Taste and Shape to a Barbel, only they have no Barbs.

*Cat-Fish.*

Cat-Fish are a round blackish Fish, with a great flat Head, a wide Mouth, and no Scales; they something resemble Eels in Taste. Both this sort, and another that frequents the Salt Water, are very plentiful.

*Grindals.*

Grindals are a long scaled Fish with small Eyes; and frequent Ponds, Lakes, and slow-running Creeks and Swamps. They are a soft sorry Fish, and good for nothing; though some eat them for good Fish.

*Old-Wives.*

These are a bright scaly Fish, which frequent the Swamps, and fresh Runs; they seem to be between an *English* Roach and a Bream, and eat much like the latter. The *Indians* kill abundance of these, and barbecue them, till they are crisp, then transport them, in wooden Hurdles, to their Towns and Quarters.

*Fountain-Fish.*

The Fountain-Fish are a white sort which breed in the clear Running Springs and Fountains of Water, where the Clearness thereof makes them very difficult to be taken. I cannot say how good they are; because I have not as yet tasted of them.

*White-Fish.*

The white Fish are very large; some being two Foot and a half long and more. They are found a great way up in the Freshes of the Rivers; and are firm Meat, and an extraordinary well-relish'd Fish.

*Barbouts*  
*Millers*  
*Thumbs.*

Barbouts and Millers-Thumbs, are the very same here, in all respects, as they are in *England*. What more are in the fresh Waters we have not discover'd, but are satisfied, that we are not acquainted with one third part thereof; for we are told by the *Indians*, of a great many strange and uncouth shapes and sorts of Fish, which they have found in the Lakes laid down in my Chart. However as we can give no farther Account of these than by Hear-say; I proceed to treat of the Shell-

Shell-Fish that are found in the Salt-Water, so far as they have already come to our Knowledge.

The large Crabs, which we call Stone-Crabs, are the same *Large* sort as in *England*, having black Tips at the end of their *Crabs* Claws. These are plentifully met withal, down in *Core* Sound, and the South Parts of *North-Carolina*.

The smaller flat Crabs I look upon to be the sweetest of *Small flat* all the Species. They are the Breadth of a lusty Man's Hand, *Crabs* or rather larger. These are innumerable, lying in most prodigious quantities, all over the Salts of *Carolina*. They are taken not only to eat, but are the best Bait for all sorts of Fish, that live in the Salt-Water. These Fish are mischievous to Night-Hooks, because they get away all the Bait from the Hooks.

Oysters, great and small, are found almost in every Creek and Gut of Salt-Water, and are very good and well-relish'd. *Oysters* The large Oysters are excellent, pickled.

One Cockle in *Carolina* is as big as five or six in *England*. *Cockles* They are often thrown upon the Sands on the Sound-Side, where the Gulls are always ready to open and eat them.

Clams are a sort of Cockles, only differing in Shell, which *Clams* is thicker and not streak'd, or ribb'd. These are found throughout all the Sound and Salt-Water-Ponds. The Meat is the same for Look and Taste as the Cockle. These make an excellent strong Broth, and eat well, either roasted or pickled.

The Muscles in *Carolina* have a very large Shell, striped *Muscles* with Dents. They grow by the side of Ponds and Creeks, in Salt-Water, wherein you may get as many of them as you please. I do not like them so well as the *English* Muscle, which is no good Shell-Fish.

Some of the Shells of these are as large as a Man's Hand, *Conks* but the lesser sort are the best Meat, and those not extraordinary. They are shap'd like the end of a Horses Yard. Of their Shells, the Peak or *Wampum* is made, which is the richest Commodity amongst the *Indians*. They breed like a long Thing shap'd like a Snake, but containing a sort of Joints, in the Hollowness whereof are thousands of small Coaks, no bigger then small Grains of Pepper.

The





Craw-Fish, in the Brooks, and small Rivers of Water, amongst the *Tuskeruro Indians*, and up higher, are found very plentifully, and as good as any in the World. Craw-Fish

And thus I have gone through the several Species of Fish, so far as they have come to my Knowledge, in the eight Years that I have lived in *Carolina*. I should have made a larger Discovery, when travelling so far towards the Mountains, and amongst the Hills, had it not been in the Winter-Season, which was improper to make any Enquiry into any of the Species before recited. Therefore, as my Intent was, I proceed to what remains of the *Present State of Carolina*, having already accounted for the Animals, and Vegetables, as far as this Volume would allow of; whereby the Remainder, though not exactly known, may yet be guess'd at, if we consider what Latitude *Carolina* lies in, which reaches from 29 to 36 deg. 30 min. Northern Latitude, as I have before observ'd. Which Latitude is as fertile and pleasant, as any in the World, as well for the Produce of Minerals, Fruit, Grain, and Wine, as other rich Commodities. And indeed, all the Experiments that have been made in *Carolina*, of the Fertility and natural Advantages of the Country, have exceeded all Expectation, as affording some Commodities, which other Places, in the same Latitude, do not. As for Minerals, as they are subterraneous Products, so, in all new Countries, they are the Species that are last discover'd; and especially, in *Carolina*, where the *Indians* never look for any thing lower than the Superficies of the Earth, being a Race of Men the least addicted to delving of any People that inhabit so fine a Country as *Carolina* is. As good if not better Mines than those the *Spaniards* possess in *America*, lie full West from us; and I am certain, we have as Mountainous Land, and as great Probability of having rich Minerals in *Carolina*, as any of those Parts that are already found to be so rich therein. But, waving this Subject, till some other Opportunity, I shall now give you some Observations in general, concerning *Carolina*; which are, first, that it lies as convenient for Trade as any of the Plantations in *America*; that we have Plenty of Pitch, Tar, Skins of Deer, and Beeves, Furs, Rice, Wheat, Rie, *Indian Grain*, sundry sorts of Pulse, Turpentine, Rozin, Malts, Yards, Planks and Boards, Staves and Lumber, Timber of many common sorts, fit for any Uses; Hemp, Flax, Barley, Oats,

Oats, Buck-Wheat, Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Whale-Bone and Oil, Wax, Cheese, Butter, &c. besides Drugs, Dyes, Fruit, Silk, Cotton, Indico, Oil, and Wine that we need not doubt of, as soon as we make a regular Essay, the Country being adorn'd with pleasant Meadows, Rivers, Mountains, Valleys, Hills, and rich Pastures, and blessed with wholesome pure Air; especially a little backwards from the Sea, where the wild Beasts inhabit, none of which are voracious. The Men are active, the Women fruitful to Admiration, every House being full of Children, and several Women that have come hither barren, having presently prov'd fruitful. There cannot be a richer Soil, no Place abounding more in Flesh and Fowl, both wild and tame, besides Fish, Fruit, Grain, Cider, and many other pleasant Liquors; together with several other Necessaries for Life and Trade, that are daily found out, as new Discoveries are made. The Stone and Gout seldom trouble us; the Consumption we are wholly Strangers to, no Place affording a better Remedy for that Distemper, than *Carolina*. For Trade, we lie so near to *Virginia*, that we have the Advantage of their Convoys; as also Letters from thence, in two or three Days at most, in some Places in as few Hours. Add to this, that the great Number of Ships which come within those Capes, for *Virginia* and *Maryland*, take off our Provisions, and give us Bills of Exchange for *England*, which is Sterling Money. The Planters in *Virginia* and *Maryland* are forc'd to do the same, the great Quantities of Tobacco that are planted there, making Provisions scarce; and Tobacco is a Commodity oftentimes so low, as to bring nothing, whereas Provisions and Naval Stores never fail of a Market. Besides, where these are raised, in such Plenty as in *Carolina*, there always appears good Housekeeping, and Plenty of all manner of delicate Eatables. For Instance, the Pork of *Carolina* is very good, the younger Hogs fed on Peaches, Maiz, and such other natural Produce; being some of the sweetest Meat that the World affords, as is acknowledged by all Strangers that have been there. And as for the Beef, in *Pampticough*, and the Southward Parts, it proves extraordinary. We have not only Provisions plentiful, but Cloaths of our own Manufactures, which are made, and daily increase; Cotton, Wool, Hemp, and Flax, being of our own Growth; and the Women

men to be highly commended for their Industry in Spinning, and ordering their Houſwifry to ſo great Advantage as they generally do; which is much more eaſy, by reaſon this happy Climate, viſited with ſo mild Winters, is much warmer than the Northern Plantations, which ſaves abundance of Cloaths; fewer ſerving our Neceſſities, and thoſe of our Servants. But this is not all; for we can go out with our Commodities, to any other Part of the *West-Indies*, or elſewhere, in the Depth of Winter; whereas, thoſe in *New-England*, *New-York*, *Penſylvania*, and the Colonies to the Northward of us, cannot ſtir for Ice, but are faſt lock'd into their Harbours. Beſides, we can trade with *South-Carolina*, and pay no Duties or Cuſtoms, no more than their own Veſſels, both North and South being under the ſame *Lords-Proprietors*. We have, as I obſerv'd before, another great Advantage, in not being a Frontier, and ſo continually alarm'd by the Enemy; and what has been accounted a Detriment to us, proves one of the greateſt Advantages any People could wiſh; which is, our Country's being faced with a Sound near ten Leagues over in ſome Places, through which, although their be Water enough for as large Ships to come in at, as in any part hitherto ſeated in both *Carolinas*; yet the Difficulty of that Sound to Strangers, hinders them from attempting any Hoſtilities againſt us; and, at the ſame time, if we conſider the Advantages thereof, nothing can appear to be a better Situation, than to be fronted with ſuch a Bulwark, which ſecures us from our Enemies. Furthermore, our Diſtance from the Sea ridſ us of two Curſes, which attend moſt other Parts of *America*, viz. Muskeetos, and the Worm-biting, which eats Ships Bottoms out; whereas at *Bath-Town*, there is no ſuch thing known; and as for Muskeetos, they hinder us of as little Reſt, as they do you in *England*. Add to this, the unaccountable Quantities of Fiſh this great Water, or Sound, ſupplies us withal, whenever we take the Pains to fiſh for them; Advantages I have no where met withal in *America*, except here. As for the Climate, we enjoy a very whoſome and ſerene Sky, and a pure and thin Air, the Sun ſeldom miſſing to give us his daily Bleſſing, unleſs now and then on a Winters Day, which is not often; and when cloudy, the firſt Appearance of a North-Weſt Wind clears the Horizon, and reſtores the Light of the Sun. The Weather, in Summer, is very plea-

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fant;

fant; the hotter Months being refresh'd with continual Breezes of cool reviving Air; and the Spring being as pleasant, and beautiful, as in any Place I ever was in. The Winter, most commonly, is so mild, that it looks like an Autumn, being now and then attended with clear and thin North-West Winds, that are sharp enough to regulate *English* Constitutions, and free them from a great many dangerous Distempers, that a continual Summer afflicts them withal, nothing being wanting, as to the natural Ornaments and Blessings of a Country, that conduce to make reasonable Men happy. And, for those that are otherwise, they are so much their own Enemies, where they are, that they will scarce ever be any ones Friends, or their own, when they are transplanted; so, it's much better for all sides, that they remain as they are. Not but that there are several good People, that, upon just Grounds, may be uneasy under their present Burdens; and such I would advise to remove to the Place I have been treating of, where they may enjoy their Liberty and Religion, and peaceably eat the Fruits of their Labour, and drink the Wine of their own Vineyards, without the Alarms of a troublesome worldly Life. If a Man be a *Botanist*, here is a plentiful Field of *Plants* to divert him in; If he be a *Gardner*, and delight in that pleasant and happy Life, he will meet with a Climate and Soil, that will further and promote his Designs, in as great a Measure, as any Man can wish for; and as for the Constitution of this Government, it is so mild and easy, in respect to the Properties and Liberties of a Subject, that without rehearsing the Particulars, I say once for all, it is the mildest and best establish'd Government in the World, and the Place where any Man may peaceably enjoy his own, without being invaded by another; Rank and Superiority ever giving Place to Justice and Equity, which is the Golden Rule that every Government ought to be built upon, and regulated by. Besides, it is worthy our Notice, that this Province has been settled, and continued the most free from the Insults and Barbarities of the *Indians*, of any Colony that was ever yet seated in *America*; which must be esteem'd as a particular Providence of God handed down from Heaven, to these People; especially, when we consider, how irregularly they settled *North-Carolina*, and yet how undisturb'd they have ever remain'd, free from any foreign Danger

ger or Loss, even to this very Day. And what may well be look'd upon for as great a Miracle, this is a Place, where no Malefactors are found, deserving Death, or even a Prison for Debtors; there being no more than two Persons, that, as far as I have been able to learn, ever suffer'd as Criminals, although it has been a Settlement near sixty Years; One of whom was a *Turk* that committed *Murder*; the other, an old Woman, for *Witchcraft*. These, 'tis true, were on the Stage, and acted many Years, before I knew the Place; but as for the last, I wish it had been undone to this day; although they give a great many Arguments, to justify the Deed, which I had rather they should have a Hand in, than myself; seeing I could never approve of taking Life away upon such Accusations, the Justice whereof I could never yet understand.

But, to return to the Subject in Hand; we there make extraordinary good Bricks throughout the Settlement. All sorts of Handicrafts, as *Carpenters*, *Joiners*, *Masons*, *Plasterers*, *Shoemakers*, *Tanners*, *Tailors*, *Weavers*, and most others, may, with small Beginnings, and God's Blessing, thrive very well in this Place, and provide Estates for their Children, Land being sold at a much cheaper Rate there, than in any other Place in *America*, and may, as I suppose, be purchased of the *Lords-Proprietors* here in *England*, or of the Governour there for the time being, by any that shall have a mind to transport themselves to that Country. The Farmers that go thither (for which sort of Men it is a very thriving Place) should take with them some particular Seeds of Grass, as *Trefoil*, *Clover-grass* all sorts, *Sainfoin*, and *Common Grass*, or that which is a *Rarity* in *Europe*; especially, what has sprung and rose first from a warm Climate, and will endure the Sun without flinching. Likewise, if there be any extraordinary sort of Grain for Increase or Hardiness, and some Fruit-Trees of choice Kinds, they will be both profitable and pleasant to have with you, where you may see the Fruits of your Labour in Perfection, in a few Years. The necessary Instruments of Husbandry I need not acquaint the Husbandman withal; Hoes of all sorts, and Axes must be had, with Saws, Wedges, Augurs, Nails, Hammers, and what other Things may be necessary for building with Brick, or Stone, which sort your Inclination and Conveniency lead you to.

For, after having look'd over this Treatise, you must needs be acquainted with the Nature of the Country, and therefore cannot but be Judges, what it is that you will chiefly want. As for Land, none need want it for taking up, even in the Places there seated on the Navigable Creeks, Rivers, and Harbours, without being driven into remoter Holes and Corners of the Country, for Settlements, which all are forced to do, who, at this day, settle in most or all of the other *English* Plantations in *America*; which are already become so populous, that a New-Comer cannot get a beneficial and commodious Seat, unless he purchases, when, in most Places in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, a thousand Acres of good Land, seated on a Navigable Water, will cost a thousand Pounds; whereas, with us, it is at present obtain'd for the fiftieth Part of the Money. Besides, our Land pays to the *Lords*, but an easy Quit-Rent, or yearly Acknowledgement; and the other Settlements pay two Shillings *per* hundred. All these things duly weighed, any rational Man that has a mind to purchase Land in the Plantations for a Settlement of himself and Family, will soon discover the Advantages that attend the Settlers and Purchasers of Land in *Carolina*, above all other Colonies in the *English* Dominions in *America*. And as there is a free Exercise of all Persuasions amongst Christians, the *Lords-Proprietors*, to encourage Ministers of the Church of *England*, have given free Land towards the Maintenance of a Church, and especially, for the Parish of *S. Thomas* in *Pampticough*, over-against the Town, is already laid out for a Glebe of two hundred and twenty three Acres of rich well-situated Land, that a Parsonage-House may be built upon. And now I shall proceed to give an Account of the *Indians*, their Customs and Ways of Living, with a short Dictionary of their Speech.

AN  
 ACCOUNT  
 OF THE  
 INDIANS  
 OF  
 NORTH-CAROLINA.

**T**HE *Indians*, which were the Inhabitants of *America*, when the *Spaniards* and other *Europeans* discover'd the several Parts of that Country, are the People which we reckon the Natives thereof; as indeed they were, when we first found out those Parts, and appear'd therein. Yet this has not wrought in me a full Satisfaction, to allow these People to have been the Ancient Dwellers of the New-World, or Tract of Land we call *America*. The Reasons that I have to think otherwise, are too many to set down here; but I shall give the Reader a few, before I proceed; and some others he will find scatter'd in my Writings elsewhere.

In *Carolina* (the Part I now treat of) are the fairest Marks of a Deluge, (that at some time has probably made strange Alterations, as to the Station that Country was then in) that ever I saw, or, I think, read of, in any History. Amongst the other Subterraneous Matters, that have been discover'd, we found, in digging of a Well that was twenty six foot deep, at the Bottom thereof, many large Pieces of the Tulip-Tree, and several other sorts of Wood, some of which were cut and notch'd, and some squared, as the Joices of a House are, which appear'd (in the Judgment of all that saw them) to be wrought with Iron Instruments; <sup>Wood</sup> <sub>under</sub> <sup>Grounds</sup> it.

it seeming impossible for any thing made of Stone, or what they were found to make use of, to cut Wood in that manner. It cannot be argu'd, that the Wood so cut, might float from some other Continent; because Hiccory and the Tulip-Tree are spontaneous in *America*, and in no other Places, that I could ever learn. It is to be acknowledg'd, that the *Spaniards* give us Relations of magnificent Buildings, which were rais'd by the *Indians* of *Mexico* and other Parts, which they discover'd, and conquer'd; amongst whom no Iron Instruments were found: But 'tis a great Misfortune, that no Person in that Expedition was so curious, as to take an exact Draught of the Fabricks of those People, which would have been a Discovery of great Value, and very acceptable to the Ingenious; for, as to the Politeness of Stones, it may be effected by Collision, and Grinding, which is of a contrary Nature, on several Accounts, and disproves not my Arguments, in the least.

*Shells some  
Fabrics  
in the  
Earth, the  
Sea proba-  
bly has  
thrown up  
in part of  
this Coun-  
try.  
Mexico  
Buildings.*

The next is, the Earthen Pots that are often found under Ground, and at the Foot of the Banks where the Water has wash'd them away. They are for the most part broken in pieces; but we find them of a different sort, in Comparison of those the *Indians* use at this day, who have had no other, ever since the *English* discover'd *America*. The Bowels of the Earth cannot have alter'd them, since they are thicker, of another Shape, and Composition, and nearly approach to the Urns of the Ancient *Romans*.

*Indian  
Peaches:*

*The Stone-  
Water-  
Me'on and  
Gourds the  
Indians  
have al-  
ways had.*

Again, the Peaches, which are the only tame Fruit, or what is Foreign, that these People enjoy, which is an Eastern Product, and will keep and retain its vegetative and growing Faculty, the longest of any thing of that Nature, that I know of. The Stone, as I elsewhere have remark'd, is thicker than any other sort of the Peaches in *Europe*, or of the *European* sort, now growing in *America*, and is observed to grow if planted, after it has been for several Years laid by; and it seems very probable, that these People might come from some Eastern Country; for when you ask them whence their Fore-Fathers came, that first inhabited the Country, they will point to the Westward and say, *Where the Sun sleeps, our Forefathers came thence*, which, at that distance, may be reckon'd amongst the Eastern Parts of the World. And so this day, they are a shifting, wandring People; for I know some



some *Indian* Nations, that have chang'd their Settlements, many hundred Miles; sometimes no less than a thousand, as is prov'd by the *Savanna Indians*, who formerly lived on the Banks of the *Mississippi*, and remov'd thence to the Head of one of the Rivers of *South-Carolina*; since which, (for some Dislike) most of them are remov'd to live in the Quarters of the *Iroquois* or *Sinnegars*, which are on the Heads of the Rivers that discharge themselves into the Bay of *Chesapeak*. I once met with a young *Indian* Woman, that had been brought from beyond the Mountains, and was sold a Slave into *Virginia*. She spoke the same Language, as the *Coranine Indians*, that dwell near *Cape-Look-out*, allowing for some few Words, which were different, yet no otherwise, than that they might understand one another very well.

The *Indians* of *North-Carolina* are a well-shap'd clean-made <sup>Indian</sup> People, of different Statures, as the *Europeans* are, yet chiefly <sup>well shap'd</sup> inclin'd to be tall. They are a very streight People, and never bend forwards, or stoop in the Shoulders, unless much overpower'd by old Age. Their Limbs are exceeding well-shap'd. As for their Legs and Feet, they are generally the handsomest in the World. Their Bodies are a little flat, which is occasion'd, by being laced hard down to a Board, in their Infancy. This is all the Cradle they have, which I shall describe at large elsewhere. Their Eyes are black, or of a dark Hazle; The White is marbled with red Streaks, which is ever common to these People, unless when sprung from a white Father or Mother. Their Colour is of a tawny, which would not be so dark, did they not dawb themselves with Bears Oil, and a Colour like burnt Cork. This is begun in their Infancy, and continued for a long time, which fills the Pores, and enables them better to endure the Extremity of the Weather. They are never bald on their Heads, although never so old, which, I believe, proceeds from their Heads being always uncover'd, and the greasing their Hair (so often as they do) with Bears Fat, which is a great Nourisher of the Hair, and causes it to grow very fast. Amongst the Bears Oil (when they intend to be fine) they mix a certain red Powder, that comes from a Scarlet Root which they get in the hilly Country, near the Foot of the great Ridge of Mountains, and it is no where else to be found. They have this Scarlet Root in great Esteem, and sell it for a very great Price.

Price, one to another. The Reason of its Value is, because they not only go a long way for it, but are in great Danger of the *Sinnagars* or *Iroquois*, who are mortal Enemies to all our *Indians*, and very often take them Captives, or kill them, before they return from this Voyage. The *Tuskeruros* and other *Indians* have often brought this Seed with them from the Mountains; but it would never grow in our Land. With this and Bears Greafe they anoint their Heads and Temples, which is esteem'd as ornamental, as sweet Powder to our Hair. Besides, this Root has the Virtue of killing Lice, and suffers none to abide or breed in their Heads. For want of this Root, they sometimes use *Pecoon-Root*, which is of a Crimfon Colour, but it is apt to die the Hair of an ugly Hue.

Their Eyes are commonly full and manly, and their Gate sedate and majestick. They never walk backward and forward as we do, nor contemplate on the Affairs of Loss and Gain; the things which daily perplex us. They are dexterous and steady both as to their Hands and Feet, to Admiration. They will walk over deep Brooks, and Creeks, on the smallest Poles, and that without any Fear or Concern. Nay, an *Indian* will walk on the Ridge of a Barn or House and look down the Gable-end, and spit upon the Ground, as unconcern'd, as if he was walking on *Terra firma*. In Running, Leaping, or any such other Exercise, their Legs seldom miscarry, and give them a Fall; and as for letting any thing fall out of their Hands, I never yet knew one Example. They are no Inventers of any Arts or Trades worthy mention; the Reason of which I take to be, that they are not possess'd with that Care and Thoughtfulness, how to provide for the Necessaries of Life, as the *Europeans* are; yet they will learn any thing very soon. I have known an *Indian* stock Guns better than most of our *Joiners*, although he never saw one stock'd before; and besides, his Working-Tool was only a sorry Knife. I have also known several of them that were Slaves to the *English*, learn Handicraft-Trades very well and speedily. I never saw a Dwarf amongst them, nor but one that was Hump-back'd. Their Teeth are yellow with Smoaking Tobacco, which both Men and Women are much addicted to. They tell us, that they had Tobacco amongst them, before the *Europeans* made any Discovery of that

No Dwarf.

that Continent. It differs in the Leaf from the sweet-scented, and *Oroonoko*, which are the Plants we raise and cultivate in *America*. Theirs differs likewise much in the Smell, when green, from our Tobacco, before cured. They do not use the same way to cure it as we do; and therefore, the Difference must be very considerable in Taste; for all Men (that know Tobacco) must allow, that it is the Ordering thereof *Indian* which gives a Hogoo to that Weed, rather than any Natural *Tobacco*. Relish it possesses, when green. Although they are great Smokers, yet they never are seen to take it in Snuff, or chew it.

They have no Hairs on their Faces (except some few) and those but little, nor is there often found any Hair under their Arm-Pits. They are continually plucking it away from their Faces, by the Roots. As for their Privities, since they wore Tail-Clouts, to cover their Nakedness, several of the Men have a deal of Hair thereon. It is to be observ'd, that the Head of the *Penis* is cover'd (throughout all the Nations of the *Indians* I ever saw) both in Old and Young. Although we reckon these a very smooth People, and free from Hair; yet I once saw a middle-aged Man, that was hairy all down his Back; the Hairs being above an Inch long.

As there are found very few, or scarce any, Deformed, *Few Crip-* or Cripples, amongst them, so neither did I ever see but one *bles*. blind Man; and then they would give me no Account how his Blindness came. They had a Use for him, which was, to lead him with a Girl, Woman, or Boy, by a String; so they put what Burdens they pleased upon his Back, and made him very serviceable upon all such Occasions. No People have better Eyes, or see better in the Night or Day, than *Indians* the *Indians*. Some alledge, that the Smoke of the Pitch-Pine, *good Eyes*. which they chiefly burn, does both preserve and strengthen the Eyes; as, perhaps, it may do, because that Smoak never offends the Eyes, though you hold your Face over a great Fire thereof. This is occasion'd by the volatile Part of the Turpentine, which rises with the Smoke, and is of a friendly, balsamick Nature; for the Ashes of the Pine-Tree afford no fix'd Salt in them.

They let their Nails grow very long, which, they reckon, *Not pair* is the Use Nails are design'd for, and laugh at the *Europeans* *their* for *Nails*.

for pairing theirs, which, they say, disarms them of that which Nature design'd them for.

**Indians**  
*not robust.* They are not of so robust and strong Bodies, as to lift great Burdens, and endure Labour and slavish Work, as the *Europeans* are; yet some that are Slaves, prove very good and laborious: But, of themselves, they never work as the *English* do, taking care for no farther than what is absolutely necessary to support Life. In Travelling and Hunting, they are very indefatigable; because that carries a Pleasure along with the Profit. I have known some of them very strong; and as for Running and Leaping, they are extraordinary Fellows, and will dance for several Nights together, with the greatest Briskness imaginable, their Wind never failing them.

*No hard Workers.*

**Indians**  
*Dance of War.*  
*On what Account they make War.* Their Dances are of different Natures; and for every sort of Dance, they have a Tune, which is allotted for that Dance; as, if it be a War-Dance, they have a warlike Song, whereiu they exprefs, with all the Passion and Vehemence imaginable, what they intend to do with their Enemies; how they will kill, roast, sculp, beat, and make Captive, such and such Numbers of them; and how many they have destroy'd before. All these Songs are made new for every Feast; nor is one and the same Song sung at two several Festivals. Some one of the Nation (which has the best Gift of expressing their Designs) is appointed by their King, and War-Captains, to make these Songs.

*Indian Poet.*

*Dance of Peace.*

Others are made for Feasts of another Nature; as, when several Towns, or sometimes, different Nations have made Peace with one another; then the Song suits both Nations, and relates, how the bad Spirit made them go to War, and destroy one another; but it shall never be so again; but that their Sons and Daughters shall marry together, and the two Nations love one another, and become as one People.

They have a third sort of Feasts and Dances, which are always when the Harvest of Corn is ended, and in the Spring. The one, to return Thanks to the good Spirit, for the Fruits of the Earth; the other, to beg the same Blessings for the succeeding Year. And, to encourage the young Men to labour stoutly, in planting their Maiz and Pulse, they set a sort of an Idol in the Field, which is dress'd up exactly like an *Indian*, having all the *Indians* Habit, besides abundance  
of

of *Wampum*, and their Money, made of Shells, that hangs about his Neck. The Image none of the young Men dare approach; for the old ones will not suffer them to come near him, but tell them, that he is some famous *Indian War-Plantation* rior, that died a great while ago, and now is come amongst *Idol.* them, to see if they work well, which if they do, he will go to the good Spirit, and speak to him to send them Plenty of Corn, and to make the young Men all expert Hunters and mighty Warriours. All this while, the King and old Men sit round the Image, and seemingly pay a profound Respect to the same. One great Help to these *Indians*, in carrying on these Cheats, and inducing Youth to do what they please, is, the uninterrupted Silence, which is ever kept and observ'd, with all the Respect and Veneration imaginable.

At these Feasts, which are set out with all the Magnificence their Fare allows of, the Masquerades begin at Night, *Masque:* and not before. There is commonly a Fire made in the middle *rade.* of the House, which is the largest in the Town, and is very often the Dwelling of their King, or War-Captain; where sit two Men on the Ground, upon a Mat; one with a Rattle, made of a Gourd, with some Beans in it; the other with a Drum, made of an earthen Pot, cover'd with a dress'd-Deer-Skin, and one Stick in his Hand to beat thereon; and so they both begin the Song appointed. At the same time, one drums, and the other rattles, which is all the artificial *Indian* Musick of their own making I ever saw amongst them. *Musicians.* To these two Instruments they sing, which carries no Air with it, but is a sort of unfavoury Jargon; yet their Cadences and Raising of their Voices are form'd with that Equality and Exactness, that (to us *Europeans*) it seems admirable, how they should continue these Songs, without once missing to agree, each with the others Note and Tune.

As for their Dancing, were there Masters of that *Dancing:* profession amongst them, as there are with us, they would dearly earn their Money; for these Creatures take the most Pains at it, that Men are able to endure. I have seen thirty odd together a dancing, and every one dropp'd down with Sweat, as if Water had been poured down their Backs. They use those hard Labours, to make them able to endure Fatigue,

Indians  
long  
winded.

and improve their Wind, which indeed is very long and durable, it being a hard matter, in any Exercise, to dispossess them of it.

Indian  
Gaming.

At these Feasts, they meet from all the Towns within fifty or sixty Miles round, where they buy and sell several Commodities, as we do at Fairs and Markets. Besides, they game very much, and often strip one another of all they have in the World; and what is more, I have known several of them play themselves away, so that they have remain'd the Winners Servants, till their Relations or themselves could pay the Money to redeem them; and when this happens, the Loser is never dejected or melancholy at the Loss, but laughs, and seems no less contented than if he had won. They never differ at Gaming, neither did I ever see a Dispute, about the Legality thereof, so much as rise amongst them.

Indian  
Cards.

Their chiefest Game is a sort of Arithmetick, which is managed by a Parcel of small split Reeds, the Thickness of a small Bent; these are made very nicely, so that they part, and are tractable in their Hands. They are fifty one in Number, their Length about seven Inches; when they play, they throw part of them to their Antagonist; the Art is, to discover, upon sight, how many you have, and what you throw to him that plays with you. Some are so expert at their Numbers, that they will tell ten times together, what they throw out of their Hands. Although the whole Play is carried on with the quickest Motion it's possible to use, yet some are so expert at this Game, as to win great *Indian* Estates by this Play. A good Sett of these Reeds, fit to play withal, are valued and sold for a drefs'd Doe-Skin.

Indian  
Dice.

They have several other Plays and Games; as, with the Kernels or Stones of Persimmons, which are in effect the same as our Dice, because Winning or Losing depend on which side appear uppermost, and how they happen to fall together.

Indian  
Trap-Ball.

Another Game is managed with a Batoon and a Ball, and resembles our Trap-ball; besides, several Nations have several Games and Pastimes, which are not used by others.

Indian  
Cabins.

These Savages live in *Wigwams*, or Cabins built of Bark, which are made round like an Oven, to prevent any Damage by hard Gales of Wind. They make the Fire in the middle of the House, and have a Hole at the Top of the Roof  
right.

right above the Fire, to let out the Smoke. These Dwellings are as hot as Stoves, where the *Indians* sleep and sweat all Night. The Floors thereof are never paved nor swept, so that they have always a loose Earth on them. They are often troubled with a multitude of Fleas, especially near the Places where they dress their Deer-Skins, because that Hair harbours them; yet I never felt any ill, unfavory Smell in their Cabins, whereas, should we live in our Houses, as they do, we should be poison'd with our own Nastiness; which confirms these *Indians* to be, as they really are, some of the sweetest People in the World.

The Bark they make their Cabins withal, is generally Cypress, or red or white Cedar; and sometimes, when they are a great way from any of these Woods, they make use of Pine-Bark, which is the worser sort. In building these Fabricks, they get very long Poles, of Pine, Cedar, Hicory, or any Wood that will bend; these are the Thickness of the Small of a Man's Leg, at the thickest end, which they generally strip of the Bark, and warm them well in the Fire, which makes them tough and fit to bend; afterwards, they stick the thickest ends of them in the Ground, about two Yards asunder, in a Circular Form, the distance they design the Cabin to be, (which is not always round, but sometimes oval) then they bend the Tops and bring them together, and bind their ends with Bark of Trees, that is proper for that use, as Elm is, or sometimes the Moss that grows on the Trees, and is a Yard or two long, and never rots; then they brace them with other Poles, to make them strong; afterwards, cover them all over with Bark, so that they are very warm and tight, and will keep firm against all the Weathers that blow. They have other sorts of Cabins without Windows, which are for their Granaries, Skins, and Merchandizes; and others that are cover'd over head; the rest left open for the Air. These have Reed-Hurdles, like Tabernacles, to lie and sit on, in Summer, and serve for pleasant Banqueting-Houses in the hot Season of the Year. The Cabins they dwell in have Benches all round, except where the Door stands; on these they lay Beasts-Skins, and Mats made of Rushes, whereon they sleep and loll. In one of these, several Families commonly live, though all related to one another.

As

As to the *Indians* Food, it is of several sorts, which are as follows.

Indian  
Food.

Venison, and Fawns in the Bags, cut out of the Doe's Belly; Fish of all sorts, the Lamprey-Eel excepted, and the Sturgeon our Salt-Water *Indians* will not touch; Bear and Bever; Panther; Pole-cat; Wild-cat; Possum; Raccoon; Hares, and Squirrels, roasted with their Guts in; Snakes, all *Indians* will not eat them, tho' some do; All wild Fruits that are palatable, some of which they dry and keep against Winter, as all sort of Fruits, and Peaches, which they dry, and make Quiddonies, and Cakes, that are very pleasant, and a little tartish; young Wasps, when they are white in the Combs, before they can fly, this is esteemed a Dainry; All sorts of Tortois and Terebins; Shell-Fish, and Stingray, or Scate, dry'd; Gourds; Melons; Cucumbers; Squashes; Pulse of all sorts; *Rockahomine* Meal, which is their Maiz, parch'd and pounded into Powder; Fowl of all sorts, that are eatable; Ground-Nuts, or wild Potato's; Acorns and Acorn Oil; Wild-Bulls, Beef, Mutton, Pork, &c. from the *English*; *Indian* Corn, or Maiz, made into several sorts of Bread; Ears of Corn roasted in the Summer, or preserv'd against Winter.

Feasts of  
Charity.  
Indians  
discern not  
between  
fat and  
lean Meat.

The Victuals is common, throughout the whole Kindred Relations, and often to the whole Town; especially, when they are in Hunting-Quarters, then they all fare alike, whichsoever of them kills the Game. They are very kind, and charitable to one another, but more especially to those of their own Nation; for if any one of them has suffer'd any Loss, by Fire or otherwise, they order the griev'd Person to make a Feast, and invite them all thereto, which, on the day appointed, they come to, and after every Man's Mefs of Victuals is dealt to him, one of their Speakers, or grave old Men, makes an Harangue, and acquaints the Company, That that Man's House has been burnt, where-in all his Goods were destroy'd; That he, and his Family, very narrowly escaped; That he is every Man's Friend in that Company; and, That it is all their Duties to help him, as he would do to any of them, had the like Misfortune befallen them. After this Oration is over, every Man, according to his Quality, throws him down upon the Ground some Present, which is commonly Beads, *Ronoak*, *Peak*, Skins or Furs, and which very often amounts to treble the Loss he has suffer'd.



fer'd. The same Assistance they give to any Man that wants to build a Cabin, or make a Canoe. They say, it is our Duty thus to do; for there are several Works that one Man cannot effect, therefore we must give him our Help, otherwise our Society will fall, and we shall be depriv'd of those urgent Necessities which Life requires. They have no Fence to part <sup>Indians</sup> one anothers Lots in their Corn-Fields; but every Man knows <sup>no Fences.</sup> his own, and it scarce ever happens, that they rob one another of so much as an Ear of Corn, which if any is found to do, he is sentenced by the Elders to work and plant for him that was robb'd, till he is recompens'd for all the Damage he has suffer'd in his Corn-Field; and this is punctually perform'd, and the Thief held in Disgrace, that steals from any of his Country-Folks. It often happens, that a Woman is deslitute of her Husband, and has a great many Children to <sup>Indians</sup> maintain; such a Person they always help, and make their <sup>Cherity to</sup> young men plant, reap, and do every thing that she is not <sup>Widows.</sup> capable of doing herself; yet they do not allow any one to be idle, but to employ themselves in some Work or other.

They never fight with one another, unless drunk, nor do <sup>Indian</sup> you ever hear any Scolding amongst them. They say, the <sup>Women no</sup> *Europeans* are always rangling and uneasy, and wonder they <sup>Scellis.</sup> do not go out of this World, since they are so uneasy and discontented in it. All their Misfortunes and Losses end in Laughter; for if their Cabins take Fire, and all their Goods are burnt therein, (indced, all will strive to prevent farther Damage, whilst there is any Possibility) yet such a Misfortune ends in a hearty Fitt of Laughter, unless some of their Kinsfolks and Friends have lost their Lives; but then the Case is alter'd, and they become very pensive, and go into deep Mourning, which is continued for a considerable Time; sometimes longer, or shorter, according to the Dignity of the Person, and the Number of Relations he had near him.

The Burial of their Dead is perform'd with a great deal of Ceremony, in which one Nation differs, in some few Circumstances, from another, yet not so much but we may, by a general Relation, pretty nearly account for them all.

When an *Indian* is dead, the greater Person he was, the <sup>Indian</sup> more expensive is his Funeral. The first thing which is done, <sup>Burial of</sup> *is*, to place the nearest Relations near the Corps, who mourn <sup>their Dc. al.</sup> and weep very much, having their Hair hanging down their Shoulders,

Shoulders, in a very forlorn manner. After the dead Person has lain a Day and a Night, in one of their Hurdles of Canes, commonly in some Out-House made for that purpose, those that officiate about the Funeral, go into the Town, and the first young Men they meet withal, that have Blankets or Match Coats on, whom they think fit for their Turn, they strip them from their Backs, who suffer them so to do, without any Resistance. In these they wrap the dead Bodies, and cover them with two or three Mats, which the *Indians* make of Rushes or Cane; and last of all, they have a long Web of woven Reeds, or hollow Canes, which is the Coffin of the *Indians*, and is brought round several times, and tied fast at both ends, which indeed, looks very decent and well. Then the Corps is brought out of the House, into the Orchard of Peach-Trees, where another Hurdle is made to receive it, about which comes all the Relations and Nation that the dead Person belong'd to, besides several from other Nations in Alliance with them; all which sit down on the Ground, upon Mats spread there, for that purpose; where the Doctor or Conjuror appears; and, after some time, makes a Sort of *O-yes*, at which all are very silent; then he begins to give an Account, who the dead Person was, and how stout a Man he approv'd himself; how many Enemies and Captives he had kill'd and taken; how strong, tall, and nimble he was; that he was a great Hunter, a Lover of his Country, and possess'd of a great many beautiful Wives and Children, esteem'd the greatest of Blessings among these Savages, in which they have a true Notion. Thus this Orator runs on, highly extolling the dead Man, for his Valour, Conduct, Strength, Riches, and Good-Humour; and enumerating his Guns, Slaves and almost every thing he was possess'd of, when living. After which, he addresses himself to the People of that Town or Nation, and bids them supply the dead Man's Place, by following his steps, who, he assures them, is gone into the Country of Souls, (which they think lies a great way off, in this World, which the Sun visits, in his ordinary Course) and that he will have the Enjoyment of handsome young Women, great Store of Deer to hunt, never meet with Hunger, Cold or Fatigue, but every thing to answer his Expectation and Desire. This is the Heaven they propose to themselves; but, on the contrary,

for

Indian  
Funeral  
Sermon.

for those *Indians* that are lazy, thievish amongst themselves, bad Hunters, and no Warriours, nor of much Use to the Nation, to such they allot, in the next World, Hunger, Cold, Troubles, old ugly Women for their Companions, with Snakes, and all sorts of nasty Victuals to feed on. Thus is mark'd out their Heaven and Hell. After all this Harangue, he diverts the People with some of their Traditions, as when there was a violent hot Summer, or very hard Winter; when any notable Distempers rag'd amongst them; when they were at War with such and such Nations; how victorious they were; and what were the Names of their War-Captains. To prove the times more exactly, he produces the Records of the Country, which are a Parcel of Reeds, of different Lengths, with several distinct Marks, known to none but themselves; by which they seem to guess, very exactly, at Accidents that happen'd many Years ago; nay two or three Ages or more. The Reason I have to believe what they tell me, on this Account, is, because I have been at the Meetings of several *Indian* Nations; and they agreed, in relating the same Circumstances, as to Time, very exactly; as, for Example, they say, there was so hard a Winter in *Carolina*, 105 years ago, that the great Sound was frozen over, and the Wild Geese came into the Woods to eat Acorns, and that they were so tame, (I suppose, through Want) that they kill'd abundance in the Woods, by knocking them on the Head with Sticks. Indian Traditions.  
A hard Winter.

But, to return to the dead Man. When this long Tale is ended, by him that spoke first; perhaps, a second begins another long Story; so a third, and fourth, if there be so many Doctors present; which all tell one and the same thing. At last, the Corps is brought away from that Hurdle to the Grave, by four young Men, attended by the Relations, the King, old Men, and all the Nation. When they come to the Sepulchre, which is about six Foot deep, and eight Foot long, having at each end (that is, at the Head and Foot) a Light-Wood, or Pitch-Pine Fork driven close down the sides of the Grave, firmly into the Ground; (these two Forks are to contain a Ridge-Pole, as you shall understand presently) before they lay the Corps into the Grave, they cover the bottom two or three times over with Bark of Trees, then they let down the Corps (with two Belts; that the *Indians*

*dians* carry their Bardens withal) very leisurely, upon the said Barks; then they lay over a Pole of the same Wood, in the two Forks, and having a great many Pieces of Pitch-Pine Logs, about two Foot and a half long, they stick them in the sides of the Grave down each End, and near the Top thereof, where the other Ends lie on the Ridge-Pole, so that they are declining like the Roof of a House. These being very thick-plac'd, they cover them (many times double) with Bark; then they throw the Earth thereon, that came out of the Grave, and beat it down very firm; by this Means, the dead Body lies in a Vault, nothing touching him; so that when I saw this way of Burial, I was mightily pleas'd with it, esteeming it very decent and pretty, as having seen a great many Christians buried without the tenth Part of that Ceremony and Decency. Now, when the Flesh is rotted and moulder'd from the Bone, they take up the Carcass, and clean the Bones, and joint them together; afterwards, they dress them up in pure white dress'd Deer-Skins, and lay them amongst their Grandees and Kings in the *Quiogoxon*, which is their Royal Tomb or Burial-Place of their Kings and War-Captains. This is a very large magnificent Cabin, (according to their Building) which is rais'd at the Publick Charge of the Nation, and maintain'd in a great deal of Form and Neatness. About seven foot high, is a Floor or Loft made, on which lie all their Princes, and Great Men, that have died for several hundred Years, all attir'd in the Dress I before told you of. No Person is to have his Bones lie here, and to be thus dress'd, unless he gives a round Sum of their Money to the Rulers, for Admittance. If they remove never so far, to live in a Foreign Country, they never fail to take all these dead Bones along with them, though the Tedioufness of their short daily Marches keeps them never so long on their Journey. They reverence and adore this *Quiogoxon*, with all the Veneration and Respect that is possible for such a People to discharge, and had rather lose all, than have any Violence or Injury offer'd thereto. These Savages differ some small matter in their Burials; some burying right upwards, and otherwise, as you are acquainted withal in my Journal from South to North *Carolina*; Yet they all agree in their Mourning, which is, to appear every Night, at the Sepulchre, and howl and weep in a very dismal manner, having their Faces

dab'd

*Quiogoxon Idols.*

*Idols on the Beds.*

*Mourning for the Dead.*

dawb'd over with Light-wood Soot, (which is the same as Lamp-black) and Bears Oil. This renders them as black as it is possible to make themselves, so that theirs very much resemble the Faces of Executed Men boil'd in Tar. If the dead Person was a Grandee, to carry on the Funeral Ceremonies, they hire People to cry and lament over the dead Man. Of this sort there are several, that practise it for a Livelihood, and are very expert at Shedding abundance of Tears, and howling like Wolves, and so discharging their Office with abundance of Hypocrisy and Art. The Women are never accompanied with these Ceremonies after Death; and to what World they allot that Sex, I never understood, unless, to wait on their dead Husbands; but they have more Wit, than some of the Eastern Nations, who sacrifice themselves to accompany their Husbands into the next World. It is the dead Man's Relations, by Blood, as his Uncles, Brothers, Sisters, Cousins, Sons, and Daughters, that mourn in good earnest, the Wives thinking their Duty is discharg'd, and that they are become free, when their Husband is dead; so, as fast as they can, look out for another, to supply his Place.

As for the *Indian* Women, which now happen in my Way; when young, and at Maturity, they are as fine-shap'd Creatures (take them generally) as any in the Universe. They are of a tawny Complexion; their Eyes very brisk and amorous; their Smiles afford the finest Composure a Face can possess; their Hands are of the finest Make, with small long Fingers, and as soft as their Cheeks; and their whole Bodies of a smooth Nature. They are not so uncouth or unlikely, as we suppose them; nor are they Strangers or not Proficients in the soft Passion. They are most of them mercenary, except the married Women, who sometimes bestow their Favours also to some or other, in their Husbands Absence. For which they never ask any Reward. As for the Report, that they are never found unconstant, like the *Europeans*, it is wholly false; for were the old World and the new one put into a Pair of Scales (in point of Constancy) it would be a hard Matter to discern which was the heavier. As for the Trading Girls, which are those design'd to get Money by their Natural Parts, these are discernable, by the Cut of their Hair; their Tonsure differing from all others, of that Nati-

*Indians  
hired to  
mourn.*

*Indian  
Women  
handsome.*

*Married  
Women un-  
constant.  
Trading  
Girls.*

on, who are not of their Profession; which Method is intended to prevent Mistakes; for the Savages of *America* are desirous (if possible) to keep their Wives to themselves, as well as those in other Parts of the World. When any Adresses are made to one of these Girls, she immediately acquaints her Parents therewith, and they tell the King of it, (provided he that courts her be a Stranger) his Majesty commonly being the principal Bawd of the Nation he rules over, and there seldom being any of these *Winchester*-Weddings agreed on, without his Royal Consent. He likewise advises her what Bargain to make, and if it happens to be an *Indian* Trader that wants a Bed-fellow, and has got Rum to sell, be sure, the King must have a large Dram for a Fee, to confirm the Match. These *Indians*, that are of the elder sort, when any such Question is put to them, will debate the Matter amongst themselves with all the Sobriety and Seriousness imaginable, every one of the Girl's Relations arguing the Advantage or Detriment that may ensue such a Night's Encounter; all which is done with as much Steadiness and Reality, as if it was the greatest Concern in the World, and not so much as one Person shall be seen to smile, so long as the Debate holds, making no Difference betwixt an Agreement of this Nature, and a Bargain of any other. If they comply with the Men's Desire, then a particular Bed is provided for them, either in a Cabin by themselves, or else all the young people turn out, to another Lodging, that they may not spoil Sport; and if the old People are in the same Cabin along with them all Night, they lie as unconcern'd, as if they were so many Logs of Wood. If it be an *Indian* of their own Town or Neighbourhood, that wants a Mistress, he comes to none but the Girl, who receives what she thinks fit to ask him, and so lies all Night with him, without the Consent of her Parents.

Indian  
Traders  
what.

Indian  
Wives.

The *Indian* Traders are those which travel and abide amongst the *Indians* for a long space of time; sometimes for a Year, two, or three. These Men have commonly their *Indian* Wives, whereby they soon learn the *Indian* Tongue, keep a Friendship with the Savages; and, besides the Satisfaction of a She-Bed-Fellow, they find these *Indian* Girls very serviceable to them, on Account of dressing their Victuals, and instructing 'em in the Affairs and Customs of the Country.

More-

Moreover, such a Man gets a great Trade with the Savages; for when a Person that lives amongst them, is reserv'd from the Conversation of their Women, 'tis impossible for him ever to accomplish his Designs amongst that People.

But one great Misfortune which oftentimes attends those that converse with these Savage Women, is, that they get Children by them, which are seldom educated any otherwise than in a State of Infidelity; for it is a certain Rule and Custom, amongst all the Savages of *America*, that I was ever acquainted withal, to let the Children always fall to the Woman's Lot; for it often happens, that two *Indians* that have liv'd together, as Man and Wife, in which Time they have had several Children, if they part, and another Man possesses her, all the Children go along with the Mother, and none with the Father. And therefore, on this Score, it ever seems impossible for the Christians to get their Children (which they have by these *Indian* Women) away from them; whereby they might bring them up in the Knowledge of the Christian Principles. Nevertheless, we often find, that *English* Men, and other *Europeans* that have been accusom'd to the Conversation of these savage Women, and their Way of Living, have been so allur'd with that careless sort of Life, as to be constant to their *Indian* Wife, and her Relations, so long as they liv'd, without ever desiring to return again amongst the *English*, although they had very fair Opportunities of Advantages amongst their Countrymen; of which sort I have known several.

As for the *Indian* Marriages, I have read and heard of a great deal of Form and Ceremony used, which I never saw, nor yet could learn in the Time I have been amongst them, any otherwise than I shall here give you an Account of; which is as follows.

When any young *Indian* has a Mind for such a Girl to his Wife, he, or some one for him, goes to the young Woman's Parents, if living; if not, to her nearest Relations; where they make Offers of the Match betwixt the Couple. The Relations reply, they will consider of it, which serves for a sufficient Answer, till there be a second Meeting about the Marriage, which is generally brought into Debate before all the Relations (that are old People) on both Sides; and sometimes the King, with all his great Men, give their Opinions there-

Indians  
buy their  
Wives.

therein. If it be agreed on, and the young Woman approve thereof, (for these Savages never give their Children in Marriage, without their own Consent) the Man pays so much for his Wife; and the handsomer she is, the greater Price she bears. Now, it often happens, that the Man has not so much of their Money ready, as he's to pay for his Wife; but if they know him to be a good Hunter, and that he can raise the Sum agreed for, in some few Moons, or any little time, they agree, she shall go along with him, as betroth'd, but he is not to have any Knowledge of her, till the utmost Payment is discharg'd; all which is punctually observ'd. Thus, they lie together under one Covering for several Months, and the Woman remains the same as she was when she first came to him. I doubt, our *Europeans* would be apt to break this Custom, but the *Indian* Men are not so vigorous and impatient in their Love as we are. Yet the Women are quite contrary, and those *Indian* Girls that have convers'd with the *English* and other *Europeans*, never care for the Conversation of their own Countrymen afterwards.

Indian  
Men not  
vigorous.

They never marry so near as a first Cousin; and although there is nothing more coveted amongst them, than to marry a Woman of their own Nation, yet when the Nation consists of a very few People (as now a days it often happens) so that they are all of them related to one another, then they look out for Husbands and Wives amongst Strangers. For if an *Indian* lies with his Sister, or any very near Relation, his Body is burnt, and his Ashes thrown into the River, as unworthy to remain on Earth; yet an *Indian* is allow'd to marry two Sisters, or his Brothers Wife. Although these People are call'd Savages, yet Sodomy is never heard of amongst them, and they are so far from the Practice of that beastly and loathsome Sin, that they have no Name for it in all their Language.

The Marriages of these *Indians* are no farther binding, than the Man and Woman agree together. Either of them has Liberty to leave the other, upon any frivolous Excuse they can make; yet whosoever takes the Woman that was another Man's before, and bought by him, as they all are, must certainly pay to her former Husband, whatsoever he gave for her. Nay, if she be a Widow, and her Husband died in Debt, whosoever takes her to Wife, pays all her Husband's Obligations,



tions, though never so many; yet the Woman is not required to pay any thing (unless she is willing) that was owing from her Husband, so long as she keeps Single. But if a Man courts her for a Nights Lodging, and obtains it, the Creditors will make him pay her Husband's Debts, and he may, if he will, take her for his Money, or sell her to another for his Wife. I have seen several of these Bargains driven in a day; for you may see Men selling their Wives as Men do Horses in a Fair, a Man being allow'd not only to change as often as he pleases, but likewise to have as many Wives as he is able to maintain. I have often seen, that very old Indian Men (that have been Grandees in their own Nation) have had three or four very likely young Indian Wives, which I have much wondered at, because to me they seem'd incapacitated to make good Use of one of them.

The young Men will go in the Night from one House to another, to visit the young Women, in which sort of Rambles they will spend the whole Night. In their Addresses they find no Delays, for if she is willing to entertain the Man, she gives him Encouragement and grants him Admittance; otherwise she withdraws her Face from him, and says, I cannot see you, either you or I must leave this Cabin, and sleep somewhere else this Night.

They are never to boast of their Intrigues with the Women. If they do, none of the Girls value them ever after, or admit of their Company in their Beds. This proceeds not on the score of Reputation, for there is no such thing (on that account) known amongst them; and although we may reckon them the greatest Libertines and most extravagant in their Embraces, yet they retain and possess a Modesty that requires those Passions never to be divulged.

The Trading Girls, after they have led that Course of Life, for several Years, in which time they scarce ever have a Child; (for they have an Art to destroy the Conception, and she that brings a Child in this Station, is accounted a Fool, and her Reputation is less'n'd thereby) at last they grow weary of so many, and betake themselves to a married State, or to the Company of one Man; neither does their having been common to so many any wise lessen their Fortunes, but rather augment them.

The

Women not  
punish'd  
for Adul-  
tery.

The Woman is not punish'd for Adultery, but 'tis the Man that makes the injur'd Person Satisfaction, which is the Law of Nations practis'd amongst them all; and he that strives to evade such Satisfaction as the Husband demands, lives daily in Danger of his Life; yet when discharg'd, all Animosity is laid aside, and the Cuckold is very well pleas'd with his Bargain, whilst the Rival is laugh'd at by the whole Nation, for carrying on his Intrigue with no better Conduct, than to be discover'd and pay so dear for his Pleasure.

The *Indians* say, that the Woman is a weak Creature, and easily drawn away by the Man's Persuasion; for which Reason, they lay no Blame upon her, but the Man (that ought to be Master of his Passion) for persuading her to it.

Never

Love-mad.

They are of a very hale Constitution; their Breaths are as sweet as the Air they breathe in, and the Woman seems to be of that tender Composition, as if they were design'd rather for the Bed than Bondage. Yet their Love is never of that Force and Continuance, that any of them ever runs Mad, or makes away with themselves on that score. They never love beyond Retrieving their first Indifferency, and when slighted, are as ready to untie the Knot at one end, as you are at the other.

Yet I knew an *European* Man that had a Child or two by one of these *Indian* Women, and afterwards married a Christian, after which he came to pass away a Night with his *Indian* Mistress; but she made Answer that she then had forgot she ever knew him, and that she never lay with another Woman's Husband, so fell a crying, and took up the Child she had by him, and went out of the Cabin (away from him) in great Disorder.

Indian  
Women  
what they  
do.

Iroquois  
great War-  
riours.

The *Indian* Womens Work is to cook the Victuals for the whole Family, and to make Mats, Baskets, Girdles of Possum-Hair, and such-like. They never plant the Corn amongst us, as they do amongst the *Iroquois*, who are always at War and Hunting; therefore, the Plantation Work is left for the Women and Slaves to perform, and look after; whilst they are wandering all over the Continent betwixt the two Bays of *Mexico* and *St. Laurence*.

Mats how  
made.

The Mats the *Indian* Women make, are of Rushes, and about five Foot high, and two Pathom long; and sew'd double, that is, two together; whereby they become very commodious

dious to lay under our Beds, or to sleep on in the Summer Season in the Day-time, and for our Slaves in the Night.

There are other Mats made of Flags, which the *Tuskeruro Indians* make, and sell to the Inhabitants.

The Baskets our Neighbouring *Indians* make, are all made of a very fine sort of Bulrushes, and sometimes of Silk-grass, <sup>Baskets</sup> which they work with Figures of Beasts, Birds, Fishes, &c.

A great way up in the Country, both Baskets and Mats are made of the split Reeds, which are only the outward shining Part of the Cane. Of these I have seen Mats, Baskets, and Dressing-Boxes, very artificially done.

The Savage Women of *America*, have very easy Travail with their Children; sometimes they bring Twins, and are brought to bed by themselves, when took at a Disadvantage; not but that they have Midwives amongst them, as well as Doctors, who make it their Profession (for Gain) to assist and deliver Women, and some of these Midwives are very knowing in several Medicines that *Carolina* affords, which certainly expedite, and make easy Births. Besides, they are unacquainted with those severe Pains which follow the Birth in our *European* Women. Their Remedies are a great Cause of this Easiness in that State; for the *Indian* Women will run up and down the Plantation, the same day, very briskly, and without any sign of Pain or Sickness; yet they look very meager and thin. Not but that we must allow a great deal owing to the Climate, and the natural Constitution of these Women, whose Course of Nature never visits them in such Quantities, as the *European* Women have. And tho' they never want Plenty of Milk, yet I never saw an *Indian* Woman with very large Breasts; neither does the youngest Wife ever fail of proving so good a Nurse, as to bring her Child up free from the Rickets and Disasters that proceed from the Teeth, with many other Distempers which attack our Infants in *England*, and other Parts of *Europe*. They let their Children suck till they are well grown, unless they prove big with Child sooner. They always nurse their own Children themselves, unless Sickness or Death prevents. I once saw a <sup>Nurse</sup> Nurse hired to give Suck to an *Indian* Woman's Child, which <sup>Children</sup> you have in my Journal. After Delivery, they absent the <sup>how.</sup> Company of a Man for forty days. As soon as the Child is born, they wash it in cold Water at the next Stream, and then

*Cradle.*

then bedawb it, as I have mention'd before. After which, the Husband takes care to provide a Cradle, which is soon made, consisting of a Piece of flat Wood, which they hew with their Hatchets to the Likeness of a Board; it is about two Foot long, and a Foot broad; to this they brace and tie the Child down very close, having, near the middle, a Stick fasten'd about two Inches from the Board, which is for the Child's Breech to rest on, under which they put a Wad of Moss, that receives the Child's Excrements, by which means they can shift the Moss, and keep all clean and sweet. Some Nations have very flat Heads, as you have heard in my Journal, which is made whilst tied on this Cradle, as that Relation informs you. These Cradles are apt to make the Body flat; yet they are the most portable things that can be invented; for there is a String which goes from one Corner of the Board to the other, whereby the Mother flings her Child on her Back; so the Infant's Back is towards hers, and its Face looks up towards the Sky. If it rains, she throws her Leather or Woollen Match-coat, over her Head, which covers the Child all over, and secures her and it from the Injuries of rainy Weather. The Savage Women quit all Company, and dress not their own Victuals, during their Purgations.

After they have had several Children, they grow strangely out of Shape in their Bodies; As for Barrenness, I never knew any of their Women, that have not Children when marry'd.

*Indian Womens Habits.*

The Womens Dress is, in severe Weather, a hairy Match-coat in the Nature of a Plad, which keeps out the Cold, and (as I said before) defends their Children from the Prejudices of the Weather. At other times, they have only a sort of Flap or Apron containing two Yards in Length, and better than half a Yard deep. Sometimes, it is a Deer-Skin dress'd white, and pointed or slit at the bottom, like Fringe. When this is clean, it becomes them very well. Others wear blue or red Flaps made of Bays and Plains, which they buy of the *English*, of both which they tuck in the Corners, to fasten the Garment, and sometimes make it fast with a Belt. All of them, when ripe, have a small String round the Waste, to which another is tied and comes between their Legs, where always is a Wad of Moss against the *Os pubis*; but never any  
Hair

Hair is there to be found: Sometimes, they wear *Indian Shoes*, or *Moggizons*, which are made after the same manner, as the *Méns* are.

The Hair of their Heads is made into a long Roll like a *Horse Tail*, and bound round with *Ronoak* or *Porcelan*, which is a sort of Beads they make of the *Conk-Shells*. Others that have not this, make a *Leather-String* serve.

The *Indian Men* have a *Match-Coat* of Hair, Furs, Feathers, or Cloth, as the *Women* have. Their Hair is roll'd up, on each Ear, as the *Womens*, only much shorter, and oftentimes a Roll on the *Crown* of the Head, or *Temples*, which is just as they fancy; there being no *Strictness* in their *Dress*. Betwixt their *Legs* comes a *Piece of Cloth*, that is tuck'd in by a *Belt* both before and behind. This is to hide their *Nakedness*, of which *Decency* they are very strict *Observers*, although never practis'd before the *Christians* came amongst them. They wear *Shoes*, of *Bucks*, and sometimes *Bears Skin*, which they tan in an *Hour* or two; with the *Bark of Trees* boil'd, wherein they put the *Leather* whilst hot, and let it remain a little while, whereby it becomes so qualify'd, as to endure *Water* and *Dirt*, without growing hard. These have no *Heels*, and are made as fit for the *Feet*, as a *Glove* is for the *Hand*, and are very easie to travel in, when one is a little us'd to them. When these *Savages* live near the *Water*, they frequent the *Rivers* in *Summer-time* very much, where both *Men* and *Women* very often in a day go in naked to wash themselves, though not both *Sexes* together.

Their *Feather Match-Coats* are very pretty, especially some of them, which are made extraordinary charming, containing several pretty *Figures* wrought in *Feathers*, making them seem like a fine *Flower Silk-Shag*; and when new and fresh, they become a *Bed* very well, instead of a *Quilt*. Some of another sort are made of *Hare*, *Raccoon*, *Bever*, or *Squirrel-Skins*, which are very warm. Others again are made of the green Part of the *Skin* of a *Mallard's Head*, which they sew perfectly well together, their *Thread* being either the *Sinews* of a *Deer* divided very small, or *Silk-Grafs*. When these are finish'd, they look very finely, though they must needs be very troublesome to make. Some of their great *Men*, as *Rulers* and such, that have Plenty of *Deer Skins*

by them, will often buy the *English*-made Coats, which they wear on Festivals and other Days of Visiting. Yet none ever buy any Breeches, saying, that they are too much confid'd in them, which prevents their Speed in-running, &c.

We have some *Indians*, that are more civilized than the rest, which wear Hats, Shooes; Stockings, and Breeches, with very tolerable Linnen Shirts, which is not common amongst these Heathens. The *Paspitank Indians* did formerly keep Cattle, and make Butter.

Civiliz'd  
Indians.

Hatteras  
Indians.

These are them that wear the *English* Dress. Whether they have Cattle now or no, I am not certain; but I am of the Opinion, that such Inclinations in the Savages should meet with Encouragement, and every *Englishman* ought to do them Justice, and not defraud them of their Land, which has been allotted them formerly by the Government; for if we do not shew them Examples of Justice and Vertue, we can never bring them to believe us to be a worthier Race of Men than themselves.

The Dresses of these People are so different. according to the Nation that they belong to, that it is impossible to recount all the whimsical Figures that they sometimes make by their Antick Dresses. Besides, *Carolina* is a warm Country, and very mild in its Winters, to what *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Pennsylvania*, *New-York*, the *Jerseys*, and *New-England* are; wherefore, our *Indians* Habit very much differs from the Dresses that appear amongst the Savages who inhabit those cold Countries; in regard their chiefest Cloathing for the Winter-Season is made of the Furs of Bever, Raccoon, and other Northern Furs, that our Climate is not acquainted withal, they producing some Furs, as the *Monack*, *Moor*, *Marten*, *Black Fox*, and others to us unknown.

Painting  
for War.

Their Dress in Peace and War, is quite different. Besides, when they go to War, their Hair is comb'd out by the Women, and done over very much with Bears Grease, and red Root; with Feathers, Wings, Rings, Copper, and *Peak*, or *Wampum* in their Ears. Moreover, they buy Vermillion of the *Indian* Traders, wherewith they paint their Faces all over red, and commonly make a Circle of Black about one Eye, and another Circle of White about the other, whilst others bedawb their Faces with Tobacco-Pipe Clay, Lamp-black, black Lead, and divers other Colours, which they make

make with the several sorts of Minerals and Earths that they get in different Parts of the Country, where they hunt and travel. When these Creatures are thus painted, they make the most frightful Figures that can be imitated by Men, and seem more like Devils than Humane Creatures. You may be sure, that they are about some Mischief, when you see them thus painted; for in all the Hostilities which have ever been acted against the *English* at any time, in several of the Plantations of *America*, the Savages always appear'd in this Disguize, whereby they might never after be discover'd, or known by any of the Christians that should happen to see them after they had made their Escape; for it is impossible; ever to know an *Indian* under these Colours, although he has been at your House a thousand times, and you know him, at other times, as well as you do any Person living. As for their Women, they never use any Paint on their Faces; neither do they ever carry them along with them into the Field, when they intend any Expedition, leaving them at home with the old Men and Children.

Some of the *Indians* wear great Bobs in their Ears, and *Ear Bobs* sometimes in the Holes thereof they put Eagles and other Birds, Feathers, for a Trophy. When they kill any Fowl, they commonly pluck off the downy Feathers, and stick them all over their Heads. Some (both Men and Women) wear great Necklaces of their Money made of Shells. They often wear Bracelets made of Brass, and sometimes of Iron-Wire.

Their Money is of different sorts, but all made of Shells, *Indian* which are found on the Coast of *Carolina*, which are very *Money* large and hard, so that they are very difficult to cut. Some *English* Smiths have try'd to drill this sort of Shell-Money, and thereby thought to get an Advantage; but it prov'd so hard, that nothing could be gain'd. They often times make, of this Shell, a sort of Gorge, which they wear about their Neck in a string; so it hangs on their Collar, whereon sometimes is engraven a Cross, or some odd sort of Figure, which comes next in their Fancy. There are other sorts valued at a Doe-Skin, yet the Gorges will sometimes sell for three or four Buck-Skins ready drest. There be others, that eight of them go readily for a Doe Skin; but the general and current Species of all the *Indians* in *Carolina*, and, I believe, all over the

the Continent, as far as the Bay of *Mexico*, is that which we call *Peak*, and *Ronoak*; but *Peak* more especially. This is that which at *New-York*, they call *Wampum*, and have used it as current Money amongst the Inhabitants for a great many Years. This is what many Writers call *Porcelan*, and is made at *New-York* in great Quantities, and with us in some measure. Five Cubits of this purchase a dress'd Doe-Skin, and seven or eight purchase a dress'd Buck-Skin. An *Englishman* could not afford to make so much of this *Wampum* for five or ten times the Value; for it is made out of a vast great Shell, of which that Country affords Plenty; where it is ground smaller than the small End of a Tobacco-Pipe, or a large Wheat-Straw. Four or five of these make an Inch, and every one is to be drill'd through, and made as smooth as Glass, and so strung, as Beds are, and a Cubit of the *Indian* Measure contains as much in Length, as will reach from the Elbow to the End of the little Finger. They never stand to question, whether it is a tall Man, or a short one, that measures it; but if this *Wampum Peak* be black or purple, as some Part of that Shell is, then it is twice the Value. This the *Indians* grind on Stones and other things, till they make it current, but the Drilling is the most difficult to the *Englishmen*, which the *Indians* manage with a Nail stuck in a Cane or Reed. Thus they roll it continually on their Thighs, with their Right-hand, holding the Bit of Shell with their Left, so in time they drill a Hole quite through it, which is a very tedious Work; but especially in making their *Ronoak*, four of which will scarce make one Length of *Wampum*. The *Indians* are a People that never value their time, so that they can afford to make them, and never need to fear the *English* will take the Trade out of their Hands. This is the Money with which you may buy Skins, Furs, Slaves, or any thing the *Indians* have; it being the Mammon (as our Money is to us) that entices and persuades them to do any thing, and part with every thing they possess, except their Children for Slaves. As for their Wives, they are often sold, and their Daughters violated for it. With this they buy off Murders; and whatsoever a Man can do that is ill, this *Wampum* will quit him of, and make him, in their Opinion, good and vertuous, though never so black before.

All



All the *Indians* give a Name to their Children, which is not the same as the Father or Mother, but what they fancy. This Name they keep, (if Boys) till they arrive to the Age of a Warriour, which is sixteen or seventeen Years; then they take a Name to themselves, sometimes, *Eagle, Panther, Allegator*, or some such wild Creature; esteeming nothing on Earth worthy to give them a Name, but these Wild-Fowl, and Beasts. Some again take the Name of a Fish, which they keep as long as they live.

The King is the Ruler of the Nation, and has others under him, to assist him, as his War-Captains, and Counsellors, who are pick'd out and chosen from among the ancientest Men of the Nation he is King of. These meet him in all general Councils and Debates, concerning War, Peace, Trade, Hunting, and all the Adventures and Accidents of Humane Affairs, which appear within their Verge; where all Affairs are discoursed of and argued *pro* and *con*, very deliberately (without making any manner of Parties or Divisions) for the Good of the Publick; for, as they meet there to treat, they discharge their Duty with all the Integrity imaginable, never looking towards their Own Interest, before the Publick Good. After every Man has given his Opinion, that which has most Voices, or, in Summing up, is found the most reasonable, that they make use of without any Jars and Wrangling, and put it in Execution, the first Opportunity that offers.

The Succession falls not to the King's Son, but to his Sister's Son, which is a sure way to prevent Impostors in the Succession. Sometimes they poison the Heir to make way for another, which is not seldom done, when they do not approve of the Youth that is to succeed them. The King himself is commonly chief Doctor in that Cure.

They are so well versed in Poison, that they are often found to poison whole Families; nay, most of a Town; and which is most to be admired, they will poison a running Spring, or Fountain of Water, so that whosoever drinks thereof, shall infallible die. When the Offender is discover'd, his very Relations urge for Death, whom nothing will appease, but the most cruel Torment imaginable, which is executed in the most publick Manner that it's possible to act such a Tragedy in. For all the whole Nation, and all the

Taisoning  
Indians  
to be pu-  
nished.

*Indians* within a hundred Mile (if it is possible to send for them) are summon'd to come and appear at such a Place and Time, to see and rejoyce at the Torments and Death of such a Person, who is the common and profess'd Enemy to all the friendly *Indians* thereabouts, who now lies under the Condemnation of the whole Nation, and accordingly is to be put to Death. Then all appear (young and old) from all the adjacent Parts, and meet, with all the Expressions of Joy, to consummate this horrid and barbarous Feast, which is carried on after this dismal Manner. First, they bring the Prisoner to the Place appointed for the Execution, where he is set down on his Breech on the Ground. Then they all get about him, and you shall not see one sorrowful or dejected Countenance amongst them, but all very merrily dispos'd, as if some Comedy was to be acted, instead of a Tragedy. He that is appointed to be the chief Executioner, takes a Knife, and bids him hold out his Hands, which he does, and then cuts round the Wrist through the Skin, which is drawn off like a Glove, and flead quite off at the Fingers Ends; then they break his Joints and Bones, and buffet and torment him after a very inhumane Manner, till some violent Blow perhaps ends his Days; then they burn him to Ashes, and throw them down the River. Afterwards they eat, drink and are merry, repeating all the Actions of the Tormentors and the Prisoner, with a great deal of Mirth and Satisfaction. This Accusation is laid against an *Indian* Heroe sometimes wrongfully, or when they have a mind to get rid of a Man that has more Courage and Conduct than his neighbouring Kings or great Men; then they alledge the Practice of poisoning *Indians* against him, and make a Rehearsal of every *Indian* that died for a year or two, and say, that they were poison'd by such an *Indian*; which Reports stir up all the Relations of the deceased against the said Person, and by such means make him away presently. In some Affairs, these Savages are very reserv'd and politick, and will attend a long time with a great deal of Patience, to bring about their Designs; they being never impatient or hasty in executing any of their Designs of Revenge.

Now I am gone so far in giving an Account of the *Indians* Temper, I will proceed; and can give you no other Character of them, but that they are a very wary People, and are never

never haſty or impatient. They will endure a great many Miſfortunes, Loſſes, and Diſappointments without ſhewing themſelves, in the leaſt, vex'd or uneaſy. When they go by Water, if there proves a Head-Wind, they never vex and fret, as the *Europeans* do, and let what Miſfortune come to them, as will or can happen, they never relent. Beſides, there is one Vice very common every where, which I never found amongſt them, which is Envyng other Mens Happineſs, becauſe their Station is not equal to, or above, their Neighbours. Of this Sin I cannot ſay I ever ſaw an Example, though they are a People that ſet as great a Value upon themſelves, as any ſort of Men in the World; upon which Account they find ſomething Valuable in themſelves above Riches. Thus, he that is a good Warriour, is the proudeſt Creature living; and he that is an expert Hunter, is eſteem'd by the People and himſelf; yet all theſe are natural Vertues and Gifts, and not Riches, which are as often in the Poſſeſſion of a Fool as a Wiſe-man. Several of the *Indians* are poſſeſs'd of a great many Skins, *Wampum*, Ammunition, and what other things are eſteem'd Riches amongſt them; yet ſuch an *Indian* is no more eſteem'd amongſt them, than any other ordinary Fellow, provided he has no perſonal Endowments, which are the Ornaments that muſt gain him an Eſteem among them; for a great Dealer, amongſt the *Indians*, is no otherwiſe reſpected and eſteemed, than as a Man that ſtrains his Wits, and fatigues himſelf, to furniſh others with Neceſſaries of Life, that live much eaſier and enjoy more of the World, than he himſelf does, with all his Pelf. If they are taken Captives, and expect a miſerable Exit, they ſing; if <sup>Indians</sup> Death approach them in Sickneſs, they are not afraid of it; <sup>not afraid</sup> nor are ever heard to ſay, Grant me ſome time. They know <sup>to die.</sup> by Inſtinct, and daily Example, that they muſt die; wherefore, they have that great and noble Gift, to ſubmit to every thing that happens, and value nothing that attacks them.

Their Cruelty to their Priſoners of War is what they are ſeemingly guilty of an Error in, (I mean as to a natural Failing) becauſe they ſtrive to invent the moſt inhumane Butcheries for them, that the Devils themſelves could invent, or hammer out of Hell; they eſteeming Death no Punishment, but rather an Advantage to him, that is exported out of this into another World.

Therefore, they inflict on them Torments, wherein they prolong Life in that miserable state as long as they can, and never miss Skulping of them, as they call it, which is, to cut off the Skin from the Temples, and taking the whole Head of Hair along with it, as if it was a Night-cap. Sometimes, they take the Top of the Skull along with it; all which they preserve, and carefully keep by them, for a Trophy of their Conquest over their Enemies. Others keep their Enemies Teeth, which are taken in War, whilst others split the Pitch-Pine into Splinters, and stick them into the Prisoners Body yet alive. Thus they light them, which burn like so many Torches; and in this manner, they make him dance round a great Fire, every one buffeting and deriding him, till he expires, when every one strives to get a Bone or some Relick of this unfortunate Captive. One of the young Fellows, that has been at the Wars, and has had the Fortune to take a Captive, returns the proudest Creature on Earth, and sets such a Value on himself, that he knows not how to contain himself in his Senses. The *Iroquois*, or *Simagars*, are the most Warlike *Indians* that we know of, being always at War, and not to be persuaded from that Way of Living, by any Argument that can be used. If you go to persuade them to live peaceably with the *Tuskeruros*, and let them be one People, and in case those *Indians* desire it, and will submit to them, they will answer you, that they cannot live without War, which they have ever been used to; and that if Peace be made with the *Indians* they now war withal, they must find out some others to wage War against; for, for them to live in Peace, is to live out of their Element, War, Conquest, and Murder, being what they delight in, and value themselves for. When they take a Slave, and intend to keep him to Work in their Fields, they flea the Skin from the Setting on of his Toes to the middle of his Foot, so cut off one half of his Feet, wrapping the Skin over the Wounds, and healing them. By this cruel Method, the *Indian* Captive is hinder'd from making his Escape, for he can neither run fast or go any where, but his Feet are more easily traced and discover'd. Yet I know one Man who made his Escape from them, tho' they had thus disabled him, as you may see in my Journal.

Indians  
Cruelty to  
Prisoners  
of War.

Indians  
flea and  
cut off part  
of the  
Feet.

The

• The *Indians* ground their Wars on Enmity, not on Interest, as the *Europeans* generally do; for the Loss of the meanest Person in the Nation, they will go to War and lay all at Stake, and prosecute their Design to the utmost; till the Nation they were injur'd by, be wholly destroy'd, or make them that Satisfaction which they demand. They are very politick, in waging, and carrying on their War, first by advising with all the ancient Men of Conduct and Reason, that belong to their Nation; such as superannuated War-Captains, and those that have been Counsellors for many Years, and whose Advice has commonly succeeded very well. They have likewise their Field Counsellors, who are accustomed to Ambuscades, and Surprizes, which Methods are commonly used by the Savages; for I scarce ever heard of a Field-Battle fought amongst them.

One of their Expeditions afforded an Instance, worthy mention, which was thus; Two Nations of *Indians* here in *Carolina* were at War together, and a Party of each were in the Forest ranging to see what Enemies they could take. The lesser Number found they were discover'd, and could not well get over a River (that lay betwixt them and their home) without engaging the other Party, whose Numbers were much the greater; so they call'd a Council, which met, and having weigh'd their present Circumstances with a great deal of Argument and Debate, for a considerable time, and found their Enemies Advantage, and that they could expect no Success in Engaging such an unequal Number; they, at last, concluded on this Stratagem, which, in my Opinion, carried a great deal of Policy along with it. It was, That the same Night, they should make a great Fire, which they were certain would be discover'd by the adverse Party, and there dress up Logs of Wood in their Cloaths, and make them exactly seem like *Indians*, that were asleep by the Fire-side; (which is their Way, when in the Woods) so, said they, our Enemies will fire upon these Images, supposing them to be us, who will lie in Ambuscade, and, after their Guns are unloaded, shall deal well enough with them. This Result was immediately put in Execution, and the Fire was made by the side of a Valley, where they lay perdu very advantageously. Thus, a little before Break of Day, (which commonly is the Hour they surprize their Enemies in) the *Indi-*

*Indian*  
*Politicks.*

ans came down to their Fire, and at once fired in upon those Logs in the *Indians* Cloaths, and run up to them, expecting they had kill'd every Man dead; but they found themselves mistaken, for then the other *Indians*, who had lain all the Night stark-naked in the Bottom, attack'd them with their loaded Pieces, which so surprized them, that every Man was taken Prisoner, and brought in bound to their Town.

Machapunga  
King  
Charles.

Another Instance was betwixt the *Machapunga Indians*, and the *Coranine's*, on the Sand-Banks; which was as follows. The *Machapungas* were invited to a Feast, by the *Coraines*; (which two Nations had been a long time at War together, and had lately concluded a Peace.) Thereupon, the *Machapunga Indians* took the Advantage of coming to the *Coraines* Feast, which was to avoid all Suspicion, and their King, who, of a Savage, is a great Politician and very stout, order'd all his Men to carry their *Tamahawks* along with them, hidden under their Match-Coats, which they did; and being acquainted when to fall on, by the Word given, they all (upon this Design) set forward for the Feast, and came to the *Coranine* Town, where they had gotten Victuals, Fruit, and such things as make an *Indian* Entertainment, all ready to make these new Friends welcome, which they did; and, after Dinner, towards the Evening, (as it is customary amongst them) they went to Dancing, all together; so when the *Machapunga* King saw the best Opportunity offer, he gave the Word, and his Men pull'd their *Tamahawks* or Hatchets from under their Match-Coats, and kill'd several, and took the rest Prisoners, except some few that were not present, and about four or five that escap'd. The Prisoners they sold Slaves to the *English*. At the time this was done, those *Indians* had nothing but Bows and Arrows, neither side having Guns.

Drunkness in  
Indians.

The *Indians* are very revengeful, and never forget an Injury done, till they have receiv'd Satisfaction. Yet they are the freest People from Heats and Passions (which possess the *Europeans*) of any I ever heard of. They never call any Man to account for what he did, when he was drunk; but say, it was the Drink that caus'd his Misbehaviour, therefore he ought to be forgiven: They never frequent a Christian's House that is given to Passion, nor will they ever buy or sell with him, if they can get the same Commodities of any other

ther Person ; for they say, such Men are mad Wolves, and no more Men.

They know not what Jealoufy is, because they never think <sup>Indians</sup> their Wives are unconstant, unless they are Eye-witnesses <sup>not Jealous.</sup> thereof. They are generally very bashful, especially the young Maids, who when they come into a strange Cabin, where they are not acquainted, never ask for any thing, though never so hungry or thirsty, but sit down, without speaking a Word (be it never so long) till some of the House asks them a Question, or falls into Discourse, with the Stranger. I never saw a Scold amongst them, and to their Children they are extraordinary tender and indulgent ; neither did I ever see a Parent correct a Child, excepting one Woman, that was the King's Wife, and she (indeed) did possess a Temper that is not commonly found amongst them. They are free from all manner of Compliments, except Shaking of Hands, and Scratching on the Shoulder, which two are the greatest Marks of Sincerity and Friendship, that can be shew'd one to another. They cannot express *fare you well* ; but when they <sup>Indians</sup> leave the House, will say, *I go straightway*, which is to intimate their Departure ; and if the Man of the House has any <sup>Comple-</sup> <sup>ments.</sup> Message to send by the going Man, he may acquaint him therewith. Their Tongue allows not to say, *Sir, I am your Servant* ; because they have no different Titles for Man, only King, War-Captain, Old Man, or Young Man, which respect the Stations and Circumstances Men are employ'd in, and arriv'd to, and not Ceremony. As for Servant, they have no such thing, except Slave, and their Dogs, cats, tame or domestick Beasts, and Birds, are call'd by the same Name : For the *Indian* Word for Slave includes them all. So when an *Indian* tells you he has got a Slave for you, it may (in general Terms, as they use) be a young Eagle, a Dog, Otter, or any other thing of that Nature, which is obsequiously to depend on the Master for its Sustainance.

They are never fearful in the Night, nor do the Thoughts of Spirits ever trouble them ; such as the many Hobgoblins and Bugbears that we suck in with our Milk, and the Foolery of our Nurses and Servants suggest to us ; who by <sup>Indians</sup> their idle Tales of Fairies, and Witches, make such <sup>not afraid</sup> <sup>of Spirits.</sup> Impressions on our tender Years, that at Maturity, we carry <sup>of Spirits.</sup> <sup>so.</sup> Pigmies Souls, in Giants Bodies, and ever after are thereby

so much depriv'd of Reason, and unman'd, as never to be Masters of half the Bravery Nature design'd for us.

Not but that the *Indians* have as many Lying Stories of Spirits and Conjurers, as any People in the World ; but they tell it with no Disadvantage to themselves ; for the great Esteem which the Old Men bring themselves to, is by making the others believe their Familiarity with Devils and Spirits, and how great a Correspondence they have therewith, which if it once gains Credit, they ever after are held in the greatest Veneration imaginable, and whatever they after impose upon the People, is receiv'd as infallible. They are so little startled at the Thoughts of another World, that they not seldom murder themselves ; as for Instance, a *Bear-River Indian*, a very likely young Fellow, about twenty Years of Age, whose Mother was angry at his drinking of too much Rum, and chid him for it, thereupon reply'd, he would have her satisfied, and he would do the like no more ; upon which he made his Words good ; for he went aside, and shot himself dead. This was a Son of the politick King of the *Machapunga*, I spoke of before, and has the most Cunning of any *Indian* I ever met withal.

Most of the Savages are much addic'ted to Drunkenness, a Vice they never were acquainted with, till the Christians came amongst them. Some of them refrain drinking strong Liquors, but very few of that sort are found amongst them. Their chief Liquor is Rum, without any Mixture. This the *English* bring amongst them, and buy Skins, Furs, Slaves and other of their Commodities therewith. They never are contented with a little, but when once begun, they must make themselves quite drunk ; otherwise they will never rest, but sell all they have in the World, rather than not have their full Dose. In these drunken Frolicks, (which are always carried on in the Night ) they sometimes murder one another, fall into the Fire, fall down Precipices, and break their Necks, with several other Misfortunes which this drinking of Rum brings upon them ; and tho' they are sensible of it, yet they have no Power to refrain this Enemy. About five years ago, when *Landgrave Daniel* was Governour, he summon'd in all the *Indian* Kings and Rulers to meet, and in a full Meeting of the Government and Council, with those *Indians*, they agreed upon a firm Peace, and the *Indian* Rulers desired



no Rum might be sold to them, which was granted, and a Law made, that inflicted a Penalty on those that sold Rum to the Heathens; but it was never strictly observ'd, and besides, the young *Indians* were so disgusted at that Article, that they threatned to kill the *Indians* that made it, unless it was laid aside, and they might have Rum sold them, when they went to the *Englishmens* Houses to buy it.

Some of the Heathens are so very poor, that they have no Manner of Cloaths, save a Wad of Moss to hide their Nakedness. These are either lusty and will not work; otherwise, they are given to Gaming or Drunkenness; yet these get Victuals as well as the rest, because that is common amongst them, If they are caught in theft they are Slaves till they repay the Person, (as I mention'd before) but to steal from the *English* they reckon no Harm. Not but that I have known some few Savages that have been as free from Theft as any of the Christians. When they have a Design to lie with a Woman, which they cannot obtain any otherwise than by a larger Reward than they are able to give, they then strive to make her drunk, which a great many of them will be; then they take the Advantage, to do with them what they please, and sometimes in their Drunkenness, cut off their Hair and sell it to the *English*, which is the greatest Affront can be offer'd them. They never value Time; for if they be going out to hunt, fish, or any other indifferent Business, you may keep them in talk as long as you please, so you but keep them in Discourse, and seem pleased with their Company; yet none are more expeditious and safer Messengers than they, when any extraordinary Business that they are sent about requires it.

When they are upon travelling the Woods, they keep a constant Pace, neither will they stride over a Tree that lies cross the Path, but always go round it, which is quite contrary to the Custom of the *English*, and other *Europeans*. When they cut with a Knife, the Edge is towards them, whereas we always cut and whittle from us. Nor did I ever see one of them left-handed. Before the Christians came amongst them, not knowing the Use of Steel and Flints, they got their Fire with Sticks, which by vehement Collision, or Rubbing together, take Fire. This Method they will sometimes

*Not pass over a Tree.*  
*Cut with a Knife bow.*  
*A Knife of Reed.*  
*Not left-handed.*  
*Get Fire bow.*

*Get Fire.*

times practise now, when it has happen'd thro' rainy Weather, or some other Accident, that they have wet their Spunk, which is a sort of soft corky Substance, generally of a Cinnamon Colour, and grows in the concave part of an Oak, Hicory, and several other Woods, being dug out with an Ax, and always kept by the *Indians*, instead of Tinder or Touch-wood, both which it exceeds. You are to understand, that the two Sticks they use to strike Fire withal, are never of one sort of Wood, but always differ from each other.

They are expert Travellers, and though they have not the Use of our artificial Compass, yet they understand the North-point exactly, let them be in never so great a Wilderness. One Guide is a short Moss, that grows upon some Trees, exactly on the North-Side thereof.

*Indian Compass.*

Besides, they have Names for eight of the thirty two Points, and call the Winds by their several Names, as we do; but indeed more properly, for the North-West Wind is called the cold Wind; the North-East the wet Wind; the South the warm Wind; and so agreeably of the rest. Sometimes it happens, that they have a large River or Lake to pass over, and the Weather is very foggy, as it often happens in the Spring and Fall of the Leaf; so that they cannot see which Course to steer: In such a Case, they being on one side of the River, or Lake, they know well enough what Course such a Place (which they intend for) bears from them. Therefore, they get a great many Sticks and Chunks of Wood in their Canoe, and then set off directly for their Port, and now and then throw over a Piece of Wood, which directs them, by seeing how the Stick bears from the Canoes Stern, which they always observe to keep right aft; and this is the *Indian* Compass by which they will go over a broad Water of ten or twenty Leagues wide. They will find the Head of any River, though it is five, six or seven hundred miles off, and they never were there, in their Lives before; as is often prov'd, by their appointing to meet on the Head of such a River, where perhaps, none of them ever was before, but where they shall rendezvous exactly at the prefixt time; and if they meet with any Obstruction, they leave certain Marks in the Way, where they that come after will understand how many have pass'd by already, and which way they are gone.

Be-

Besides, in their War Expeditions, they have very certain Hieroglyphicks, whereby each Party informs the other of the Success or Losses they have met withal; all which is so exactly perform'd by their Sylvian Marks and Characters, that they are never at a Loss to understand one another. Yet there was never found any Letters amongst the Savages of *Carolina*; nor, I believe, among any other Natives in *America*, that were possess'd with any manner of Writing or Learning throughout all the Discoveries of the New-World. They will draw Maps, very exactly, of all the Rivers, Towns, Mountains, and Roads, or what you shall enquire of them, which you may draw by their Directions, and come to a small matter of Latitude, reckoning by their Days Journeys. These Maps they will draw in the Ashes of the Fire, and sometimes upon a Mat or Piece of Bark. I have put a Pen and Ink into a Savage's Hand, and he has drawn me the Rivers, Bays, and other Parts of a Country, which afterwards I have found to agree with a great deal of Nicety: But you must be very much in their Favour, otherwise they will never make these Discoveries to you; especially, if it be in their own Quarters. And as for Mines of Silver and other Metals, we are satisfis'd we have enow, and those very rich, in *Carolina* and its adjacent Parts; some of which the *Indians* are acquainted withal, although no Enquirers thereafter, but what came, and were discover'd, by Chance; yet they say, it is this Metal that the *English* covet, as they do their *Peak* and *Ronoak*; and that we have gain'd Ground of them wherever we have come. Now, say they, if we should discover these Minerals to the *English*, they would settle at or near these Mountains, and bereave us of the best Hunting-Quarters we have, as they have already done wherever they have inhabited; so by that means, we shall be driven to some unknown Country, to live, hunt, and get our Bread in. These are the Reasons that the Savages give, for not making known what they are acquainted withal, of that Nature. And indeed, all Men that have ever gone upon those Discoveries, allow them to be good; more especially, my ingenious Friend Mr. *Francis-Louis Mitchell*, of *Bern* in *Switzerland*, who has been, for several Years, very indefatigable and, strict in his Discoveries amongst those vast Ledges of Mountains, and spacious Tracts of Land, lying towards the Heads of the great Bays and Rivers

Rivers of *Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania*, where he has discover'd a spacious Country inhabited by none but the Savages, and not many of them; who yet are of a very friendly Nature to the Christians. This Gentleman has been employ'd by the Canton of *Bern*, to find out a Tract of Land in the *English America*, where that Republick might settle some of their People; which Proposal, I believe, is now in a fair way towards a Conclusion, between her Majesty of *Great-Britain* and that Canton. Which must needs be of great Advantage to both; and as for ourselves, I believe, no Man that is in his Wits, and understands the Situation and Affairs of *America*, but will allow, nothing can be of more Security and Advantage to the Crown and Subjects of *Great-Britain*, than to have our Frontiers secured by a warlike People, and our Friends, as the *Switzers* are; especially when we have more *Indians* than we can civilize, and so many Christian Enemies lying on the back of us, that we do not know how long or short a time it may be, before they visit us. Add to these, the Effects and Product that may be expected from those Mountains; which may hereafter prove of great Advantage to the *British Monarchy*, and none more fit than an industrious People, bred in a mountainous Country, and inur'd to all the Fatigues of War and Travel, to improve a Country. Thus we have no room to doubt, but as soon as any of those Parts are seated by the *Switzers*, a great many *Britains* will strive to live amongst them, for the Benefit of the sweet Air and healthful Climate, which that Country affords, were it only for the Cultivating of Hemp, Flax, Wine, and other valuable Staples, which those People are fully acquainted withal: Not to mention the Advantages already discover'd by that worthy Gentleman I just now spoke of, who is highly deserving of the Conduct and Management of such an Affair, as that wise Canton has entrusted him withal.

Switzers  
Settlement  
in America.

When these Savages go a hunting, they commonly go out in great Numbers, and oftentimes a great many Days Journey from home, beginning at the coming in of the Winter; that is, when the Leaves are fallen from the Trees, and are become dry. 'Tis then they burn the Woods, by setting Fire to the Leaves, and wither'd Bent and Grass, which they do with a Match made of the black Moss that hangs on the Trees in *Carolina*, and is sometimes above six Foot long. This, when dead

Hunting  
of the Sa-  
vages.

dead, becomes black, (tho' of an Ash-Colour before) and will then hold Fire as well as the best Match we have in *Europe*. <sup>Moss</sup>  
 In Places, where this Moss is not found, (as towards the <sup>Mauch.</sup> Mountains) they make Lintels of the Bark of Cypress beaten, which serve as well. Thus they go and fire the Woods for many Miles, and drive the Deer and other Game into small Necks of Land and Isthmus's, where they kill and destroy what they please. In these Hunting-Quarters, they have their Wives and Ladies of the Camp, where they eat all the Fruits and Dainties of that Country, and live in all the Mirth and Jollity, which it is possible for such People to entertain themselves withal. Here it is, that they get their Complement of Deer-Skins and Furs to trade with the *English*, (the Deer-Skins being in Season in Winter, which is contrary to *England*.) All small Game, as Turkeys, Ducks, and small Vermine, they commonly kill with Bow and Arrow, thinking it not worth throwing Powder and Shot after them. Of Turkeys they have abundance; especially, in Oak-Land, as most of it is, that lies any distance backwards. I have been often in their Hunting-Quarters, where a roasted or barbaqued Turkey, eaten with Bears Fat, is held a good Dish; and indeed, I approve of it very well; for the Bears Grease is the sweetest and least offensive to the Stomach (as I said before) of any Fat of Animals I ever tasted. The Savage Men never beat their Corn to make Bread; but that is the Womens Work, especially the Girls, of whom you shall see four beating with long great Pestils in a narrow wooden Mortar; and every one keeps her Stroke so exactly, that 'tis worthy <sup>Beating of</sup> of Admiration. <sup>Corn.</sup> Their Cookery continues from Morning till Night. The Hunting makes them hungry; and the *Indians* are a People that always eat very often, not seldom getting up at Midnight, to eat. They plant a great many sorts of Pulse, Part of which they eat green in the Summer, keeping great Quantities for their Winter-Store, which they carry along with them into the Hunting-Quarters, and eat them:

The small red Pease is very common with them, and they eat a great deal of that and other sorts boil'd with their Meat, or eaten with Bears Fat, which Food makes them break Wind backwards, which the Men frequently do, and laugh heartily at it, it being accounted no ill Manners amongst the *Indians*: Yet the Women are more modest, than to follow that ill Custom. At

*Servile  
Indians.*

*Dry'd  
Fruits.*

*Pigeons  
Fat.*

*Bowls and  
Tobacco-  
Pipes to  
make.  
Dress  
Skins.*

their setting out, they have *Indians* to attend their Hunting-Camp, that are not good and expert Hunters; therefore are employ'd to carry Burdens, to get Bark for the Cabins, and other Servile Work; also to go backward and forward, to their Towns, to carry News to the old People, whom they leave behind them. The Women are forced to carry their Loads of Grain and other Provisions, and get Fire-Wood; for a good Hunter, or Warriour in these Expeditions, is employ'd in no other Business, than the Affairs of Game and Battle. The wild Fruits which are dry'd in the Summer, over Fires, on Hurdles and in the Sun, are now brought into the Field; as are likewise the Cakes and Quiddonies of Peaches, and that Fruit and Bilberries dry'd, of which they stew and make Fruit-Bread and Cakes. In some parts, where Pigeons are plentiful, they get of their Fat enough to supply their Winter Stores. Thus they abide in these Quarters, all the Winter long, till the Time approach for planting their Maiz and other Fruits. In these quarters, at Spare-hours, the Women make Baskets and Mats to lie upon, and those that are not extraordinary Hunters, make Bowls, Dishes, and Spoons, of Gum-wood, and the Tulip-Tree; others (where they find a Vein of white Clay, fit for their purpose, make Tobacco-pipes, all which are often transported to other *Indians*, that perhaps have greater Plenty of Deer and other Game; so they buy (with these Manufactures) their raw Skins, with the Hair on, which our neighbouring *Indians* bring to their Towns, and, in the Summer-time, make the Slaves and sorry Hunters dress them, the Winter-Sun being not strong enough to dry them; and those that are dry'd in the Cabins are black and nasty with the Lightwood Smoke, which they commonly burn. Their Way of dressing their Skins is by soaking them in Water, so they get the Hair off, with an Instrument made of the Bone of a Deer's Foot; yet some use a sort of Iron Drawing-Knife, which they purchase of the *English*, and after the Hair is off, they dissolve Deers Brains, (which beforehand are made in a Cake and baked in the Embers) in a Bowl of Water, so soak the Skins therein, till the Brains have suck'd up the Water; then they dry it gently, and keep working it with an Oyster-Shell, or some such thing, to scrape withal, till it is dry; whereby it becomes soft and pliable. Yet these so dress'd will not endure wet,  
but

but become hard thereby; which to prevent, they either cure them in the Smoke, or tan them with Bark, as before observ'd; not but that young *Indian* Corn, beaten to a Pulp, will effect the same as the Brains. They are not only good Hunters of the wild Beasts and Game of the Forest, but very expert in taking the Fish of the Rivers and Waters near which they inhabit, and are acquainted withal. Thus they that live a great way up the Rivers practise Striking Sturgeon and Rock-fish, or Bass, when they come up the Rivers to spawn; besides the vast Shoals of Sturgeon which they kill and take with Snares, as we do Pike in *Europe*. The Herrings in *March* and *April* run a great way up the Rivers and fresh Streams to spawn, where the Savages make great Wares, with Hedges that hinder their Passage only in the Middle, where an artificial Pound is made to take them in; so that they cannot return. This Method is in use all over the fresh Streams, to catch Trout and the other Species of Fish which those Parts afford. Their taking of Craw-fish is so pleasant, that I cannot pass it by without mention; When they have a mind to get these Shell-fish, they take a Piece of Venison, and half-barbakue or roast it; then they cut it into thin Slices, which Slices they stick through with Reeds about six Inches asunder, betwixt Piece and Piece; then the Reeds are made sharp at one end; and so they stick a great many of them down in the bottom of the Water (thus baited) in the small Brooks and Runs, which the Craw-fish frequent. Thus the *Indians* sit by, and tend those baited Sticks, every now and then taking them up, to see how many are at the Bait; where they generally find abundance; so take them off, and put them in a Basket for the purpose, and stick the Reeds down again. By this Method, they will, in a little time, catch several Bushels, which are as good, as any I ever eat. Those *Indians* that frequent the Salt-Waters, take abundance of Fish, some very large, and of several sorts, which to preserve, they first barbakue, then pull the Fish to Pieces, so dry it in the Sun, whereby it keeps for Transportation; as for Scate, Oysters, Cockles, and several sorts of Shell-fish, they open and dry them upon Hurdles, having a constant Fire under them. The Hurdles are made of Reeds or Canes in the shape of a Gridiron. Thus they dry several Bushels of these Fish, and keep them for their Necessities. At the time when they are on the Salts,

Fish so strike.

Craw-fish so take.

Hatteras Indians.

Salts, and Sea Coasts, they have another Fishery, that is for a little Shell-fish, which those in *England* call *Blackmoors Teeth*. These they catch by tying Bits of Oysters to a long String, which they lay in such places, as, they know, those Shell-Fish haunt. These Fish get hold of the Oysters, and suck them in, so that they pull up those long Strings, and take great Quantities of them, which they carry a great way into the main Land, to trade with the remote *Indians*, where they are of great Value; but never near the Sea, by reason they are common, therefore not esteem'd. Besides, the Youth and *Indian* Boys go in the Night, and one holding a Lightwood Torch, the other has a Bow and Arrows, and the Fire directing him to see the Fish, he shoots them with the Arrows; and thus they kill a great many of the smaller Fry, and sometimes pretty large ones. It is an establish'd Custom amongst all these Natives, that the young Hunter never eats of that Buck, Bear, Fish, or any other Game, which happens to be the first they kill of that sort; because they believe, if he should eat thereof, he would never after be fortunate in Hunting. The like foolish Ceremony they hold, when they have made a Ware to take Fish withal; if a big-belly'd Woman eat of the first Dish that is caught in it, they say, that Ware will never take much Fish; and as for killing of Snakes, they avoid it, if they lie in their way, because their Opinion is, that some of the Serpents Kindred would kill some of the Savages Relations, that should destroy him: They have thousands of these foolish Ceremonies and Beliefs, which they are strict Observers of. Moreover, several Customs are found in some Families, which others keep not; as for Example, two Families of the *Machapunga Indians*, use the *Jewish* Custom of Circumcision, and the rest do not; neither did I ever know any others amongst the *Indians*, that practis'd any such thing; and perhaps, if you ask them, what is the Reason they do so, they will make you no Manner of Answer; which is as much as to say, I will not tell you. Many other Customs they have, for which they will render no Reason or Account; and to pretend to give a true Description of their Religion, it is impossible; for there are a great many of their Absurdities, which, for some Reason, they reserve as a Secret amongst themselves; or otherwise, they are jealous of their Weakness in the practising them;

*Blackmoor  
Teeth.*

*Indians  
not eat of  
the first he  
kills.*

*Big bellied  
Woman  
never eat  
of the first  
Fish caught  
in a Ware  
Indians  
not kill  
Snakes  
Circumci-  
sion.*



them; so that they never acquaint any Christian with the Knowledge thereof, let Writers pretend what they will; for I have known them amongst their Idols and dead Kings in their *Quiogozon* for several Days, where I could never get Admittance, to see what they were doing, though I was at great Friendship with the King and great Men; but all my Indian Persuasions avail'd me nothing. Neither were any but the King, with the Conjurer, and some few old Men, in that House; as for the young Men, and chiefest Numbers of the *Indians*, they were kept as ignorant of what the Elders were doing, as myself.

They all believe, that this World is round, and that there are two Spirits; the one good, the other bad: The good one they reckon to be the Author and Maker of every thing, and say, that it is he, that gives them the Fruits of the Earth, and has taught them to hunt, fish, and be wise enough to overpower the Beasts of the Wilderness, and all other Creatures, that they may be assistant, and beneficial to Man; to which they add, that the *Quera*, or good Spirit, has been very kind to the *English* Men, to teach them to make Guns, and Ammunition, besides a great many other Necessaries, that are helpful to Man, all which, they say, will be deliver'd to them, when that good Spirit sees fit. They do not believe, that God punishes any Man either in this Life, or that to come; but that he delights in doing good, and in giving the Fruits of the Earth, and instructing us in making several useful and ornamental things. They say, it is a bad Spirit (who lives separate from the good one) that torments us with Sicknesses, Disappointments, Losses, Hunger, Travel, and all the Misfortunes, that Humane Life is incident to. How they are treated in the next World, I have already mention'd, and, as I said before, they are very resolute in dying, when in the Hands of Savage Enemies; yet I saw one of their young Men, a very likely Person, condemn'd, on a *Sunday*, for Killing a Negro, and burning the House. I took good Notice of his Behaviour, when he was brought out of the House to die, which was the next Morning after Sentence, but he chang'd his Countenance with Trembling, and was in the greatest Fear and Agony. I never saw any Person under his Circumstances, which, perhaps, might be occasion'd by his being deliver'd up by his own Nation (which was the *Tuskuro's*)

*Indian Idols give an account of.*

*The World is round.*

*What they believe of God. Their offering Idols.*

*Devil what.*

*Indian condemn'd.*

*Tuskuro's*

keruro's) and executed by us, that are not their common Enemies, though he met with more Favour than he would have receiv'd at the Hands of Savages; for he was only hang'd on a Tree, near the Place where the Murder was committed; and the three Kings, that but the day before shew'd such a Reluctancy to deliver him up, (but would have given another in his Room) when he was hang'd, pull'd him by the Hand, and said, *Thou wilt never play any more Rogues Tricks in this World; whither art thou gone to shew thy Tricks now?* Which shews these Savages to be what they really are, (*viz.*) a People that will save their own Men if they can, but if the Safety of all the People lies at Stake, they will deliver up the most innocent Person living, and be so far from Concern, when they have made themselves easy thereby, that they will laugh at their Misfortunes, and never pity or think of them more.

Their Priests are the Conjurers and Doctors of the Nation.

Indian  
Conjurers.

I shall mention some of their Methods, and Practices; and so leave them to the Judgment of the Reader. As I told you before, the Priests make their Orations at every Feast, or other great Meeting of the *Indians*. I happen'd to be at one of these great Meetings, which was at the Funeral of a *Tuf-*

Indian  
Lightning,  
at Chat-  
took, at  
a Feast for  
rebuilding  
a King's  
House  
burnt.

*keruro Indian*, that was slain with Lightning at a Feast, the day before, where I was amongst the rest; it was in *July*, and a very fair day, where, in the Afternoon, about six or seven a Clock, as they were dealing out their Victuals, there appear'd a little black Cloud to the North West, which spread and brought with it Rain, Wind and Lightning; so we went out from the Place where we were all at Victuals, and went down to the Cabins where I left the *Indians*, and went to lie in my Canoe, which was convenient enough to keep me dry. The Lightning came so terrible, and down in long Streams, that I was afraid it would have taken hold of a Barrel of Powder I had in my Vessel, and so blown me up; but it pleas'd God, that it did me no Harm; yet the Violence of the Wind had blown all the Water away, where I rid at Anchor, so that my Canoe lay dry, and some *Indian Women* came with Torches in their Hands to the side of the Canoe, and told me, an *Indian* was kill'd with Lightning. The next day, (I think) he was buried, and I stay'd to see the Ceremony, and was very tractable to help the *Indians* to trim their Reeds, and make the Coffin, which pleased them very much,  
being

because I had a mind to see the Interment. Before he was Interterr'd according to their Custom, they dealt every one some hot Victuals, which he took and did what he would with: Then the Doctor began to talk, and told the People what Lightning was, and that it kill'd every thing that dwelt upon the Earth; nay, the very Fishes did not escape; for it often reach'd the Porpoises and other Fish, and destroy'd them; that every thing strove to shun it, except the Mice, who, he said, were the busiest in eating their Corn in the Fields, when it lightned the most. He added, that no Wood or Tree could withstand it, except the black Gum, and that it would run round that Tree a great many times, to enter therein, but could not effect it. Now you must understand, that sort of Gum will not split or rive; therefore, I suppose, the Story might arise from thence. At last, he began to tell the most ridiculous absurd Parcel of Lyes about Lightning, that could be; as that an *Indian* of that Nation had once got Lightning in the Likeness of a Partridge; That no other Lightning could harm him, whilst he had that about him; and that after he had kept it for several Years, it got away from him; so that he then became as liable to be struck with Lightning, as any other Person. There was present at the same time, an *Indian* that had liv'd from his Youth, chiefly in an *English* House; so I call'd to him, and told him, what a Parcel of Lyes the Conjuror told, not doubting but he thought so, as well as I, but I found to the contrary; for he reply'd, that I was much mistaken, for that old Man (who, I believe was upwards of an hundred Years old) did never tell Lyes; and as for what he said, it was very true; for he knew it himself to be so. Thereupon, seeing the Fellow's Ignorance, <sup>How hard it is to</sup> I talk'd no more about it. Then the Doctor proceeded to <sup>bring the</sup> tell a long Tale of a great Rattle-Snake, which, a great <sup>Indians</sup> while ago, liv'd by a Creek in that River (which was *Neus*) <sup>from their</sup> and that it kill'd abundance of *Indians*; but at last, a bald <sup>Superstition</sup> Eagle kill'd it, and they were rid of a Serpent, that us'd to <sup>Rattle-Snake kill</sup> devour whole Canoes full of *Indians*, at a time. I have been <sup>Canoes</sup> something tedious upon this Subject, on purpose to shew what <sup>Eagles kill</sup> strange ridiculous Stories these Wretches are inclinable to believe. I suppose, these Doctors understand a little better themselves, than to give Credit to any such Fooleries; for I reckon them the cunningest Knaves in all the Pack. I will

Indian  
Physick and  
Surgery.

therefore begin with their Physick and Surgery, which is next: You must know, that the Doctors or Conjurers, to gain a greater Credit amongst these People, tell them, that all Distempers are the Effects of evil Spirits, or the bad Spirit, which has struck them with this or that Malady; therefore, none of these Physicians undertakes any Distemper, but that he comes to an Exorcism, to effect the Cure, and acquaints the sick Party's Friends, that he must converse with the good Spirit, to know whether the Patient will recover or not; if so, then he will drive out the bad Spirit, and the Patient will become well. Now, the general way of their Behaviour in curing the Sick, (a great deal of which I have seen, and shall give some Account thereof, in as brief a manner as possible) is, when an *Indian* is sick, if they think there is much Danger of Life, and that he is a great Man or hath good Friends, the Doctor is sent for. As soon as the Doctor comes into the Cabin, the sick Person is sat on a Mat or Skin, stark-naked, lying on his Back, and all uncover'd, except some small Trifle that covers their Nakedness when ripe, otherwise in very young Children, there is nothing about them. In this manner, the Patient lies, when the Conjuror appears; and the King of that Nation comes to attend him with a Rattle made of a Gourd with Pease in it. This the King delivers into the Doctor's Hand, whilst another brings a Bowl of Water, and sets it down: Then the Doctor begins, and utters some few Words very softly; afterwards he smells of the Patient's Navel and Belly, and sometimes scarifies him a little with a Flint, or an Instrument made of Rattle-Snakes Teeth for that purpose; then he sucks the Patient, and gets out a Mouthful of Blood and *Serum*, but *Serum* chiefly; which, perhaps, may be a better Method in many Cases, than to take away great Quantities of Blood, as is commonly practis'd; which he spits in the Bowl of Water. Then he begins to mutter, and talk apace, and, at last, to cut Capers, and clap his Hands on his Breech and Sides, till he gets into a Sweat, so that a Stranger would think he was running mad; now and then sucking the Patient, and so, at times, keeps sucking, till he has got a great Quantity of very ill-coloured Matter out of the Belly, Arms, Breast, Forehead, Temples, Neck, and most Parts, still continuing his Grimaces, and antick Postures, which are not to be match'd in *Bedlam*: At last, you will see the Doctor all over of a dropping Sweat, and scarce

Conjuring  
over the  
Sick.

scarce able to utter one Word, having quite spent himself; then he will cease for a while, and so begin again, till he comes in the same Pitch of Raving and seeming Madness, as before, (all this time the sick Body never so much as moves, although, doubtless, the Lancing and Sucking must be a great Punishment to them; but they, certainly, are the patientest and most steady People under any Burden, that I ever saw in my Life.) At last, the Conjurer makes an end, and tells the Patient's Friends, whether the Person will live or die; and then one that waits at this Ceremony, takes the Blood away, (which remains in a Lump, in the middle of the Water) and buries it in the Ground, in a Place unknown to any one, but he that inters it. Now, I believe a great deal of Imposture in these Fellows; yet I never knew their Judgment fail, though I have seen them give their Opinion after this Manner, several times: Some affirm, that there is a smell of Brimstone in the Cabins, when they are Conjuring, which I cannot contradict. Which way it may come, I will not argue, but proceed to a Relation or two, which I have from a great many Persons, and some of them worthy of Credit.

The first is, of a certain *Indian*, that one rainy Night, Indian undermin'd a House made of Logs, (such as the *Suedes* in *Robbery*. *America* very often make, and are very strong) which belong'd to *Seth Southwell*, Esq; Governor of *North-Carolina*, and one of the Proprietors. There was but one place the *Indian* could get in at, which was very narrow; the rest was secur'd, by having Barrels of Pork and other Provisions set against the side of the House, so that if this *Indian* had not exactly hit the very Place he undermin'd, it had been impossible for him to have got therein, because of the full Barrels that stood round the House, and barricadoed it within. The *Indian* stole sixty or eighty dress'd Deer-Skins, besides Blankets, Powder, Shot and Rum, (this being the *Indian* Store-House, where the Trading Goods were kept.) Now, the *Indian* had made his Escape, but dropt some of the Skins by the way, and they track'd his Foot-steps, and found him to be an *Indian*; then they guess'd who it was, because none but that *Indian* had lately been near the House. Thereupon, the Governor sent to the *Indian* Town that he belong'd to, which was the *Tuskaree's*, and acquainted them that if they did not deliver up the *Indian*, who had committed the

Robbery, he would take a Course with them, that would not be very agreeable. Upon this, the *Indians* of the Town he belong'd to, brought him in bound, and deliver'd him up to the Governor, who laid him in Irons. At the same time, it happen'd, that a Robbery was committed amongst themselves, at the *Indian* Town, and this Prisoner was one of their Conjurers; so the *Indians* came down to the Governor's House, and acquainted him with what had happen'd amongst them, and that a great Quantity of *Peak*, was stoln away out of one of their Cabins, and no one could find out the Thief, unless he would let the Prisoner conjure for it, who was the only Man they had at making such Discoveries. The Governor was content he should try his Skill for them, but not to have the Prisoner's Irons taken off, which was very well approved of. The *Indian* was brought out in his Fetters, where were the Governor's Family, and several others of the Neighbourhood, now living, to see this Experiment; which he perform'd thus:

Conjuring  
for stoln  
Goods.

The Conjuror order'd three Fires to be made in a triangular Form, which was accordingly done; then he was hood-wink'd very securely, with a dress'd Deer-Skin, two or three doubles, over his Face. After he had made some Motions, as they always do, he went directly out of one of the three Gaps, as exactly as if he had not been blindfolded, and kept muttering to himself, having a Stick in his Hand, with which, after some time, he struck two Strokes very hard upon the Ground, and made thereon a Cross, after which he told the *Indian's* Name that had stoln the Goods, and said, that he would have a Cross on his Back; which prov'd true; for when they took and search'd him, there appear'd two great Wheals on his Back, one cross the other; for the Thief was at Governor *Southwell's* House, and was under no Apprehension of being discover'd. The *Indians* proffer'd to sell him as a Slave to the Governor, but he refused to buy him; so they took him bound away.

Another Instance, of the like Nature, happen'd at the same House. One of the *Tuskeruro* Kings had brought in a Slave to the same Governor, to whom he had sold him; and before he return'd, fell sick at the Governor's House; upon which, the Doctor that belong'd to this King's Nation, was sent for, being a Man that was held to be the greatest Conju-

rer

rer amongst them. It was three Days, before he could arrive, and he appear'd (when he came) to be a very little Man, and so old, that his Hair was as white as ever was seen. When he approach'd the sick King, he order'd a Bowl of Water to be brought him, and three Chunks of Wood, which was immediately done. Then he took the Water, and set it by him, and spurted a little on him, and with the three Pieces of Wood, he made a Place to stand on, whereby he was rais'd higher; (he being a very low statur'd Man) then he took a String of *Ronoak*, which is the same as a String of small Beads; this he held by one End, between his Fingers; the other End touch'd the King's Stomach, as he stood on the Logs. Then he began to talk, and at length, the By-standers thought really, that they heard somebody talk to him, but saw no more than what first came in. At last, this String of Beads, which hung thus perpendicular, turn'd up as an Eel would do, and without any Motion of his, they came all up (in a lump) under his Hand, and hung so for a considerable time, he never closing his Hand, and at length return'd to their pristine Length and Shape, at which the Spectators were much frightened. Then he told the Company, that he would recover, and that his Distemper would remove into his Leg, all which happen'd to be exactly as the *Indian* Doctor had told. These are Matters of Fact, and I can, at this day, prove the Truth thereof by several substantial Evidences, that are Men of Reputation, there being more than a dozen People present, when this was perform'd; most of whom are now alive.

There are a great many other Stories, of this Nature, which are seemingly true, being told by Persons that affirm they were Eye-Witnesses thereof; as, that they have seen one *Roncommock* (a *Chumou Indian*, and a great Conjuror) take a Reed about two Foot long in his Mouth, and stand by a *Salmon-Creek-side*, where he call'd twice or thrice with the Reed in his Mouth; and, at last, has open'd his Arms, and fled over the Creek, which might be near a quarter of a Mile wide or more; but I shall urge no Man's Belief, but tell my own; which is, that I believe the two first Accounts, which were acted at Mr. *Southwell's* Plantation, as firmly as any Man can believe any thing of that which is told him by honest Men, and he has not seen; not at all doubting the Credit of my Authors.

The.

The Cures I have seen perform'd by the *Indians*, are too many to repeat here; so I shall only mention some few, and their Method. They cure Scald-heads infallibly, and never miss. Their chief Remedy as I have seen them make use of, is, the Oil of Acorns, but from which sort of Oak I am not certain. They cure Burns beyond Credit. I have seen a Man burnt in such a manner, (when drunk) by falling into a Fire, that I did not think he could recover; yet they cur'd him in ten Days, so that he went about. I knew another blown up with Powder, that was cured to Admiration. I never saw an *Indian* have an Ulcer, or foul Wound in my Life; neither is there any such thing to be found amongst them. They cure the Pox, by a Berry that salivates, as *Mercury* does; yet they use Sweating and Decoctions very much with it; as they do, almost on every Occasion; and when they are thoroughly heated, they leap into the River. The Pox is frequent in some of these Nations; amongst which I knew one Woman die of it; and they could not, or would not, cure her. Before she died, she was worn away to a Skeleton, yet walk'd up and down to the last. We had a Planter in *Carolina*, who had got an Ulcer in his Leg, which had troubled him a great many Years; at last, he apply'd himself to one of these *Indian* Conjurers, who was a *Pampticough Indian*; and was not to give the Value of fifteen Shillings for the Cure. Now, I am not positive, whether he wash'd the Ulcer with any thing, before he used what I am now going to speak of, which was nothing but the rotten doated Grains of *Indian* Corn, beaten to Powder, and the soft Down growing on a Turkey's Rump. This dry'd the Ulcer up immediately, and no other Fontanel was made to discharge the Matter, he remaining a healthful Man, till the time he had the Misfortune to be drown'd, which was many Years after. Another Instance (not of my own Knowledge, but I had it confirm'd by several Dwellers in *Maryland*, where it was done) was, of an honest Planter that had been possess'd with a strange Lingring Distemper, not usual amongst them, under which he emaciated, and grew every Month worfe than another, it having held him several Years, in which time he had made Tryal of several Docters, as they call them, which, I suppose, were Ship-Surgeons. In the beginning of this Distemper, the Patient was very well to pass, and was possess'd of several Slaves,

Scald-Head  
cured.

Nonulcera-  
ted  
Wounds.

Pox to  
cure.

Indian  
cure an  
Ulcer.

Cure in  
Mary-  
land.



Slaves, which the Doctors purged all away, and the poor Man was so far from mending, that he grew worse and worse every day. But it happen'd, that, one day, as his Wife and he were commiserating his miserable Condition, and that he could not expect to recover, but look'd for Death very speedily, and condoling the Misery he should leave his Wife and Family in, since all his Negro's were gone. At that time, I say, it happen'd, that an *Indian* was in the same Room, who had frequented the House for many Years, and so was become as one of the Family, and would sometimes be at this Planter's House, and at other times amongst the *Indians*.

This Savage, hearing what they talk'd of, and having a great Love for the Sick Man, made this Reply to what he had heard. *Brother, you have been a long time Sick; and, I know, you have given away your Slaves to your English Doctors: What made you do so, and now become poor? They do not know how to cure you; for it is an Indian Distemper, which your People know not the Nature of. If it had been an English Disease, probably they could have cured you; and had you come to me at first, I would have cured you for a small matter, without taking away your Servants that made Corn for you and your Family to eat; and yet, if you will give me a Blanket to keep me warm, and some Powder and Shot to kill Deer withal, I will do my best to make you well still.* The Man was low in Courage and Pocket too, and made the *Indian* this Reply. *Jack, my Distemper is past Cure, and if our English Doctors cannot cure it, I am sure, the Indians cannot.* But his Wife accosted her Husband in very mild terms, and told him, he did not know, but God might be pleased to give a Blessing to that *Indian's* Undertaking more than he had done to the *English*; and farther added; *if you die, I cannot be much more miserable, by giving this small matter to the Indian; so I pray you, my Dear, take my Advice, and try him;* to which, by her Persuasions, he consented. After the Bargain was concluded, the *Indian* went into the Woods, and brought in both Herbs and Roots, of which he made a Decoction, and gave it the Man to drink, and bad him go to bed, saying, it should not be long, before he came again, which the Patient perform'd as he had order'd; and the Potion he had administred made him sweat after the most violent manner that could be, whereby he smell'd very offensively both to himself, and they

they that were about him; but in the Evening, towards Night, *Jack* came, with a great Rattle-Snake in his Hand alive, which frightned the People almost out of their Senses; and he told his Patient, that he must take that to Bed to him; at which the Man was in a great Consternation, and told the *Indian*, he was resolv'd, to let no Snake come into his Bed, for he might as well die of the Distemper he had, as be kill'd with the Bite of that Serpent. To which the *Indian* reply'd, he could not bite him now, nor do him any Harm; for he had taken out his Poison-teeth, and shew'd him, that they were gone. At last, with much Persuasion, he admitted the Snake's Company, which the *Indian* put about his Middle, and order'd nobody to take him away upon any account, which was strictly observ'd, although the Snake girded him as hard for a great while) as if he had been drawn in by a Belt, which one pull'd at, with all his strength. At last, the Snake's Twitches grew weaker and weaker, till, by degrees, he felt him not; and opening the Bed, he was found dead, and the Man thought himself better. The *Indian* came in the Morning, and seeing the Snake dead, told the Man, that his Distemper was dead along with that Snake, which prov'd so as he said; for the Man speedily recover'd his Health, and became perfectly well.

They cure the Spleen (which they are much addicted to) by burning with a Reed. They lay the Patient on his Back, so put a hollow Cane into the Fire, where they burn the End thereof, till it is very hot, and on Fire at the end. Then they lay a Piece of thin Leather on the Patient's Belly, between the Pit of the Stomach and the Navel, so press the hot Reed on the Leather, which burns the Patient so that you may ever after see the Impression of the Reed where it was laid on, which Mark never goes off so long as he lives. This is used for the Belly-Ach sometimes. They can colour their Hair black, though sometimes it is reddish, which they do with the Seed of a Flower that grows commonly in their Plantations. I believe this would change the reddest Hair into perfect black. They make use of no Minerals in their Physick, and not much of Animals; but chiefly rely on Vegetables. They have several Remedies for the Tooth-ach, which often drive away the Pain; but if they fail, they have Recourse to punching out the Tooth, with a small Cane set against

Cure by a  
Snake.

Spleen how  
cure.

Colouring  
of the  
Hair.

Not many  
Teeth,  
Puzzles.

against the same, on a Bit of Leather. Then they strike the Reed, and so drive out the Tooth; and howsoever it may seem to the *Europeans*, I prefer it before the common way of drawing Teeth by those Instruments than endanger the Jaw, and a Flux of Blood often follows, which this Method of a Punch never is attended withal; neither is it half the Pain. The Spontaneous Plants of *America* the Savages are well acquainted withal; and a Flux of Blood never follows any of their Operations. They are wholly Strangers to Amputation, and for what natural Issues of Blood happen immoderately, they are not to seek for a certain and speedy Cure. Tears, Rozins, and Gums, I have not discover'd that they make much use of; And as for Purging and Emeticks, so much in fashion with us, they never apply themselves to, unless in drinking vast Quantities of their *Taupon* or Tea, and vomiting it up again, as clear as they drink it. This is a Custom amongst all those that can procure that Plant, in which manner they take it every other Morning, or oftner; by which Method they keep their Stomachs clean, without pricking the Coats, and straining Nature, as every Purge is an Enemy to. Besides, the great Diuretick Quality of their Tea carries off a great deal, that perhaps might prejudice their Health, by Agues, and Fevers, which all watry Countries are addicted to; for which reason, I believe, it is, that the *Indians* are not so much addicted to that Distemper, as we are, they preventing its seizing upon them, by this Plant alone. Moreover, I have remark'd, that it is only those Places bordering on the Ocean and great Rivers, that this Distemper is frequent in, and only on and near the same Places this Evergreen is to be found; and none up towards the Mountains, where these Agues seldom or never appear; Nature having provided suitable Remedies, in all Countries, proper for the Maladies that are common thereto. The Savages of *Carolina* have this Tea in Veneration, above all the Plants they are acquainted withal, and tell you, the Discovery thereof was by an infirm *Indian*, that labour'd under the Burden of many rugged Distempers, and could not be cured by all their Doctors; so, one day, he fell asleep, and dreamt, that if he took a Decoction of the Tree that grew at his Head, he would certainly be cured; upon which he awoke, and saw the *Taupon* or *Cassena*-Tree, which was not there

there when he fell asleep. He follow'd the Direction of his Dream, and became perfectly well in a short time. Now, I suppose, no Man has so little Sense as to believe this Fable; yet it lets us see what they intend thereby, and that it has, doubtless, work'd Feats enough, to gain it such an Esteem amongst these Savages, who are too well versed in Vegetables, to be brought to a continual use of any one of them, upon a meer Conceit or Fancy, without some apparent Benefit they found thereby; especially, when we are sensible, they drink the Juices of Plants, to free Nature of her Burdens, and not out of Foppery and Fashion, as other Nations are oftentimes found to do. Amongst all the Discoveries of *America*, by the Missionaries of the *French* and *Spaniards*, I wonder none of them was so kind to the World, as to have kept a Catalogue of the Distempers they found the Savages capable of curing, and their Method of Cure; which might have been of some Advantage to our *Materia Medica* at home, when deliver'd by Men of Learning, and other Qualifications, as most of them are. Authors generally tell us, that the Savages are well enough acquainted with those Plants which their Climate affords, and that some of them effect great Cures, but by what Means, and in what Form, we are left in the dark.

*Sassafras.* The Bark of the Root of the Sassafras-Tree, I have observ'd, is much used by them. They generally torrefy it in the Embers, so strip off the Bark from the Root, beating it to a Consistence fit to spread, so lay it on the griev'd Part; which both cleanses a foul Ulcer; and after Scarrification, being apply'd to a Contusion, or Swelling, draws forth the Pain, and reduces the Part to its pristine State of Health, as I have often seen effected. Fats and Unguents never appear in their Chirurgery, when the Skin is once broke. The Fats of Animals are used by them, to render their Limbs pliable, and when wearied, to relieve the Joints, and this not often, because they approve of the Sweating-House (in such cases) above all things. The Salts they mix with their Bread and Soupe, to give them a Relish, are *Alkalis*, (viz.) Ashes, and calcined Bones of Deer, and other Animals. Sallads, they never eat any; as for Pepper and Mustard, they reckon us little better than Madmen, to make use of Pepper, or it amongst our Victuals. They are never troubled with the Scurvy, Dropsy, nor Stone. The Phthisick, Asthma, and Diabetes,

Make  
Bread,  
how  
Alkali  
Salts.

No Sallads,  
Pepper, or  
Mustard.

Diabetes, they are wholly Strangers to; neither do I remember I ever saw one Paralytick amongst them. The Gout, I cannot be certain whether they know what it is, or not. Indeed, I never saw any Nodes or Swellings, which attend the Gout in *Europe*; yet they have a sort of Rumatism or Burning of the Limbs, which tortures them grievously, at which time their Legs are so hot, that they employ the young People continually to pour Water down them. I never saw but one or two thus afflicted. The Struma is not uncommon amongst these Savages, and another Distemper, which is, in some respects, like the Pox, but is attended with no *Gonorrhoea*. This not seldom bereaves them of their Nose. I have seen three or four of them render'd most miserable Spectacles by this Distemper. Yet, when they have been so negligent, as to let it run on so far without curbing of it; at last, they make shift to patch themselves up, and live for many years after; and such Men commonly turn Doctors. I have known two or three of these no-nose Doctors in great Esteem amongst these Savages. The Juice of the Tulip-Tree is used as a proper Remedy for this Distemper. What Knowledge they have in Anatomy, I cannot tell, neither did I ever see them employ themselves therein, unless, as I told you before, when they make the Skeletons of their Kings and great Mens Bones.

The *Indians* are very careless and negligent of their Health; as, by Drunkenness, Wading in the Water, irregular Diet and Lodging, and a thousand other Disorders, (that would kill an *European*) which they daily use. They boil and roast their Meat extraordinary much, and eat abundance of Broth, except the Savages whom we call the naked *Indians*, who never eat any Soupe. They travel from the Banks of the *Indians* *Mississippi*, to war against the *Sinnagars* or *Iroquois*, and are (if equal Numbers) commonly too hard for them. They will lie and sleep in the Woods without Fire, being inur'd thereto. They are the hardiest of all *Indians*, and run so fast; that they are never taken, neither do any *Indians* outrun them, if they are pursu'd. Their Savage Enemies say, their Nimbleness and Wind proceeds from their never eating any Broth. The Small-Pox has been fatal to them; they do not often escape, when they are seiz'd with that Distemper, which is a contrary Fever to what they ever knew.

Most certain, it had never visited *America*, before the Discovery thereof by the Christians. Their running into the Water, in the Extremity of this Disease, strikes it in, and kills all that use it. Now they are become a little wiser; but formerly it destroy'd whole Towns, without leaving one *Indian* alive in the Village. The Plague was never known amongst them, that I could learn by what Enquiry I have made: These Savages use Scarrification almost in all Distempers. Their chief Instruments for that Operation is the Teeth of Rattle-Snakes, which they poison withal. They take them out of the Snake's Head, and suck out the Poison with their Mouths, (and so keep them for use) and spit out the Venom, which is green, and are never damag'd thereby. The Small-Pox and Rum have made such a Destruction amongst them, that, on good grounds, I do believe, there is not the sixth Savage living within two hundred Miles of all our Settlements, as there were fifty Years ago. These poor Creatures have so many Enemies to destroy them, that it's a wonder one of them is left alive near us. The Small-pox I have acquainted you withal above, and so I have of Rum, and shall only add, that they have got a way to carry it back to the Westward *Indians*, who never knew what it was, till within very few Years. Now they have it brought them by the *Tuskeruro's*, and other Neighbour-*Indians*, but the *Tuskeruro's* chiefly, who carry it in Rundlets several hundred Miles, amongst other *Indians*. Sometimes they cannot forbear breaking their Cargo, but sit down in the Woods, and drink it all up, and then hollow and shout like so many *Bedlamites*. I accidentally once met with one of these drunken Crews, and was amaz'd to see a Parcel of drunken Savages so far from any *Englishman's* House; but the *Indians* I had in Company inform'd me, that they were Merchants, and had drunk all their Stock, as is very common for them to do. But when they happen to carry it safe, (which is seldom, without drinking some part of it, and filling it up with Water) and come to an *Indian* Town, those that buy Rum of them have so many Mouthfuls for a Buck-Skin, they never using any other Measure; and for this purpose, the Buyer always makes Choice of his Man, which is one that has the greatest Mouth, whom he brings to the Market with a Bowl to put it in. The Seller looks narrowly to the Man's Mouth that

that measures it, and if he happens to swallow any down, either through Wilfulness or otherwise, the Merchant or some of his Party, does not scruple to knock the Fellow down, exclaiming against him for false Measure. Thereupon, the Buyer finds another Mouthpiece to measure the Rum by; so that this Trading is very agreeable to the Spectators, to see such a deal of Quarrelling and Controversy, as often happens, about it, and is very diverting.

Another Destroyer of them, is, the Art they use, and of-<sup>Poisoning</sup> ten practise, of poisoning one another; which is done by a <sup>of Taylor.</sup> large, white, spongy Root, that grows in the Fresh-Marshes, which is one of their Poisons; not but that they have many other Drugs, which they poison one another withal.

Lastly, the continual Wars these Savages maintain, <sup>How the</sup> one Nation against another, which sometimes hold for some A-<sup>Indians</sup> ges, killing and making Captives, till they become so weak <sup>mar.</sup> thereby, that they are forced to make Peace for want of Recruits, to supply their Wars; and the Difference of Languages, that is found amongst these Heathens, seems altogether strange. For it often appears, that every dozen Miles, you meet with an Indian Town, that is quite different from the others you last parted withal; and what a little supplies this Defect is, that the most powerful Nation of these Savages scorns to treat or trade with any others (of fewer Numbers: and less Power) in any other Tongue but their own, which serves for the *Lingua* of the Country, with which we travel and deal; as for Example, we see that the *Tuskeruro's* are most numerous in *North-Carolina*, therefore their Tongue is understood by some in every Town of all the *Indians* near us. And here I shall insert a small Dictionary of every Tongue, though not Alphabetically digested.

English.	Tuskeruro.	Pampticough.	Woccon.
One	Unche	Weembot	Tunga
Two	Nelto	Neshimaut	Nato-perro
Three	Ahshah	Neshawonner	Nam-mes
Four	Uuroc	Yan-Oner	Pankum-punn
Five	Ouch-whe	Umparren	Webtau
Six	Honyoc	Wiharyoc	Y-sha
Seven	Charb-noc	Wepo-osh	Nominis-sah
Eight	Abokara	Nabau-shad	Shupau
			English





English.	Tuskeruro.	Pampticough.	Wacon.
Scissors and			
Tobacco-	<i>Cheh-ra</i>		<i>Toc-koo</i>
Tongues			
A Kettle	<i>Oowaiana</i>		<i>Toofewas</i>
A Pot	<i>Ocnock</i>		
Acorns	<i>Kooawa</i>		<i>Roofomms</i>
A Pine-			
Tree	<i>Heigta</i>	<i>Oonoffa</i>	<i>Hoohob</i>
Englishman	<i>Nickterurub</i>	<i>Tosh shonts</i>	<i>Wintfokore</i>
Indians	<i>Uitqua</i>	<i>Nuppin</i>	<i>Taub-he</i>
English.	Tuskeruro.		Woccon.
A Horfe	<i>A hots</i>		<i>Tandtoa</i>
Swine	<i>Wasquerre</i>		<i>Nandewarranpa</i>
Mofs	<i>Auona hau</i>		<i>Teep</i>
Raw skin un-	<i>Ootahawa</i>		<i>Teep</i>
Buckskin [drest	<i>Ocques</i>		<i>Roohau</i>
Fawn-skin	<i>Ottea</i>		<i>Wiffo</i>
Bear-skin	<i>Oochebara</i>		<i>Oorka</i>
Fox-skin	<i>Cho-chou</i>		<i>Handatockore</i>
Raccoon-skin	<i>Roo-fotto</i>		<i>Auker</i>
Squirrel-skin	<i>Soft</i>		<i>Tebau</i>
Wildcat-skin	<i>Cauhaucwano</i>		
Panther-skin	<i>Camerex</i>		<i>Wattan</i>
Wolf	<i>Squarrena</i>		<i>Tire kiro</i>
Min	<i>Chac-kawno</i>		<i>Socron</i>
Otter	<i>Chamoc</i>		<i>Wekas</i>
A Mat	<i>Oyebne</i>		<i>Sappopop</i>
Basket	<i>Ooyaur</i>		<i>Roohoppa</i>
Feathers	<i>Oofnooqua</i>		<i>Sopp</i>
Drest-skin	<i>Cotcoo</i>		<i>Ranbau</i>
A Turkey	<i>Cooms</i>		<i>Tonta</i>
A Duck	<i>Soocan</i>		<i>Wekha</i>
A King	<i>Teetha</i>		<i>Quandre</i>
Fat	<i>Oofpore</i>		<i>Quandre</i>
Soft	<i>Uifawanno</i>		<i>Roofomms</i>
Hard or heavy	<i>Wauchts ne</i>		<i>Ita teraugh</i>
A Rope	<i>Uifera</i>		<i>Trambe</i>
A Possum	<i>Cho-ra</i>		
Day	<i>Ootah-ne</i>		
A Pestel	<i>Ita-ough-ne</i>		



<i>English.</i>	<i>Tuskeruro.</i>	<i>Woccon.</i>
A Snake	<i>Us-quauh-ne</i>	<i>Tau-hauk</i>
A Rat	<i>Rusquiane</i>	<i>Wittau</i>
A Goose	<i>Au-hoohaba</i>	<i>Aubaum</i>
A Swan	<i>Oorhast</i>	<i>Aster</i>
Allegator	<i>Ufererauh</i>	<i>Monwittetan</i>
A Crab	<i>Rouare cou</i>	<i>Wunneau</i>
A Canoe	<i>Oofhunnawa</i>	<i>Watt</i>
A Box	<i>Ooanoo</i>	<i>Topoonitfa</i>
A Bowl	<i>Ortse</i>	<i>Cotfoo</i>
A Spoon	<i>Oughquere</i>	<i>Cotfau</i>
A Path	<i>Waub-hauhne</i>	<i>Taub</i>
Sun or Moon	<i>Heira</i>	<i>Wittapare</i>
Wind	<i>Hoonach</i>	<i>Tuncor</i>
A Star	<i>Urtewiraratse</i>	<i>Wattapi untakeer</i>
Rain	<i>Untuch</i>	<i>Tawowa</i>
	<i>Aubuntwood</i>	
Night	<i>Oofottoo</i>	<i>Tantoha</i>
A Rundlet	<i>Oohunawa</i>	<i>Inpyupseunne</i>
An Eel	<i>Cuhna-na</i>	
A T---d	<i>Utquera</i>	<i>Pulawa</i>
A F---t	<i>Ustena</i>	<i>Pautyau</i>
A Cable	<i>Utquichra</i>	
Small Ropes	<i>Ustera utquighra</i>	
A Button	<i>Tic-bah</i>	<i>Rummissauwounne</i>
Breeches	<i>Wahunshe</i>	<i>Rooeyaukitte</i>
Stockings	<i>Oowiffera</i>	<i>Roofoo possoo</i>
Day	<i>Wauwoc-hook</i>	<i>Waukhaway</i>
Mad	<i>Cofferunte</i>	<i>Rockcumne</i>
Angry	<i>Cotcherore</i>	<i>Roocheha</i>
Afraid	<i>Werricauna</i>	<i>Rebeshiwan</i>
Smoak	<i>Oo-reighne</i>	<i>Too-she</i>
A Thief or Rogue	<i>Katichhei</i>	
A Dog	<i>Cboesh</i>	<i>Tauk-be</i>
A Reed	<i>Cauna</i>	<i>Weckwonne</i>
Lightwood	<i>Kakoo</i>	<i>Sek</i>
To morrow	<i>Jureha</i>	<i>Kittape</i>
Now	<i>Kahunk</i>	
To day	<i>Kawa</i>	
A little while ago	<i>Kakoowa</i>	<i>Tauka</i>



To repeat more of this *Indian* Jargon, would be to trouble the Reader; and as an Account how imperfect they are in their Moods and Tenses, has been given by several already, I shall only add, that their Languages or Tongues are so deficient, that you cannot suppose the *Indians* ever could express themselves in such a Flight of Stile, as Authors would have you believe. They are so far from it, that they are but just able to make one another understand readily what they talk about. As for the two Consonants *L* and *F*, I never knew them in any *Indian* Speech I have met withal; yet I must tell you, that they have such a Way of abbreviating their Speech, when in their great Councils and Debates, that the young Men do not understand what they treat about, when they hear them argue. It is wonderful, what has occasion'd so many different Speeches as the Savages have. The three Nations I now mention'd, do not live above ten Leagues distant, and two of them, *viz.* the *Tuskeruro's* and *Tartari-* the *Woccon*, are not two Leagues asunder; yet their Speech differs in every Word thereof, except one, which is *Tsaure*, *Cockles*, which is in both Tongues the same, and nothing else. Now this Difference of Speech causes Jealousies and Fears amongst them, which bring Wars, wherein they destroy one another; otherwise the Christians had not (in all Probability) settled *America* so easily, at they have done, had these Tribes of Savages united themselves into one People or general Interest, or were they so but every hundred Miles. In short, they are an odd sort of People under the Circumstances they are at present, and have some such uncouth Ways in their Management and Course of Living, that it seems a Miracle to us, how they bring about their Designs, as they do, when their Ways are commonly quite contrary to ours. I believe, they are (as to this Life) a very happy People; and were it not for the Feuds amongst themselves, they would enjoy the happiest State (in this World) of all Mankind. They met with Enemies when we came amongst them; for they are no nearer Christianity now, than they were at the first Discovery, to all Appearance. They have learnt several Vices of the *Europeans*, but not one Vertue, as I know of. Drunkenness was a Stranger, when we found them out, and Swearing their Speech cannot express; yet those that speak *English*, learn to swear the first thing they

talk of. It's true, they have some Vertues and some Vices; but how the Christians can bring these People into the Bosom of the Church, is a Proposal that ought to be form'd and follow'd by the wisest Heads and best Christians. After I have given one Remark or two farther, of some of their Strange Practices and Notions, I will give my Opinion, how I think, in probability, it may be (if possible) effected, and so shall conclude this Treatise of *Carolina*.

They are a very craving People, and if a Man give them any thing of a Present, they think it obliges him to give them another; and so on, till he has given them all he has; for they have no Bounds of Satisfaction in that way; and if they give you any thing, it is to receive twice the Value of it. They have no Consideration that you will want what you give them; for their way of Living is so contrary to ours, that neither we nor they can fathom one anothers Designs and Methods. They call Rum and Physick by one Name, which implies that Rum make People sick, as when they have taken any poisonous Plant; yet they cannot forbear Rum. They make Offerings of their First-Fruits, and the more serious sort of them throw into the Ashes, near the Fire, the first Bit or Spoonful of every Meal they sit down to, which, they say, is the same to them, as the pulling off our Hats, and talking, when we go to Victuals, is to us. They name the Months very agreeably, as one is the Herring-Month, another the Strawberry-Month, another the Mulberry-Month. Others name them by the Trees that blossom; especially, the Dogwood-Tree; or they say, we will return when Turkey-Cocks gobble, that is in *March* and *April*. The Age of the Moon they understand, but know no different Name for Sun and Moon. They can guess well at the time of the Day, by the Sun's Height. Their Age they number by Winters, and say, such a Man or Woman is so many Winters old. They have no Sabbath, or Day of Rest. Their Slaves are not over-burden'd with Work, and so not driven by Severity to seek for that Relief. Those that are acquainted with the *English*, and speak the Tongue, know when *Sunday* comes; besides, the *Indians* have a distinct Name for *Christmas* which they call *Winnick Kessuse*, or the *Englishmans Gods Afoon*. There is one most abominable Custom amongst them, which they call *Hurquenawing* their young Men; which I have not  
made

made any Mention of as yet, so will give you an Account of it here. You must know, that most commonly, once a Year, or, at farthest, once in two Years, these People take up so many of their young Men, as they think are able to undergo it, and *husquenaugh* them, which is to make them obedient and respectful to their Superiors, and (as they say) is the same to them, as it is to us to send our Children to School, to be taught good Breeding and Letters. This House of Correction is a large strong Cabin, made on purpose for the Reception of the young Men and Boys, that have not passed this Graduation already; and it is always at *Christmas* that they *husquenaugh* their Youth, which is by bringing them into this House, and keeping them dark all the time, where they more than half-starve them. Besides, they give them Pellitory-Bark, and several intoxicating Plants, that make them go raving mad as ever were any People in the World; and you may hear them make the most dismal and hellish Cries, and Howlings, that ever humane Creatures express'd; all which continues about five or six Weeks, and the little Meat they eat, is the nastiest, loathsome stuff, and mixt with all manner of Filth it's possible to get. After the Time is expired, they are brought out of the Cabin, which never is in the Town, but always a distance off, and guarded by a Jaylor or two, who watch by Turns. Now, when they first come out, they are as poor as ever any Creatures were; for you must know several die under this diabolical Purgation. Moreover, they either really are, or pretend to be dumb, and do not speak for several Days; I think, twenty or thirty; and look so gantly, and are so chang'd, that it's next to an Impossibility to know them again, although you was never so well acquainted with them before. I would fain have gone into the mad House, and have seen them in their time of Purgatory, but the King would not suffer it, because, he told me, they would do me, or any other white Man, an Injury, that ventured in amongst them; so I desisted. They play this Prank with Girls as well as Boys, and I believe it a miserable Life they endure, because I have known several of them run away, at that time, to avoid it. Now, the Savages say, if it was not for this, they could never keep their Youth in Subjection, besides that it hardens them ever after to the Fatigues of War, Hunting, and all manner of Hardship.

Now, there appears to be one thousand six hundred and twelve Fighting Men, of our Neighbouring *Indians*; and probably, there are three Fifths of Women and Children, not including Old Men, which amounts to four thousand and thirty Savages, besides the five Nations lately come. Now, as I before hinted, we will see what grounds there are to make these People serviceable to us, and better themselves thereby.

On a fair Scheme, we must first allow these Savages what really belongs to them, that is, what good Qualities, and natural Endowments, they possess, whereby they being in their proper Colours, the Event may be better guess'd at, and fathom'd.

First, they are as apt to learn any Handicraft, as any People that the World affords; I will except none; as is seen by their Canoes and Stauking Heads, which they make of themselves; but to my purpose, the *Indian* Slaves in South Carolina, and elsewhere, make my Argument good.

Secondly, we have no disciplin'd Men in *Europe*, but what have, at one time or other, been branded with Mutining, and Murmuring against their Chiefs. These Savages are never found guilty of that great Crime in a Soldier; I challenge all Mankind to tell me of one Instance of it; besides, they never prove Traitors to their Native Country, but rather chuse Death than partake and side with the Enemy.

They naturally possess the Righteous Man's Gift; they are Patient under all Afflictions, and have a great many other Natural Vertues, which I have slightly touch'd throughout the Account of these Savages.

They are really better to us, than we are to them; they always give us Victuals at their Quarters, and take care we are arm'd against Hunger and Thirst: We do not so by them (generally speaking) but let them walk by our Doors Hungry, and do not often relieve them. We look upon them with Scorn and Disdain, and think them little better than Beasts in Humane Shape, though if well examined, we shall find that, for all our Religion and Education, we possess more Moral Deformities, and Evils than these Savages do, or are acquainted withal.

We reckon them Slaves in Comparison to us, and Intruders, as oft as they enter our Houses, or hunt near our Dwel-



**Dwellings.** But if we will admit Reason to be our Guide, she will inform us, that these *Indians* are the freest People in the World, and so far from being Intruders upon us, that we have abandon'd our own Native Soil, to drive them out, and possess theirs; neither have we any true Balance, in Judging of these poor Heathens, because we neither give Allowance for their Natural Disposition, nor the Sylvian Education, and strange Customs, (uncouth to us) they lie under and have ever been train'd up to; these are false Measures for Christians to take, and indeed no Man can be reckon'd a Moralist only, who will not make choice and use, of better Rules to walk and act by: We trade with them, it's true, but to what End? Not to shew them the Steps of Vertue, and the Golden Rule, to do as we would be done by. No, we have furnish'd them with the Vice of Drunkenness, which is the open Road to all others, and daily cheat them in every thing we sell, and esteem it a Gift of Christianity, not to sell to them so cheap as we do to the Christians, as we call our selves. Pray let me know where is there to be found one Sacred Command or Precept of our Master, that counsels us to such Behaviour? Besides, I believe it will not appear, but that all the Wars, which we have had with the Savages, were occasion'd by the unjust Dealings of the Christians towards them. I can name more than a few, which my own Enquiry has given me a right Understanding of, and I am afraid the remainder (if they come to the test) will prove themselves Birds of the same Feather.

Indians  
Aversion  
to Christi-  
anity.

As we are in Christian Duty bound, so we must act and behave ourselves to these Savages, if we either intend to be serviceable in converting them to the Knowledge of the Gospel, or discharge the Duty which every Man, within the Pale of the Christian Church, is bound to do. Upon this Score, we ought to shew a Tenderness for these Heathens under the weight of Infidelity; let us cherish their good Deeds, and, with Mildness and Clemency, make them sensible and forwarn them of their ill ones; let our Dealings be just to them in every Respect, and shew no ill Example, whereby they may think we advise them to practise that which we will not be conformable to ourselves: Let them have cheap Penniworths (without Guile in our Trading with them) and learn them the Mysteries of our Handicrafts, as well as our  
Re-

Religion, otherwise we deal unjustly by them. But it is highly necessary to be brought in Practice, which is, to give Encouragement to the ordinary People, and those of a lower Rank, that they might marry with these *Indians*, and come into Plantations, and Houses, where so many Acres of Land and some Gratuity of Money, (out of a publick Stock) are given to the new-married Couple; and that the *Indians* might have Encouragement to send their Children Apprentices to proper Masters, that would be kind to them, and make them Masters of a Trade, whereby they would be drawn to live amongst us, and become Members of the same Ecclesiastical and Civil Government we are under; then we should have great Advantages to make daily Conversions amongst them, when they saw that we were kind and just to them in all our Dealings. Moreover, by the *Indians* Marrying with the Christians, and coming into Plantations with their *English* Husbands, or Wives, they would become Christians, and their Idolatry would be quite forgotten, and, in all probability, a better Worship come in its Stead; for were the *Jews* engrafted thus, and alienated from the Worship and Conversation of *Jews*, their Abominations would vanish, and be no more.

Thus we should be let into a better Understanding of the *Indian* Tongue, by our new Converts; and the whole Body of these People would arrive to the Knowledge of our Religion and Customs, and become as one People with us. By this Method also, we should have a true Knowledge of all the *Indians* Skill in Medicine and Surgery; they would inform us of the Situation of our Rivers, Lakes, and Tracts of Land in the Lords Dominions, where by their Assistance, greater Discoveries may be made than has been hitherto found out, and by their Accompanying us in our Expeditions, we might civilize a great many other Nations of the Savages, and daily add to our Strength in Trade, and Interest; so that we might be sufficiently enabled to conquer, or maintain our Ground, against all the Enemies to the Crown of *England* in *America*, both Christian and Savage.

What Children we have of theirs, to learn Trades, &c. ought to be put into those Hands that are Men of the best Lives and Characters, and that are not only strict Observers of their Religion, but also of a mild, winning and sweet Disposition, that these *Indian* Parents may often go and see how

well their Children are dealt with, which would much win them to our Ways of Living, Mildness being a Vertue the *Indians* are in love withal, for they do not practise beating and correcting their Children, as we do. A general Complaint is, that it seems impossible to convert these People to Christianity, as, at first sight, it does; and as for those in *New Spain*, they have the Prayer of that Church in Latin by Rote, and know the external Behaviour at Mass and Sermons; yet scarce any of them are steady and abide with constancy in good Works, and the Duties of the Christian Church. We find that the *Fuentes* and several other of the noted *Indian* Families about *Mexico*, and in other parts of *New Spain*, had given several large Gifts to the Altar, and outwardly seem'd fond of their new Religion; yet those that were the greatest Zealots outwards, on a strict Enquiry, were found guilty of Idolatry and Witchcraft; and this seems to proceed from their Cohabiting, which, as I have noted before, gives Opportunities of Cabals to recal their ancient pristine Infidelity and Superstitions. They never argue against our Religion, but with all imaginable Indifference own, that it is most proper for us that have been brought up in it.

In my opinion, it's better for Christians of a mean Fortune to marry with the Civiliz'd *Indians*, than to suffer the Hardships of four or five years Servitude, in which they meet with Sickness and Seasonings amidst a Crowd of other Afflictions, which the Tyranny of a bad Master lays upon such poor Souls, all which those acquainted with our Tobacco Plantations are not Strangers to.

This seems to be a more reasonable Method of converting the *Indians*, than to set up our Christian Banner in a Field of Blood, as the *Spaniards* have done in *New Spain*, and baptize one hundred with the Sword for one at the Font. Whilst we make way for a Christian Colony through a Field of Blood, and defraud, and make away with those that one day may be wanted in this World, and in the next appear against us, we make way for a more potent Christian Enemy to invade us hereafter, of which we may repent, when too late.

THE SECOND  
**CHARTER**  
 Granted by  
 King *CHARLES II.*  
 TO THE  
**PROPRIETORS**  
 OF  
**CAROLINA.**

**C***HARLES II.* by the Grace of God, &c. Whereas by Our Letters Patents, bearing Date the Four and Twentieth Day of *March*, in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign, We were Graciously Pleas'd to Grant unto Our right Trusty, and right Well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, our High Chancellor of *England*, Our right Trusty, and right entirely Beloved Cousin and Counsellor, *George Duke of Albemarle*, Master of our Horse, Our right Trusty and Well Beloved *William*; now Earl of *Craven*, our right Trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, *John Lord Berkeley*, our right Trusty, and well-beloved Counsellor, *Ambony Lord Ashley*, Chancellor of our Exchequer, our right Trusty and Well-beloved Counsellor Sir *George Carteret* Knight and Baronet, Vice-Chamberlain of

our Household, Our right Trusty and well-beloved, Sir *John Colleton* Knight and Baronet, and Sir *William Berkeley* Knight, all that Province, Territory, or Tract of Ground, called *Carolina*, situate, lying and being within our Dominions of *America*, Extending from the *North* End of the Island, called *Lanke Island*, which lyeth in the *Southern Virginia* Seas, and within six and thirty Degrees of the *Northern* Latitude; and to the *West*, as far as the *South* Seas; and so respectively as far as the River of *Mathias*, which bordereth upon the Coast of *Florida*, and within One and Thirty Degrees of the *Northern* Latitude, and so *West* in a direct Line, as far as the *South* Seas aforesaid.

Now, Know Ye, that We, at the Humble Request of the said Grandees in the aforesaid Letters Patents named, and as a farther Mark of Our especial Favour towards them, We are Graciously Pleased to Enlarge Our said Grant unto them, according to the Bounds and Limits hereafter Specified, and in Favour to the Pious and Noble Purpose of the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, *George Duke of Albemarle*, *William Earl of Craven*, *John Lord Berkeley*, *Anthony Lord Ashley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, all that Province, Territory, or Tract of Ground, situate, lying, and being within Our Dominions of *America* aforesaid, extending *North* and *Westward*, as far as the *North* End of *Carabruke* River, or *Gulet*, upon a streight *Westerly* Line, to *Wyonoake* Creek, which lies within, or about the Degrees of Thirty Six, and Thirty Minutes *Northern* Latitude, and so *West*, in a direct Line, as far as the *South* Seas; and *South* and *Westward*, as far as the Degrees of Twenty Nine Inclusive *Northern* Latitude, and so *West* in a direct Line, as far as the *South* Seas; together with all and singular Ports, Harbours, Bays, Rivers and Islets, belonging unto the Province or Territory, aforesaid. And also, all the Soil, Lands, Fields, Woods, Mountains, Farms, Lakes, Rivers, Bays and Islets, situate, or being within the Bounds, or Limits, last before mentioned; with the Fishing of all sorts of Fish, *Whales*, *Sturgeons*, and all other Royal Fishes in the Sea, Bays, Islets and Rivers, within the Premises, and the Fish therein taken; together with the Royalty of the Sea, upon the Coast within the Limits aforesaid. And moreover, all Veins, Mines and

and Quarries, as well discovered as not discover'd, of Gold, Silver, Gems and Precious Stones, and all other whatsoever; be it of Stones, Metal, or any other thing found, or to be found within the Province, Territory, Isles and Limits aforesaid.

And furthermore, the Patronage and Advowsons of all the Churches and Chappels, which as the Christian Religion shall encrease within the Province, Territory, Isles and Limits aforesaid, shall happen hereafter to be erected; together with Licence and Power to build and found Churches, Chappels and Oratories in convenient and fit places, within the said Bounds and Limits; and to cause them to be Dedicated and Consecrated, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of Our Kingdom of *England*; together with all and singular, the like, and as ample Rights, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Prerogatives, Royalties, Liberties, Immunities and Franchises, of what Kind soever, within the Territory, Isles, Isles and Limits aforesaid. To have, hold, use, exercise and enjoy the same, as amply, fully, and in as ample Manner, as any Bishop of *Durham* in Our Kingdom of *England*, ever heretofore had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right ought, or could have, use, or enjoy; and them the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, *Sir George Carterett*, *Sir John Colleton*, and *Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns; We do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, make, create and constitute the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of the said Province, or Territory, and of all other the Premises; saving always the Faith, Allegiance and Sovereign Dominion due to Us, our Heirs and Successors, for the same; to have, hold, possess and enjoy the said Province, Territory, Isles, and all and singular, other the Premises, to them the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, *Sir George Carterett*, *Sir John Colleton* and *Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, for Ever, to be holden of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, as of Our Mannor of *East Greenwich*, in *Kent*, in free and common Soccage, and not in *Capite*, or by *Knights Service*, yielding and paying yearly to Us, Our Heirs and Successors, for the same, the fourth Part of all Goods and Silver Ore, which within the Limits hereby Granted, shall

shall from Time to Time, happen to be found, over and besides the Yearly Rent of Twenty Marks and the fourth part of the Gold and Silver Oar, in and by the said recited Letters Patents reserved and payable.

And that the Province, or Territory hereby granted and described, may be dignified with as large Titles and Privileges, as any other Parts of our Dominions and Territories in that Region; Know ye, That We, of our farther Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, have thought fit to annex the same Tract of Ground and Territory, unto the same Province of *Carolina*; and out of the Fulness of our Royal Power and Prerogative, We do for Us, our Heirs and Successors, annex and unite the same to the said Province of *Carolina*. And forasmuch as We have made and ordained the aforesaid *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, the true Lords and Proprietors of all the Province or Territory aforesaid; Know ye therefore moreover, that We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in their Fidelity, Wisdom, Justice and provident Circumspection for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do grant full and absolute Power, by virtue of these Presents, to them the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley*, and their Heirs and Assigns, for the good and happy Government of the said whole Province or Territory, full Power and Authority to erect, constitute, and make several Counties, Baronies, and Colonies, of and within the said Provinces, Territories, Lands and Hereditaments, in and by the said recited Letters Patents, and these Presents, granted, or mentioned to be granted, as aforesaid, with several and distinct Jurisdictions, Powers, Liberties and Privileges. And also, to ordain, make and enact, and under their Seals, to publish any Laws and Constitutions whatsoever, either appertaining to the publick State of the said whole Province or Territory, or of any distinct or particular County, Barony or Colony, of or within the same, or to the private Utility of particular Persons, according to their best Discretion, by and with the Advice, Assent and Approbation of the Freemen of the said Province

vince or Territory, or of the Freemen of the County, Barony or Colony, for which such Law or Constitution shall be made, or the greatest Part of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies, whom for enacting of the said Laws, when, and as often as need shall require, We will that the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton* and *Sir William Berkeley*, and their Heirs or Assigns, shall from Time to Time, assemble in such Manner and Form as to them shall seem best: And the same Laws duly to execute upon all People within the said Province or Territory, County, Barony or Colony, and the Limits thereof, for the Time being, which shall be constituted under the Power and Government of them, or any of them, either sailing towards the said Province or Territory of *Carolina*, or returning from thence towards *England*, or any other of our, or foreign Dominions, by Imposition of Penalties, Imprisonment, or any other Punishment: Yea, if it shall be needful, and the Quality of the Offence require it, by taking away Member and Life, either by them, the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton*, and *Sir William Berkeley*, and their Heirs, or by them or their Deputies, Lieutenants, Judges, Justices, Magistrates, or Officers whatsoever, as well within the said Province, as at Sea, in such Manner and Form, as unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton*, and *Sir William Berkeley*, and their Heirs, shall seem most convenient: Also, to remit, release, pardon and abolish, whether before Judgment or after, all Crimes and Offences whatsoever, against the said Laws; and to do all and every other Thing and Things, which unto the compleat Establishment of Justice, unto Courts, Sessions and Forms of Judicature, and Manners of proceedings therein, do belong, altho' in these Presents, express mention is not made thereof; and by Judges, to him or them delegated to award, process, hold Pleas, and determine in all the said Courts and Places of Judicature, all Actions, Suits and Causes whatsoever, as well criminal as civil, real, mixt, personal, or of any other Kind or Nature whatsoever:



soever: Which Laws so as aforesaid, to be published, Our Pleasure is, and We do enjoin, require and command, shall be absolutely firm and available in Law; and that all the Leige People of Us, our Heirs and Successors, within the said Province or Territory, do observe and keep the same inviolably in those Parts, so far as they concern them, under the Pains and Penalties therein expressed; or to be expressed; provided nevertheless, that the said Laws be consonant to Reason, and as near as may be conveniently, agreeable to the Laws and Customs of this our Realm of *England*.

And because such Assemblies of Free-holders cannot be so suddenly called, as there may be Occasion to require the same; We do therefore by these Presents, give and grant unto the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, *Sir George* *Carteret*, *Sir John* *Colleton*, and *Sir William* *Berkley*, their Heirs and Assigns, by themselves or their Magistrates in that Behalf, lawfully authorized, full Power and Authority from Time to Time, to make and ordain fit and wholesome Orders and Ordinances, within the Province or Territory aforesaid, or any County, Barony or Province, of or within the same, to be kept and observed, as well for the keeping of the Peace, as for the better Government of the People there abiding, and to publish the same to all to whom it may concern: Which Ordinances we do, by these Presents, strictly charge and command to be inviolably observed within the same Province, Counties, Territories, Baronies, and Provinces, under the Penalties therein expressed; so as such Ordinances be reasonable and not repugnant or contrary, but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this our Kingdom of *England*; and so as the same Ordinances do not extend to the binding, charging or taking away of the Right or Interest of any Person or Persons, in their freehold Goods, or Chattels, whatsoever.

And to the end the said Province or Territory, may be the more happily encreased by the Multitude of People resorting thither, and may likewise be the more strongly defended from the Incursions of Savages and other Enemies, Pirates, and Robbers.

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Therefore, We for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant by these Presents, Power, License and Liberty unto all the Leige People of Us, our Heirs and Successors in our Kingdom of *England*, or elsewhere, within any other our Dominions, Islands, Colonies or Plantations; (excepting those who shall be especially forbidden) to transport themselves and Families into the said Province or Territory, with convenient Shipping, and fitting Provisions; and there to settle themselves, dwell and inhabit, any Law, Act, Statute, Ordinance, or other Thing to the contrary in any wise, notwithstanding.

And we will also, and of Our especial Grace, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do streightly enjoyn, ordain, constitute and demand, That the said Province or Territory, shall be of our Allegiance; and that all and singular, the Subjects and Leige People of Us, our Heirs and Successors, transported, or to be transported into the said Province, and the Children of them, and such as shall descend from them, there born, or hereafter to be born, be, and shall be Denizens and Lieges of Us, our Heirs and Successors of this our Kingdom of *England*, and be in all Things, held, treated and reputed as the Liege faithful People of Us, our Heirs and Successors, born within this our said Kingdom, or any other of our Dominions; and may inherit, or otherwise purchase and receive, take, hold, buy and possess any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, within the said Places, and them may occupy, and enjoy, sell, alien and bequeath; as likewise, all Liberties, Franchises and Privileges of this our Kingdom, and of other our Dominions aforesaid, may freely and quietly have, possess and enjoy, as our Liege People born within the same, without the Molestation, Vexation, Trouble or Grievance of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, any Act, Statute, Ordinance, or Provision to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And furthermore, That Our Subjects of this Our said Kingdom of *England*, and other our Dominions, may be the rather encouraged to undertake this Expedition, with ready and chearful Minds; Know Ye, That We, of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, do give and grant, by virtue of these Presents, as well to the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret,*

Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, and their Heirs, as unto all others as shall, from time to time, repair unto the said Province or Territory, with a Purpose to inhabit there, or to trade with the Natives thereof; Full Liberty and License to lade and freight in every Port whatsoever, of Us, our Heirs and Successors; and into the said Province of *Carolina* by them, their Servants and Assigns, to transport all and singular, their Goods, Wares and Merchandizes; as likewise, all sort of Grain whatsoever, and any other Thing whatsoever, necessary for their Food and Cloathing, not prohibited by the Laws and Statutes of our Kingdom and Dominions, to be carried out of the same, without any Lett or Molestation of Us, our Heirs and Successors, or of any other our Officers or Ministers whatsoever; saving also to Us, our Heirs and Successors, the Customs, and other Duties and Payments due for the said Wares and Merchandizes, according to the several Rates of the Place from whence the same shall be transported.

We will also, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant License by this our Charter; unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, *George Duke of Albemarle*, *William Earl of Craven*, *John Lord Berkeley*, *Anthony Lord Ashley*, *Sir George Carterett*, *Sir John Colleton*, and *Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, and to all the Inhabitants and Dwellers in the Province or Territory aforesaid, both present and to come, full Power and Authority to import or unlade by themselves, or their Servants, Factors or Assigns, all Merchandizes and Goods whatsoever, that shall arise of the Fruits and Commodities of the said Province or Territory, either by Land or Sea, into any the Ports of Us, our Heirs and Successors, in our Kingdom of *Engl. Scotl. or Ireland*, or otherwise, to dispose of the said Goods, in the said Ports. And if need be, within one year next after the unlading, to lade the said Merchandizes and Goods again in the same, or other Ships; and to export the same into any other Countries, either of our Dominions or foreign, being in Amity with Us, our Heirs and Successors, so as they pay such Customs, Subsidies and other Duties for the same to Us, our Heirs and Successors, as the rest of our Subjects of this our Kingdom, for the Time being, shall be bound to pay. Beyond which We will not that the Inhabitants of the said Province or Territory, shall be any ways charged. Provided, nevertheless, and our Will and Pleasure is, and we have further,

ther, for the Considerations aforesaid, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, given and granted, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, full and free License, Liberty, Power and Authority, at any Time or Times, from and after the Feast of *St. Michael the Arch-Angel*, which shall be in the Year of our Lord Christ, One Thousand, Six Hundred, Sixty and Seven; as well to import and bring into any our Dominions from the said Province of *Carolina*, or any Part thereof, the several Goods and Commodities herein after mentioned; That is to say, Silks, Wines, Currants, Raisons, Capers, Wax, Almonds, Oil and Olives, without paying or answering to Us, our Heirs and Successors, any Custom, Impost, or other Duty, for, or in respect thereof, for and during the Time and Space of Seven Years to commence and be accompted from and after the first Importation of Four Tons of any the said Goods, in any one Bottom Ship or Vessel, from the said Province or Territory, into any of our Dominions; as also, to export and carry out of any of our Dominions into the said Province or Territory, Custom-free, all sorts of Tools, which shall be useful or necessary for the Planters there, in the Accommodation and Improvement of the Premises, any thing before in these Presents contained, or any Law, Act, Statute, Prohibition, or other Matter or Thing, heretofore had, made, enacted or provided, or hereafter to be had, made, enacted or provided, in any wise notwithstanding.

And furthermore, of our more ample and especial Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, We do for Us, our Heirs and Successors, grant unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir Will. Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, full and absolute Power and Authority to make, erect and constitute within the said Province or Territory, and the Isles and Islets aforesaid, such and so many Sea-Ports, Harbours, Creeks and other Places for discharge and unlading of Goods and Merchandizes out of Ships, Boats, and other Vessels, and for lading of them in such and so many Places, as with such Jurisdictions,

Privileges and Franchises, unto the said Ports belonging, as to them shall seem most expedient; And that all and singular, the Ships, Boats and other Vessels, which shall come for Merchandizes, and trade into the said Province or Territory, or shall depart out of the same, shall be laden and unladen at such Ports only, as shall be erected and constituted by the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley,* their Heirs and Assigns, and not elsewhere, any Use, Custom, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do furthermore will, appoint and ordain, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do grant unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton and Sir William Berkeley,* their Heirs and Assigns, That they the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley,* their Heirs and Assigns, may from Time to Time, for ever, have and enjoy the Customs and Subsidies in the Ports, Harbours, Creeks and other Places, within the Province aforesaid, payable for the Goods, Merchandizes and Wares there laded, or to be laded or unladed, the said Customs to be reasonably assessed upon any Occasion by themselves, and by and with the Consent of the free People, or the greater Part of them, as aforesaid; to whom We give Power by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, upon just Cause and in a due Proportion to assess and impose the same.

And further, of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, we have given, granted and confirmed, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do give, grant and confirm unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley,* their Heirs and Assigns, full and absolute Power, License and Authority, that they the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley,*

*Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, their Heirs and Assigns, from Time to Time, hereafter for ever, at his and their Will and Pleasure, may assign, alien, grant, demise or enfeoff the Premises or any Part or Parcel thereof to him or them, that shall be willing to purchase the same; and to such Person and Persons, as they shall think fit, to have, and to hold to them the said Person or Persons, their Heirs and Assigns, in Fee simple or in Fee Tayle, or for the Term of Life or Lives, or Years to be held of them, the said Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, their Heirs and Assigns, by such Rents, Services and Customs, as shall seem fit to them the said Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and William Berkeley, their Heirs and Assigns, and not of Us, our Heirs and Successors: And to the same Person and Persons, and to all and every of them, We do give and grant by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, License, Authority and Power, that such Person or Persons, may have and take the Premises, or any Parcel thereof, of the said Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, their Heirs and Assigns, and the same to hold to themselves, their Heirs or Assigns, in what Estate of Inheritance soever, in Fee simple, or in Fee Tayle, or otherwise, as to them the said Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, their Heirs and Assigns, shall seem expedient; The Statute in the Parliament of Edward, Son of King Henry, heretofore King of England, our Predecessor, commonly called, The Statute of *Quia Emptores Terrar;* or any other Statute, Act, Ordinance, Use, Law, Custom, any other Matter, Cause or Thing heretofore published or provided to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.*

And because many Persons born and inhabiting in the said Province for their Deserts and Services may expect, and be capable of Marks of Honour and Favour, which, in respect  
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of the great Distance cannot conveniently be conferred by Us; our Will and Pleasure therefore is, and We do by these Presents, give and grant unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, full Power and Authority to give and confer unto, and upon such of the Inhabitants of the said Province, or Territory, as they shall think, do, or shall merit the same, such Marks of Favour, and Titles of Honour, as they shall think fit, so as their Titles of Honours be not the same as are enjoyed by, or conferred upon any of the Subjects of this Our Kingdom of *England*.

And further also, We do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, give and Grant, License to them the *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton and Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, full Power, Liberty and License, to Erect, Raise and Build within the said Province and Places aforesaid, or any Part or Parts thereof, such and so many Forts, Fortresses, Castles, Cities, Boroughs, Towns, Villages and other Fortifications whatsoever; and the same or any of them to Fortify and Furnish with Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Armour and all other Weapons, Ammunition and Habilliments of War, both Defensive and Offensive, as shall be thought fit and convenient for the Safety and Welfare of the said Province, and Places, or any Part thereof; and the same, or any of them, from Time to Time, as Occasion shall require, to Dismantle, Disfurnish, Demolish and Pull down; And also to Place, Constitute and Appoint in, or over all, or any of the said Castles, Forts, Fortifications, Cities, Towns and Places aforesaid, Governours, Deputy Governours, Magistrates, Sheriffs and other Officers, Civil and Military, as to them shall seem meet; and to the said Cities, Boroughs, Towns, Villages, or any other Place or Places, within the said Province or Territory, to Grant Letters or Charters of Incorporation, with all Liberties, Franchises and Privileges requisite, or usual, to, or within this our Kingdom of *England* granted, or belonging; And in the same Cities, Boroughs, Towns and other Places, to Constitute, Erect and Appoint such; and so many Markets, Marts and Fairs,

Fairs as shall in that Behalf be thought fit and necessary; And further also, to Erect and Make in the Province or Territory aforesaid, or any Part thereof, so many Mannors with such Signories as to them shall seem meet and convenient, and in every of the same Mannors to have and to hold a Court-Baron, with all Things whatsoever, which to a Court-Baron do belong, and to have and to hold Views of Frank Pledge, and Court-Leet, for the Conservation of the Peace, and better Government of those Parts, with such Limits, Jurisdiction and Precincts, as by the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley*, or their Heirs, shall be appointed for that purpose, with all things whatsoever, which to a Court-Leet, or view of Franck Pledge, do belong; the same Courts to be holden by Stewards, to be Deputed and Authorized by the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley*, or their Heirs, by the Lords of the Mannors and Leets, for the Time being, when the same shall be Erected.

And because that in so remote a Country, and Situate among so many Barbarous Nations, the Invasions as well of Savages as other Enemies, Pirates, and Robbers may probably be feared; Therefore We have Given, and for Us, Our Heirs and Successors do give Power by these Presents, unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs or Assigns by themselves, or their Captains, or their Officers to Levy, Muster and Train up all sorts of Men, of what Condition soever, or wheresoever Born, whether in the said Province, or elsewhere, for the Time being; and to make War and pursue the Enemies aforesaid, as well by Sea, as by Land; yea, even without the Limits of the said Province, and by God's Assistance, to Vanquish and Take them, and being Taken, to put them to Death by the Law of War, and to save them at their Pleasure; And to do all and every other thing, which to the Charge and Office of a Captain General of an Army belongeth, or hath accustomed



stomed to belong, as fully and freely as any Captain General of an Army hath had the same.

Also, Our Will and Pleasure is, and by this Our Charter, We do give and grant unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton,* and *Sir William Berkeley,* their Heirs and Assigns, full Power, Liberty and Authority, in Case of Rebellion, Tumult, or Sedition (if any should happen, which God forbid) either upon the Land within the Province aforesaid, or upon the main Sea, in making a Voyage thither, or returning from thence, by him and themselves, their Captains, Deputies or Officers, to be authorized under his or their Seals, for that purpose: To whom also for Us, our Heirs and Successors, We do give and grant by these Presents, full Power and Authority to exercise Martial Law against mutinous and seditious Persons of those Parts; such as shall refuse to submit themselves to their Government, or shall refuse to serve in the Wars, or shall fly to the Enemy, or forsake their Colours or Ensigns, or be Loiterers or Stragglers, or otherwise howsoever offending against Law, Custom, or Military Discipline, as freely, and in as ample Manner and Form as any Captain General of an Army, by virtue of his Office, might, or hath accustomed to use the same.

And Our further Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton,* and *Sir William Berkeley,* their Heirs and Assigns, and to the Tenants and Inhabitants of the said Province, or Territory, both present and to come, and to every of them, that the said Province, or Territory, and the Tenants and Inhabitants thereof, shall not from henceforth, be held or reputed any Member, or Part of any Colony whatsoever, in *America* or elsewhere, now transported or made, or hereafter to be transported or made; nor shall be depending on, or subject to their Government in any Thing, but be absolutely separated and divided from the same: And our Pleasure is, by these Presents, That they may be separated, and that they be subject  
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immediately to our Crown of *England*, as depending thereof for ever. And that the Inhabitants of the said Province or Territory, or any of them, shall at any Time hereafter, be compelled or compellible, or be any ways subject, or liable to appear or answer to any Matter, Suit, Cause, or Plaint whatsoever, out of the Province or Territory aforesaid, in any other of our Islands, Colonies or Dominions in *America*, or elsewhere, other than in our Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*.

And because it may happen, That some of the People and Inhabitants of the said Province, cannot in their private Opinions conform to the Publick Exercise of Religion according to the Liturgy, Forms and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, or take or subscribe the Oaths and Articles made and established in that Behalf: And for that the same, by reason of the remote Distances of those Places, will, as we hope, be no Breach of the Unity, and Conformity, Established in this Nation; Our Will and Pleasure therefore is, and We do by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, Give and Grant unto the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, full and free Licence, Liberty and Authority, by such Ways and Means as they shall think fit, To Give and Grant unto such Person any Persons, Inhabiting, and being within the said Province or Territory, hereby or by the said recited Letters Patents, mentioned to be granted as aforesaid, or any Part thereof, such Indulgencies and Dispensations, in that Behalf, for, and during such Time and Times, and with such Limitations and Restrictions, as they the said *Edward Earl of Clarendon, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carterett, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley*, their Heirs, or Assigns, shall in their Discretion think fit and reasonable. And that no Person or Persons, unto whom such Liberty shall be given, shall be any way molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any Differences in Opinion or Practice, in Matters of Religious Concernment, who do not actually disturb the civil Peace of the Province, County or Colony, that they shall make their abode in. But all and every such Person and

Persons, may from Time to Time, and at all Times, freely and quietly have and enjoy, his and their Judgment and Conscience, in Matters of Religion, throughout all the said Province, or Colony, they behaving themselves peaceably, and not using this Liberty, to Licentiousness, nor to the Civil Injury or outward Disturbance of others. Any Law, Statute or Clause contained, or to be contained, Usage or Customs of our Realm of England, to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwithstanding.

And in Case it shall happen, that any Doubts or Questions should arise concerning the True Sense and Understanding of any Word, Clause, or Sentence, contained in this our present Charter, We Will, Ordain, and Command, that at all Times, and in all Things, such Interpretations be made thereof, and allowed in all and every of our Courts, and elsewhere, as Lawfully may be Adjudged most Advantageous and Favourable to the said *Edmund Earl of Chester, George Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Chester, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir John Child, and Sir William Berkeley*, all their Heirs and Assigns, although Express Mention be made of their Names, and not of their Heirs and Assigns.

Witness our Self at *Westminster*, the Thirtieth Day of *June*, in the Seventeenth Year of our Reign.

*Per Ipsum Regem.*

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AN  
**ABSTRACT**  
 OF THE  
**CONSTITUTION**  
 OF  
**CAROLINA.**

**A**S to the Government of *Carolina*, the Laws of *England* are there in Force; yet the Lords-Proprietors, by their Deputies, have Power, with the Consent of the Inhabitants, to make By-Laws for the better Government of the said Province; so that no Law can be made, or Money rais'd, unless the Inhabitants, or their Representatives, consent thereto: One Law which they have in *South-Carolina* deserves particular Mention, which is, their Method of chusing Juries, it being done by making a considerable Number of Paper-Billets, on which are written the Names of as many of the most substantial Freeholders. These Billets are put into a Hat, out of which Twenty-four are chosen by the next Child that appears. Then, out of those Twenty-four, Twelve are chosen at the next Court, after the same manner; which is an infallible way to prevent all Manner of Fraud.

North and South-Carolina Settlements are distant from one another some hundreds of Miles ; so that Necessity compels each Colony to keep to themselves, a Governour, Council and Assembly. The Governour represents the Lord-Palatine; the rest of the Counsellors are the Lord-Deputies ; who, of themselves, make a Palatine Court, and a Court of Chancery ; wherein they pass several Orders of Council, much of the Nature of the Prince's Proclamation ; which continues no longer in Force, than the next Assembly. Likewise, they grant several sorts of Commissions, Warrants, &c. yet Military Commissions lie wholly in the Governour's Power ; but Making of War or Peace, in all, or the Majority of the Lords-Deputies ; by whom (the Governour being one) it is determin'd ; and by whose Commissions all other Magistrates act. On these Heads they have settled, and maintain an admirable Constitution of Government, for the lasting Peace, Security, and Well-being of all the Inhabitants. The way of any ones taking up his Land in Carolina, due to him either by Purchasing it of the Lords Proprietors here in England, who keep their Board at *Chapel-House* in *Drury-Lane, London*, the first *Thursday* in every Month ; or if purchas'd in Carolina, is after this manner : He first looks out for a Place to his Mind, that is not already possess'd by any other ; then applies himself to the Governour and Lords Proprietors Deputies, and shews what Right he hath to such a Tract of Land, either by Purchase of the Lords in England, or by an Entry in the Surveyor-General's Office, in order to purchase of the Governour and Lords Deputies there in Carolina, who thereupon issue out their Warrant-Land as is due to him. Who making Certificate, that he had measured out so much Land and the Bounds, a Deed is prepared of Course, by the Secretary, which is sign'd by the Governour and the Lords Proprietors Deputies, and the Proprietors Seal affix'd to it, and register'd in the Secretaries Office, which is a good Coveyance in Law of the Land therein mention'd, to the Party and his Heirs for ever.

Thus have I given you as large and exact an Account of Carolina, as the Discovery of so few Years (in this great  
and

and extensive Land) would permit. Which flourishing Country will, doubtless, in time, increase the Number of its Productions, and afford us plentifully those Necessaries and rich Commodities, which the *Streights, Turkey* and other Countries supply us withal at present, and not seldom in their own Shipping; whereas, were those Merchandizes the Produce of an *English* Plantation, and brought us home by our own Hands and Bottoms, of what Advantage such an Improvement would be to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and the People in general, I leave to Men of Reason and Experience to judge. I do intend (if God permit) by future Voyages (after my Arrival in *Carolina*) to pierce into the Body of the Continent, and what Discoveries and Observations I shall, at any time hereafter, make, will be communicated to my Correspondents in *England*, to be publish'd, having furnish'd myself with Instruments and other Necessaries for such Voyages.

For the better Understanding of this Country, I have already drawn a very large and exact Map thereof, as far as any Discoveries have been yet made, either by others or myself, and have spared neither Cost nor Pains, to procure the most correct Map and Journals thereof, that are extant in Print, or in Manuscript. This Map containing nine Sheets of Imperial Paper, and now fit for engraving, begins at Cape *Henry* in *Virginia*, 37 deg. N. Lat. and contains all the Coasts of *Carolina*, or *Florida*, with the *Babama* Islands, great Part of the Bay of *Mexico*, and the Island of *Cuba*, to the Southward, and several Degrees to the Westward of of the *Messiasippi* River, with all the *Indian* Nations and Villages, and their Numbers, which of them are subject to *Carolina*, and trade with their People, what Places are convenient Factories and Forts, to increase and secure our Trade on the *Messiasippi*, and what Forts and Factories the *French* and *Spaniards* have gain'd in those Latitudes, especially on the great River and the Neighbouring Streams; all which they illegally possess, since the very Mouth of the River *Messiasippi* is in the King of *England's* Grant to the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, it falling something to the North-

An **ABSTRACT**, &c.

Northward of 29 Degr. *North* Lat. whose Claim and Right  
is in question, not, but a Peace will adjust, and restore, which every  
*Englishman* is bound in Duty and Interest, to wish for; if  
we consider how advantageously they have seated themselves,  
whereby to disturb the Peace and Interest of all the *English*  
Plantations on the Continent of *America*.

**F I N I S**

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Lately publish'd, in the Collections for December, January, February, and March,

**T**HE *Discovery and Conquest of the Molucco and Philippine Islands; containing their History, Ancient and Modern, Natural and Political: Their Description, Product, Religion, Government, Laws, Languages, Customs, Manners, Habits, Shape, and Inclinations of the Natives. With an Account of many other adjacent Islands, and several remarkable Voyages through the Streights of Magellan, and in other Parts. Written in Spanish by Bartholomew Leonardo Argensola, Chaplain to the Empress, and Rector of Villahermosa. Now translated into English; and illustrated with a Map and several Cuts.*

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IN SIX PARTS. PART I. THE HISTORY OF THE  
REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST, FROM HIS MARRIAGE TO HIS DEATH. BY JOHN BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY. THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED. LONDON, Printed by J. Sturges, in the Strand, 1724.







